



REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

Voice of the
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Party, U.S.A.

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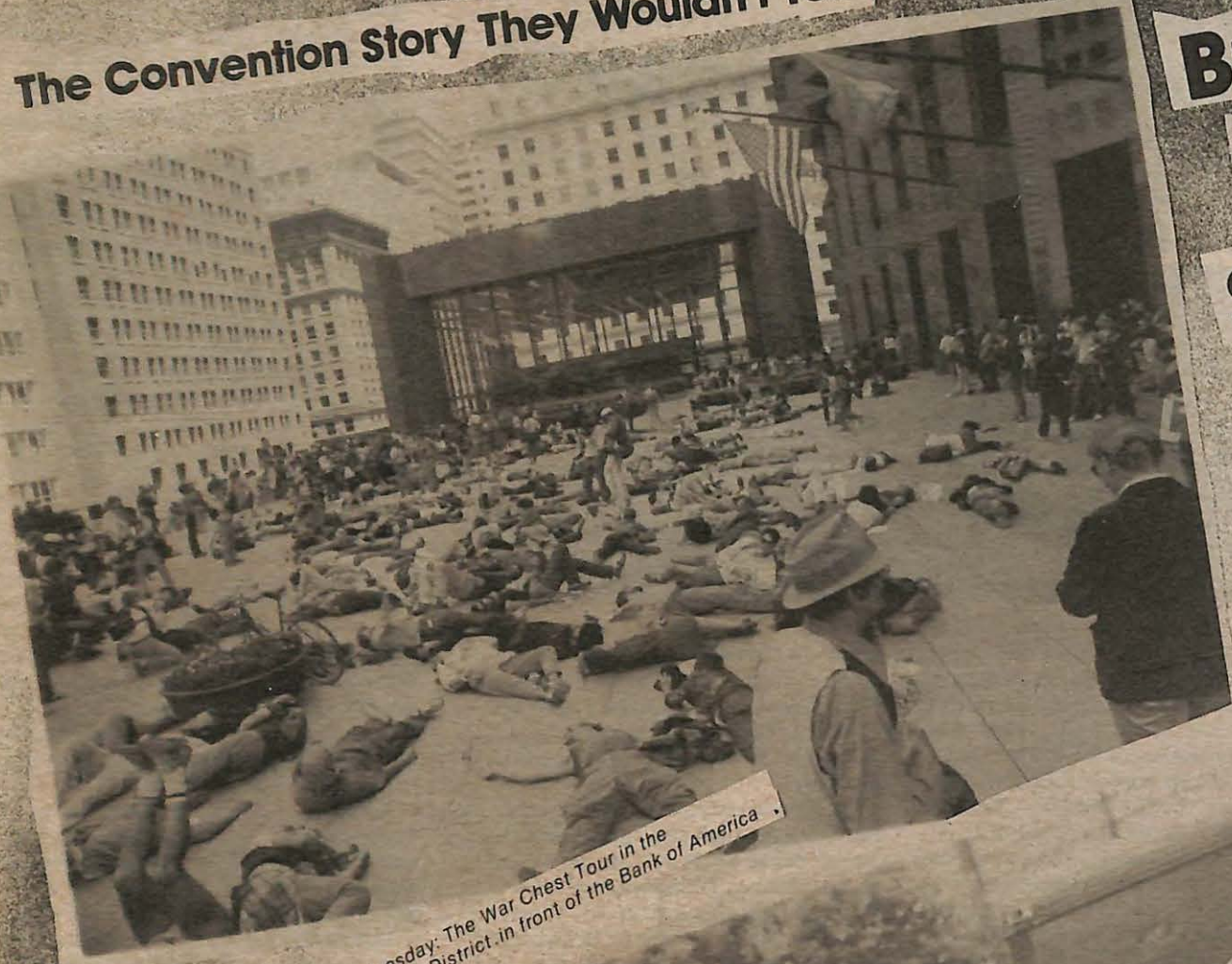
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The Convention Story They Wouldn't Tell

Breaking Through The San Francisco Fog



Wednesday: The War Chest Tour in the Financial District in front of the Bank of America



Mass arrests Thursday afternoon: booking procedures begin in the streets



Thursday 9 PM: near the Hall of Justice.

As everyone knows, San Francisco has a lot of fog. Normally it collects beyond the Golden Gate and rolls in towards evening. This week a great fog rolled out of Moscone Center and at numerous events staged by the loyal opposition; this was a nasty American political fog, covering the real issues of world war and crisis which the Democrats and their "left" friends well know is in the forecast.

However, not everyone—and practically no one outside of the San Francisco area—knows that the political fog was pierced sharply in several important actions by a real rebel opposition determined to drag out the Democrats' hidden agenda. Not surprisingly, even with two full divisions of news reporters in the city, few of these actions made other than local news. On Tuesday, July 17, nearly 2,000 people committed political heresy at a rally in the Democratic Convention "protest ghetto." The unspeakable was spoken outside the Convention: "We are here to say that the attitudes which are expressed in Democratic Party politics are the same as those of the Republicans — attitudes of war," to quote the words of the Livermore Action Group's speaker. The following day, the limits of protest were again defied by a march of 500 protestors, mostly youth from the antinuke movement and punks. Their Democratic War Chest Tour ranged through the streets of the S.F. financial district, exposing the corporate centers of international plunder which are based there and which fund the Democratic Party. Police on horseback and on trailbikes and the Tac Squad on foot pressured the march the entire route, and constantly threatened attack. On Monday, in fact, a War Chest Tour had been attacked and subjected to mass arrests. Yet the march was able to wind through much of downtown S.F., and chants such as "Reagan, Mondale, which will it be? Either vote is World War 3!" and "Heads they win, tails you lose, glad we have the right to choose!" were carried by gusts of wind throughout the financial district.

But it was on Thursday evening, as Continued on page 11



World War 3 and Other Unnatural Acts

Marine Brass On...

Imagine the adrenalin that pumped through the hearts of American patriots a couple of weeks ago as military officers and 300 "generally supportive" civilians gathered at a forum on "the use of force in peacetime and in limited conflicts" at the Naval War College in Newport, R.I. The usually unreported goings on within these hallowed halls suddenly pole vaulted into the headlines as a senior Marine general, one Lt. Gen. Bernard E. Trainor, was reported as saying that a "limited" war with the Soviet Union was an "almost inevitable probability." As the General explained: "Given what's happening with Soviet power projection, we probably at some point in our lifetime (and it should be noted here that old warhorses like Trainor don't have all that much time left—RW) will clash. The world better get the perception that we bested them, because the fight will be on...our turf."

Trainor, a deputy chief of staff for plans, policies and operations, went on to

explain that the Soviet navy is expanding rapidly and "impinging" on traditional stomping grounds of the U.S.: "We have a legitimate right, a legitimate interest to operate on the seas of the world and touch the continents of the world. That's our lifeblood, our economic lifeline. This is not true for the Soviet Union. But the Soviet Union is doing an unnatural act, it is leaping the barriers, it is going onto our turf." This is some of the straightest talk one could hope to get from those responsible for tightening the nuts and bolts of U.S. war preparations. To wit: The entire world is *their* turf, period. Echoing Trainor, and warning further of increasing Soviet naval capacities, a vice-chief of naval operations cried: "Just think how the Soviets can intimidate the Third World with the capabilities that reside in a large-deck, fixed-wing aircraft carrier." Now it is exactly large-deck, fixed-wing aircraft carriers that have been made the heart of U.S. naval forces in recent years. The U.S. can send a flotilla to bomb the

hell out of Lebanon, and an armada to stomp on Grenada, use its carrier groups as part of the plans to fight and win World War 3... don't you see, that's protecting the lifeblood of a democracy! For the Soviets to do it, why that's positively unnatural!

So, having asserted the U.S. "right" to dominate the high seas, and as much of the rest of the world as it can get its hands on, Lt. General Trainor then warned that the good fight was not far off. When the U.S. bombed targets in the Bekaa Valley of eastern Lebanon, he said, they were well within range of Soviet-manned anti-aircraft missile batteries in Syria. "We could have found ourselves killing Soviets at SA-5 sites, or they killing us," he noted with some relish. Trainor's point was that crises arising out of today's conditions could lead to "escalation difficulty," as he put it in a rare moment of delicacy. Conflict with the Soviets will likely come "in a place we don't anticipate, in atrocious circumstances, at the worst possible time." Sooner, that is, than you think.

Following this, Vice-Admiral James A. Lyons, a deputy chief of naval operations, congratulated the Reagan administration for its "very courageous political decision" to invade Grenada, railed that the U.S. should have stood by its Nicaraguan puppet Anastasio Somoza

and the Shah of Iran, and called for the U.S. to "draw the line" to stem the "cancer" of communism in Cuba.

Then there was the media-annointed "star attraction" of the NWC session, current Secretary of the Navy John F. Lehman Jr., who pointedly flew to the conference in a Navy A6 Intruder fighter-bomber from Norfolk where he was spending a week on active duty in the Navy Reserve. Cuba, Lehman said, will have to be "secured, politically or militarily, before we can be operationally in a major, global, conventional war with the Soviet Union" (uh, what happened to "limited"?). "This," he warned, "is a very formidable task. It will make any island campaign in the Pacific look like a piece of cake." He went on to chastise outmoded rules of engagement, stating that, "Who gets to shoot first will have more to do with who wins than any other factor."

The question of who gets to shoot first, both tactically and strategically, was indeed a big part of the doings at the War College. The *Washington Post* noted that "a major thrust of the conference was defense of Lehman's 'forward strategy' which calls for using aircraft carriers to bottle up the Soviet surface and submarine fleets near its home port." The paper added that the senior officials "spoke with a frankness not always heard in Washington." Meanwhile, Reagan came out and publicly "disputed" Trainor's remarks in the media. Reagan stated, "I think one of the most dangerous things in the world is for anyone to get in their—fixed in their mind—the inevitability theory. Because then that very thing in their minds can bring about that. My theory is that there doesn't have to be a war. We're going to do everything we can to see that it doesn't." On cue, the crowd of 100 YAFer-types in the Rose Garden promptly chanted "four more years."

In private, the administration is no doubt pleased as punch that the War College has added its bit to the string of headlines shouting "here comes war!" But another part of preparing the public to support such a war, apart from getting some attention at the moment, is the plea that those in power are supposedly trying like hell to stop it, and that therefore when the deal goes down, no matter how it goes down, it will be the Soviets who "started it."

And so a mild reprimand, but...no tremendous harm done. Concurrently with Reagan's "admonishment" of Trainor, Defense Secretary Weinberger announced through a Pentagon spokesman that there were no plans to take disciplinary action against the well-meaning general. Indeed, minor public relations problems had already been ironed out to everyone's satisfaction at Reagan's quarterly planning meeting earlier that day with the Joint Chiefs of Staff — at which one agenda item could easily have been the benefits of talking out of both sides of your mouth. □

Attention Readers! Publication Dates

According to our publication schedule, the *Revolutionary Worker* will not be published on July 27. The next issue of the *RW* will be August 3.

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ANTI-CANDIDATE Speaks On...

Jesse Jackson and the Battle for God and Country

The following is a slightly edited transcript of a talk given by Carl Dix at a forum sponsored by the RCP, USA in San Francisco, following the Democratic Convention. On June 28, 1984, Carl Dix declared his Anti-Candidacy in 1984.

We're on the other side of their three-ring circus, the circus that they brought into town complete with asses and clowns and high-wire acts; so we ought to take the opportunity to look back at it, and try to learn some things about their democratic process, and their system and where it's headed. To start with, we've got to say, what time did this convention happen in? What time is it — it's prewar time, and you know what happens *after* prewar time, unless we're able to head it off by revolution. I mean, where was this "alternative" that a lot of people were saying we should have been involved in, where was this alternative to war, the aggression, the injustice, that everyone, from some leftists to open ruling class spokesmen, was telling us that Ronald Reagan and the Republicans are responsible for?

The Democratic Convention signalled a battle for the mantle of "Who's Best Fit To Lead This Empire To War?" And in another equally sinister sense, those opposed to this kind of shit were beckoned to get involved in this thing, to join up with this war party, but to get to the ass end of the donkey and march behind this war wagon. The *wagon train*, that's what

it came down to. And it should be much clearer after this kind of display, why we say that electoral politics is the wrong arena and that the only alternative to being dragged by imperialism into World War 3 is revolutionary civil war.

But first, let's get into this battle for God and country, as I call it, and see how it developed, what different turns it took and how it came down. In a real sense it began before the Convention; they didn't just start this week. But oh, how it picked up steam as the Convention was beginning to open. We can just look at the "historic first" that they unveiled at this Convention — the first woman vice-presidential candidate, Geraldine Ferraro. The week before she was unveiled as nominee, she happened to be giving a speech, appropriately enough on foreign policy, here in San Francisco, and some of it is worth looking at and quoting. These are some of the things that Gerry ran down: "A strong and ready military establishment is key to a successful foreign policy, and the Democratic Party platform calls for strengthened conventional forces, improved readiness and a prudent, balanced and unquestioned nuclear deterrent force." Another quote: "It's preposterous that our party (the Democratic Party) which constructed the greatest alliance — NATO — in peacetime history, should allow the Republicans to redefine security and call it their own. The Soviet power is military and militarily must be met." And here's another gem: "This American Century

will not be cut short." Actually, I think they've had an inflation problem with the American Century — it ended up being worth much less than 100 years. Anyway, this woman's finger is obviously very fit to be near the nuclear button. She's definitely down for that.

She was followed into the trenches by one of her home boys from Queens, Mario Cuomo, who is himself getting a lot of press these days. As one correspondent put it, by Wednesday his speech had been quoted from the rostrum more than a dozen times. And it's no wonder. There was so much in it that was very timely for imperialism. He set a tone by squarely situating himself in Roosevelt's legacy, you know, Roosevelt and all that he did for us. But when you look at what Roosevelt actually did, what he did was lead U.S. imperialism through World War 2 and onto the threshold of this American Century. And that's what Roosevelt stood for, and his legacy at this point is not a question of social benefits, believe me. That's not what they're pointing at. In fact, this 50 years of Democratic Party legacy that Cuomo wanted to take you through spans World War 2, Hiroshima, Nagasaki, Korea, Vietnam, the invasion of the Dominican Republic, installing and propping up dictators in far-flung parts of the world, and numerous counterinsurgencies. Next to this kind of legacy, these guys can actually get out there and argue that Ronald Reagan's been a piker. All he's got is Grenada and his open-secret war with Nicaragua to his credit — so far. But he's working on it. But the Democrats can make that argument.

I think we've got to look at another thing that he ran out there that they found quite timely, and that's the wagon train analogy. You all remember the wagon train: they went out on the frontier, settlers drove through the hostile Indian territory and essentially these things

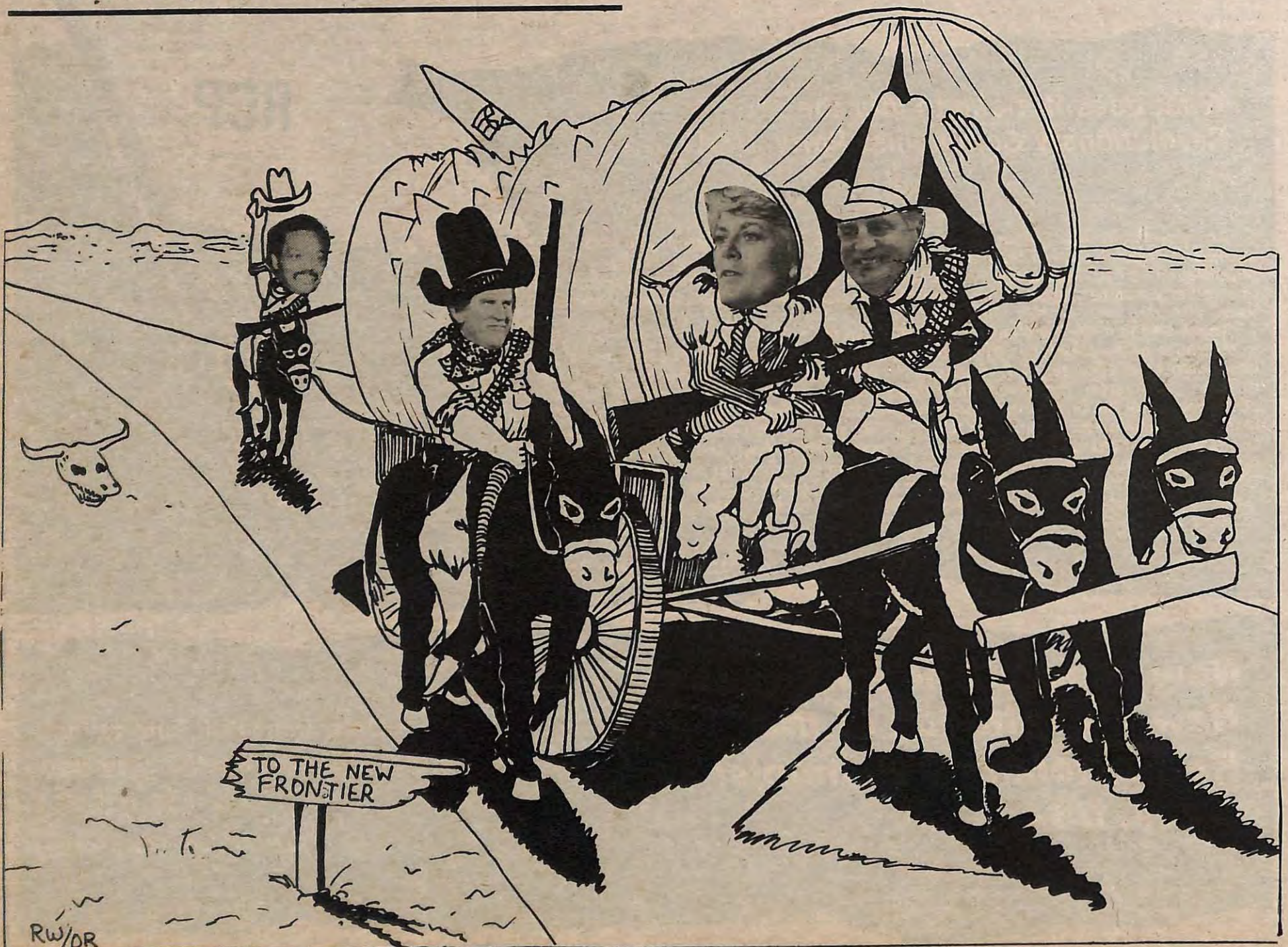
were the frontlines of dispossessing the Indians from their land. That's what it came down to at that point. However, today's world isn't like the world back then. When you talk about frontiers, there are no longer vast stretches that aren't dominated by one imperialist bloc or the other, where the only obstacle to habitation and domination are unruly natives to be brought beneath the heel of civilization. When you talk about today's situation on the frontier, you're talking about control by rival bandits, and that means that the family that is the nation has got to be united to fend off these challenges, to expand the horizon into new frontiers. And that's what Mario was definitely pointing to, and it was very timely for them.

Now, if I went chronologically, it would bring us up to Jesse, to his moment in the sun, but I want to hold that till later, because mainly that fits into the "come on in and get spit on" section that we have to talk about. But I think that some aspects fit much better into the battle for God and country straight up. I mean, did you see them introduce the guy? This fellow Black "radical" stepped to the podium and said "This man is America's best hope, an American in the profoundest sense," and then Jesse gets up there and he runs this out, and we've got to say that he soared to new heights, better said soared to new depths, in claiming divine support for the American cause. God is not through with him yet! There's obviously much more service for imperialism this guy can put in there, and God would not miss a chance for something like that. He was working to win the oppressed to identify their future with this empire, and I want to get into that later, 'cause like I said this was the "progressive" part, the "come on in and get spit on" part.

There's a whole list of people we could

Continued on page 13

Carl Dix is the author of the article "Jesse Jackson: The Right Stuff For U.S. Imperialism." He is a founding member and a spokesperson for the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA. He participated in a London Press Conference with revolutionary leaders from other countries who announced the formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement in March 1984. He was one of the Fort Lewis 6, U.S. soldiers who refused orders to Vietnam... sentenced to two years in Leavenworth Prison. He was a revolutionary activist in the Black liberation struggle in the early '70s... from the Black Workers Congress to the African Liberation Support Committee.



A Commander Looks at the Gulf

What is the U.S. military command thinking about — and talking about, and most certainly *acting on* — concerning the Persian Gulf? A recent interview with Lt. General Robert C. Kingston provides a good sampling. Kingston is the Commander in Chief of the U.S. Central Command (USCENTCOM) and the interview appears in the July 1984 issue of *Armed Forces Journal International* (AFJ). Kingston frankly and openly discusses the extent and intensity of U.S. war preparations in the region. What is clear from the interview is that the Soviet Union is the target of these preparations, that the area is extremely volatile, and that the U.S. forces are prepared.

By way of introduction, AFJ informs us that Lt. General Kingston "holds responsibility for all U.S. military activity in 19 nations in the Southwest Asia-Persian Gulf-Horn of Africa region." (This is, of course, an American military journal which assumes the Soviets are imperialists and aggressors, while "U.S. military activity in 19 nations..." is the natural order of things.)

Kingston for his part emphasizes the centrality and explosiveness of the Gulf throughout the interview: "The problems in the USCENTCOM area are not temporary problems. They are long-term problems. After it became evident at some point along the line that these problems were not going to go away in the foreseeable future, the only thing to do was to form a unified command and give it a piece of territory as a long-term solution to a long-term problem. And I think we've done it." Later he says, "I think history shows pretty clearly that problems develop in a power vacuum. USCENTCOM is trying to fill that vacuum."

The discussion then turns to what the U.S. has done concretely in terms of "filling the vacuum" and preparing for war. Here Kingston's remarks speak for themselves.

AFJ: "Sir, what options do you have today, or do you command today, to deter or block that kind of Soviet incur-

sion or strike, especially with those further south of the world's energy jugular? What options do you have today that did not exist in the middle of 1980?"

General Kingston: "Well, in 1980, had the President of the United States directed the military to send a sizeable force to the Middle East, to protect Iran and block the Russians, nobody, at that time, could have told you *where* the force would come from, *what* the force would consist of, *how long* it would take them to get there, *how* they would get there, the sequence, *how* they would be sustained, and *who* would be in command. . . . I can answer all those questions now.

"And of course, I now have the clearly defined responsibilities of a unified commander for administration of security assistance, contingency planning, and war fighting. And in my planning, I take into consideration the whole spectrum of potential or possible conflicts. . . . and my plans include the *worst-case* scenarios. . . . If I had to go with the whole force, it would consist of about 294,000 personnel. So I have considerable force if we have to execute a war plan."

AFJ: "How quickly could you get a Marine battalion or a small brigade airlifted into the Iranian side of the Strait of Hormuz?"

General Kingston: "I could get a battalion (around 1,000) from the 82nd Airborne Division there within 48 hours and the remainder of the brigade in less than a week. . . . I believe that a battalion on the scene today is worth maybe a regiment tomorrow.

"Of course, I have to go 7,000 miles from our East coast. The only forces I have in the area are security assistance personnel, the ships of the Middle East force, the AWACs in Saudi Arabia, and the soldiers in the Sinai as part of the multinational force. But I believe that a small (force), properly employed now, rapidly, is better than a large one next month."

AFJ: "You also agree with George Patton's premise that a 'good plan violently executed *now*' is better than a per-

fect plan next week'?"

General Kingston: "Yes. . . ."

And the object of these preparations? Kingston talks a little about, for example, Libya. But he puts overwhelming stress on the Soviets. When Kingston analyzes the political future of Iran, he locates this within U.S.-Soviet contention. He says the Iranians "are still very concerned about Russian designs, because historically Russia has invaded the Persian territory five times — twice in this century alone. The Iranians haven't forgotten that. I personally believe that, regardless of what happens within Iran, they will not ask or seek Russian intervention. Now if something happens to Khomeini, we feel that the Mullahs will still be in command or control for an undetermined period of time. What happens *after* that or during that lessening of control by the Mullahs, the Tudeh Party (pro-Soviet revisionists) could probably assert itself. If at that time they ask for Russian assistance, then the West has a problem."

Kingston and AFJ also make it clear that while the Soviets have certain geographical advantages in the region, they confront obstacles as well, and that the U.S. is neither conceding anything nor "out of it" in the region.

AFJ: "General, what are your thoughts on using Special Operations Forces in that area? Aren't they an unusual form of leverage in your AOR (Area of Responsibility)? When I was at Boeing Vertol, 20 years ago, I did a study of Iran and I think we counted 176 bridges or chokepoints in the 600 or 800 miles between the Caspian Sea and Strait of Hormuz. If Russia were to move south towards the Strait, couldn't we take those down with some small teams of special people?"

General Kingston: "Well I think you know that a lot of my background has been in 'special ops.' I have been in and out of it since 1952. I'm an advocate of special operations forces. . . . If you look

at the terrain that you're talking about, these motorized rifle divisions, in many cases, will be advancing one tank at a time through the passes and through the defiles and crossing the bridges. There are tremendous areas for massive landslides to take out the roads. I can assure you that we know about these areas."

AFJ: "How are we going to get them there?"

General Kingston: "We have, as you know, both air and ground assets. . . ."

Finally what comes across throughout the interview is how much the U.S. has done already and how close its forces are to being on a war footing.

Says Kingston: "Since the formation of the Rapid Deployment Joint Task Force and now the Central Command, we have conducted 16 fairly large exercises, five of which have been over in the area. The coordination and cooperation in the planning and deployment to and from the area, plus the deployment of forces throughout these exercises, increases our readiness. Our ability to get from the United States into that area and our working with the military of the countries, has increased tremendously.

"Members of my staff are frequently in the area. I have two general officers over there today (May 1984) — one commander and one general officer — working with the military in two different countries. That is the thing you don't see in the monthly statistics on readiness. The enhancement of our airlift, like the C-141 stretch program and the KC-10s, has tremendously increased our capability; the SL-7s that the Navy are purchasing will provide a tremendous increase. . . . Obviously, I want a forward base in the area. I have a small forward headquarters element, established in December of last year, and that's afloat with the Middle East force.

"We have not approached any of the countries and asked for a forward headquarters on the ground at this time. If and when the time comes, of course, the State Department will handle that. I want a forward headquarters somewhere in the area." □

What does it mean to join the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA?

Article 1

Any proletarian or any other person involved in the revolutionary struggle who accepts the Constitution of the Party, is committed to working actively in a Party organization, to carrying out the Party's decisions and to observing Party discipline and paying Party membership dues, may become a member of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA.

Those who join the Party should be fearless in the face of the enemy and dedicated in the cause of the proletariat. They should expect and be prepared for persecution, imprisonment and murder at the hands of the enemy, and not a soft job, a comfortable position and a career. But beyond that, they must be guided by the largeness of mind characteristic of the proletariat, study energetically and actively apply the science of Marxism-Leninism and be prepared to go against any tide that is opposed to Marxism-Leninism, be vanguard fighters among the masses and be ready to take up any post, fulfill any task that serves the revolution, not only in the particular country but internationally. The Party must be made up of people whose lives are devoted to the revolutionary struggle of the international proletariat and the achievement of its historic mission: worldwide communism.

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Made of mud bricks drawn from the same hill we stood on, the village literally grew out of the mountains. The homes clung to the mountainside, part of the roof of one being the floor of another. A river through the center of town turned out to be the only source of water, and mules were the main form of transportation.

The revolutionary upsurge of the past years had shaken this village. New winds were stirring: the Kurdish peasants' age-old dream for liberation was thrust into the forefront, not as a distant hope, but as a raging struggle of the day. The villagers talked enthusiastically about how they had visited Sanandaj during the revolution, to see what was happening and hear the latest news; how they had been glued to their portable radios every night for any bits of information they could get about the developing battles; and how they had held armed demonstrations in the villages prior to the February upsurge. Everyone's life had changed.

Our discussion continued as we sat down to eat in the kitchen-sized room that was the home of a friend. A rug and rolled up mattress were the only furniture.

"Don't think we're just concerned about the problems in this one village," one of the peasants said, "No, we are concerned about the struggle of people in every country in the world against imperialism."

From "The Rebel Kurds" (RW, September 6, 1979) by an RW correspondent who traveled to Kurdistan in the midst of the revolutionary war.



Letters Support Worldwide Fund Drive

We Have A World To Win!

Anti-war activists in the U.S. and Europe should consider giving material aid to the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement which cries, "Prevent World War!" in 22 languages around the world.

The formation of such a movement in such times represents a shining alternative to the UN/IMF-style internationalism by the rulers: fighting camaraderie of those ground under on every continent.

As the example of the Sendero Luminoso, the Communist Party of Peru, shows, the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement is not aiming for a compromise, not even a "historic" one. The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement is a challenge to the half-revolutions and fake socialism which are the reality of the 1980s.

Ask yourself, who will be your allies in preventing world war: the representatives of the ruling parties or the working and oppressed peoples of the world? Study this movement's analysis, and if you support the goals, even critical support, help redistribute some wealth to our international comrades.

A revolutionary anti-war activist from Chicago

Declaration and to see what we can do to strengthen the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement.

Any sensible revolution's got to have strong and good leadership — and funding. Without an island to aim our boat towards we would be tossed around and lost at sea. To take a step on the wrong side is to end up losing the revolution.

With the formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, it is not only a chance to take experience from different parties around the world, but to forge even stronger leadership than is possible just from one country to another. That's why it's a leap.

We're always wondering what's happening with these different parties around the world. We'd always been thinking it would be a case of just starting from this party here alone, thought it was so far in the future to think about parties coming together — it really tripped us out to find this out. It will mean not just covering stories about what's happening to the Palestinians, but struggling to start a party there. And to identify the key areas to target in the world.

Internationalist Circle of Black, Chinese, and white

We are a group that came together to figure out the finer points of the

You don't have any idea about the kind of war preparations that are going on within the navy. I wish you could see

the sub base. Outside it's just a normal hurricane fence; inside there's double electric fences, motion detectors, marines patrolling with authorization to use deadly force — it's hardened against nuclear attack. It makes me nervous as hell to go on base. But then there's beautiful "suburbs" for submariners and their family. Its brand new all-American dream stuff: new home, shopping mall, practically free recreation facilities, all for the elite to cut them off from the rest of the world, while there's a whole other part of the base that's loaded with thousands of nuclear weapons. They make the base the center focus of life so people aren't exposed to the outside world. It's like a factory town. Some factory. If things continue at this pace to its logical conclusion it's going to be nothing but burnt cinders.

All this is going on unseen and unopposed. All this has got to be seen and opposed. People need to be made aware of it. You can read about "buildups" but you've really got to experience it.

People don't realize we live in a police state. We can't stop war preparations by electing a candidate or seeking new leadership. I'm convinced of that. Our electoral process is basically a big sideshow to disguise the real show.

I'm supporting this Revolutionary Internationalist Movement as the only way things are going to be effective. At

the moment my point of view isn't that well formed, I'm still absorbing stuff. I do want to learn more. When you see the incredible amounts of money thrown into the military, the amounts of money put out by the media to spread their lies and distortions, we definitely need some small amount of money to put out the truth and educate people. Fortunately, I think, it takes less money to spread the truth than lies.

I do believe in revolution. Saying that is like the ultimate sin for a military person to say. Internationalism to me is self-evident. I'm not a person with national borders or national pride in my mind. What's important to me is education. There are more people in the military like myself than you might imagine. Whether or not they have minds of their own remains to be seen. I can donate money but I can't do that much education of people; that's obvious because of my position. In a way I'm still asking, what can I do?

Crewman on a nuclear submarine

In the June 29 RW, a Portland bookstore owner made an elegant appeal for contributions to the Revolutionary Internationalist movement. In that appeal he or she stated "Some people give energy to our movement, in quantities passing all understanding. Others give ideas or sparks or perspective.

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We Want In . . .

In light of the "we want in" politics which is so thick in the atmosphere of the Democratic Convention, we are reprinting this article by Bob Avakian, which appeared in the Revolutionary Worker April 1, 1983, as part of the series "More Reflections and Sketches."

There is a trend which insists that the very essence of the struggle against oppression and inequality — speaking specifically of the oppressed nationalities and women — is the right to be not only equally bourgeois as the big bourgeoisie but equally reactionary as well. It must be said that this trend has a lot of influence because it corresponds to the class position and aspirations of more privileged, bourgeois or would-be bourgeois, strata among the oppressed and because it is vigorously promoted by that ruling big bourgeoisie (in the main — all except the "equally" part). You know the types I am talking about — the Blacks pictured in ads on the back of *Ebony* in polo uniforms, standing next to a prize horse, etc., and the Barbara Walters clones or *Rollover* role models. These are the ones who, whenever and wherever the next heinous crime is about to be committed by imperialism, insist on having their rightful share in it. And this goes as well for those among the most oppressed who strive to make it by stepping on the backs of the others.

This is well illustrated in two fairly recent movies — and in particular the roles played by Lou Gossett, Jr. and Goldie Hawn in *An Officer and a Gentleman* and *Private Benjamin* respectively — where, adding insult to outrage, they attempt to portray all this with "dignity"! Gossett plays a tough but tender father figure for the main character, a white supposedly "prolo" youth who seeks to "become somebody" by becoming a naval jet pilot; at one point Gossett actually screams at this youth and the other trainees lined up under Gossett's command: if any of you don't have what it takes to drop napalm, I'm going to find it out. This is an obvious reference to U.S. actions in Vietnam and a no less obvious, even crude attempt to reverse the verdict on all that, seeking to remove the justly-deserved label of "criminal" and make all this seem somehow "heroic" and "manly." Hawn plays a spoiled-brat princess, pampered and suffocated, isolated from the trials and challenges of life, who blossoms into a tough, independent, equal-for-any-man human being by joining the army and becoming a willing, proud, well-oiled cog in the U.S. imperialist military machine (!). *Private Benjamin* now (and during an important scene in the movie she insists on her military identification even in a private — or should I say personal — conversation), only a private so far, but there are all kinds of opportunities being opened for women, if only they can develop the guts and gumption to go out and get them . . . who knows how high up this ladder to hell she can crawl?

It is not too hard to see that movies with messages like this are playing a part — and these particular movies, which were quite popular, apparently, play an important part — in the war preparations of the imperialists, specifically in the realm of public opinion and ideologically conditioning the future troops (as well as "the public" generally). It is also not too hard to see that the view of equality and dignity presented here is thoroughly, insidiously reactionary (and this is true regardless of the intent of the actors involved and even if somehow we could believe — which is very difficult — that they really didn't understand what propaganda they were peddling: artists' role is not dependent mainly on their intent, though that matters, but mainly on the content and social effect of what they produce, and they must assume responsibility for that).

The stand and the sentiments of the masses who suffer oppression and inequality — in a qualitatively more intense and all-around way than the privileged strata we've examined — have a qualitatively different character. The masses of the oppressed want an end to the oppression and inequality that the masses suffer and they gravitate toward the outlook of abolishing all oppression and social inequality and the basis for them. In opposition to the trend among those privileged strata which, when viewing the degradation the system deals out to millions and millions of people, insistently demands, "we want in on it," these millions and millions have the urgent feeling "we want out — we want an end to this."

I say gravitate toward the outlook of abolishing all oppression and social inequality and the basis for them because their position in society inclines them toward that viewpoint but there are also powerful forces in society pulling them in the other direction, they are influenced not only by bourgeois ideology in general but even the kinds of trends among the privileged strata discussed before. To firmly take up, and act upon, that outlook — in order to finally realize that goal of putting an end to all this and creating a new and higher form of society where such things will be abolished — means to take up the stand, viewpoint, method and program of the proletariat, the one force in society whose interests fully conform to this goal. It is only this international proletariat which needs no excuses or apologies, in some form or other, for exploitation, the oppression of women, nations and national minorities, war and a thousand other monstrosities; it is only the class-conscious revolutionary proletariat that insists that all these things can and will be eliminated from the earth. When this outlook and this leadership is combined with the anger and burning desire of the masses of oppressed to put an end to all this — then an unconquerable force is forged. □

We Want Out—

Opposite Views on Discrimination and Degradation

By Bob Avakian



Remembering 007 and Those Who Set It Up

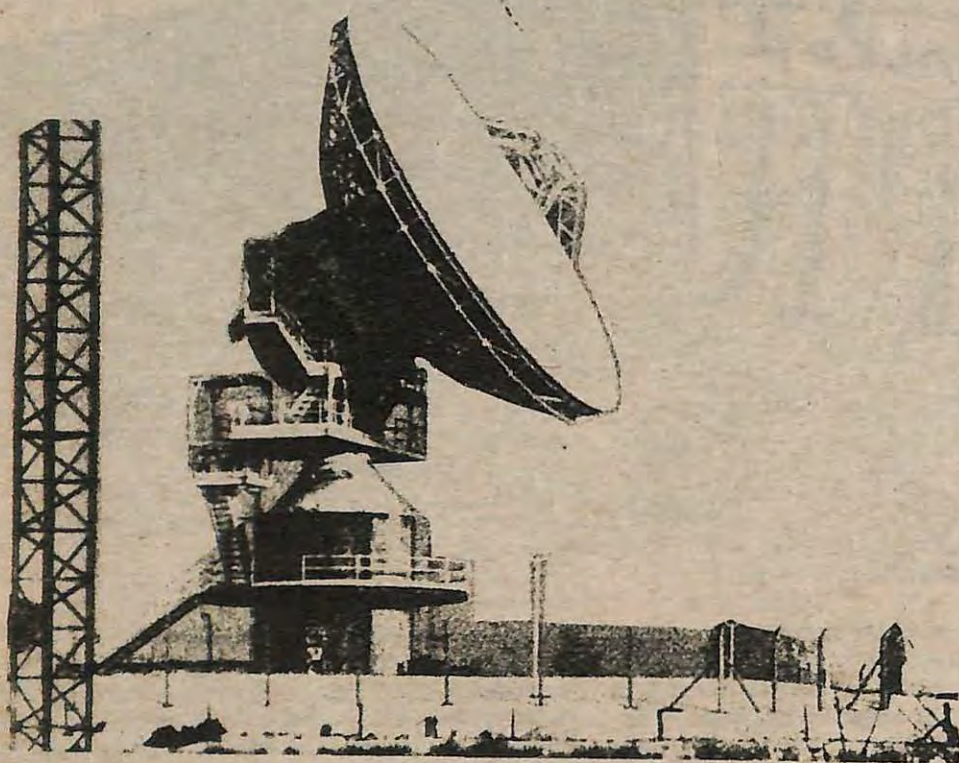
In a year of conventions and elections, a period which allegedly provides a "close quarters" examination of the nation's political leaders, it is instructive to look back to a key event last year and, as the *RW* put it at the time, "Remember 007 and the Class Interests It Serves." What kind of people are we dealing with?

We are dealing with people who committed mass murder in preparation for worldwide mass murder.

Two hundred and sixty-nine were sent to their deaths on 007 by the U.S. itself, as surely as if they had been tossed among targets on an active gunnery range. The incident was scripted by U.S. intelligence and its political compatriots: 007 was knowingly and calculatingly sent on a course which sealed its doomed — and that was the goal. Reams of intelligence data on Soviet operations in a strategic region were secured, but this was hardly the main point. The crux of the operation was the political and ideological bonanza to be reaped. A whirlwind of propaganda was swept into motion, spearheaded by the U.S. political leadership, to paint the Soviets in the darkest terms: "barbarians," "outcasts of civilization," perpetrators of "one of the most infamous and reprehensible attacks in history," as the Congressional resolution, passed unanimously, stated. Truly not since Hitler's Germany had the world faced such a menace — this was the point, and one hard to ignore, since it was indeed spelled out in the blood of 269 dead innocents. It was an incredible opportunity for the U.S. to prepare public opinion for war — it was an opportunity created by the U.S. itself.

Let us review some of the more recent evidence of U.S. deceit and calculation which has seeped out since the *Revolutionary Worker's* initial coverage (particularly issues No. 220-222, September 2, 9, 16, 1983).

The original U.S. version of events was, in brief, that KAL 007 was a routine



civilian flight which veered off course over Soviet Kamchatka due to human error, equipment failure, or a combination of the two; that the Soviets assumed it was an RC-135 spy plane, though there was no such U.S. plane in the area (and that even when the Soviets learned it was a civilian airliner their own twisted "military mind-set" still led them to shoot it down in cold blood). Jeane Kirkpatrick played tapes of Soviet air defense communications before the UN, with a U.S. official transcript allegedly proving that the Soviets didn't even fire warning shots.

This version immediately began to come unraveled. Not only had the Soviet fighter actually fired a burst of warning shots, but further examination of the tapes and flight path of 007 revealed what could only be taken as a pattern of evasive maneuvers by the plane. And why would a straying civilian airliner, unaware of its predicament, do that?

There was also the problem of how the airliner got off course in the first place. The much-vaunted backup systems — a total of three — all would have had to malfunction, or else be ignored. Alaskan

radar routinely monitors the course of civilian airliners on this route — yet no warning of 007's deviation was given.

Spy Pilots Blab

Most damning of all was the revelation of the presence of a U.S. RC-135. Within a week of the incident Reagan was forced to announce that there had been a RC-135 in the area and that its flight path had intersected that of 007; Reagan then asserted that the RC-135 left off and returned to its Alaskan airbase where it had been on the ground for at least an hour prior to the downing of 007. This was, of course, fishy at the time. But now comes the following.

Two men who flew RC-135s out of Okinawa in the early 1970s wrote an article in the *Denver Post* responding to Reagan's story. Obviously grinding their own axe, they accuse the U.S. of "a major effort to bewilder the public concerning the capabilities of the RC-135 and, more importantly, of the National Security Agency." They wrote that the RC-135 is "so important to overall U.S. intelligence collection efforts and sensitive, high-priority target areas that it

always is relieved on its orbit by yet another RC-135 just prior to the conclusion of its mission." Given the men's testimony, and especially in view of the strategic importance of the area of the USSR that 007 overflew (more on which in a moment), the U.S. claim that there was no RC-135 in the vicinity of the downing is a not very convincing lie. But perhaps only a lie by omission — perhaps the RC-135 that Reagan referred to did in fact return to its Alaskan airbase when he said it did and Reagan simply chose to omit that it had been replaced by another spy fortress. And if in fact there was a RC-135 monitoring developments (as the wealth of U.S. data on Soviet communications would also indicate), then why didn't it warn 007 — why didn't it do what is surely part of its job? Perhaps it was in fact doing its job all along, perhaps everything went right according to plan. In which case the failure to recover the airliner's "black box" was not such a tragic loss after all.

The two former pilots added that in their experience the NSA adjusted RC-135 flights from time to time "so that they intentionally would penetrate the airspace of a target nation to bring its air defenses into full alert" so these could be examined for potential flaws and weaknesses. Soon after publication of the article, the two men were visited by FBI officials and warned that their statements constituted "a technical violation of espionage laws" and they could be prosecuted if the government wished. The men have not spoken on the subject since, confining themselves to the observation that if the FBI's purpose was to shut them up, it had succeeded.

Finally, in an influential electronics journal, *I.E.E.E. Spectrum*, U.S. intelligence officials recently admitted that Soviet ground radar was almost certainly incapable of distinguishing a 747 from a 707 (the frame of the RC-135), contrary to the original story in the press. Given later admissions that the Soviet fighter pilot who downed the plane fired his missile from well below and to the rear of 007, it now appears that the Soviets never had a chance to correctly identify the airplane. In that context, the failure of 007 to answer the Soviet fighter's interna-

tional emergency band query loomed all the more puzzling — at least in the U.S. version of events.

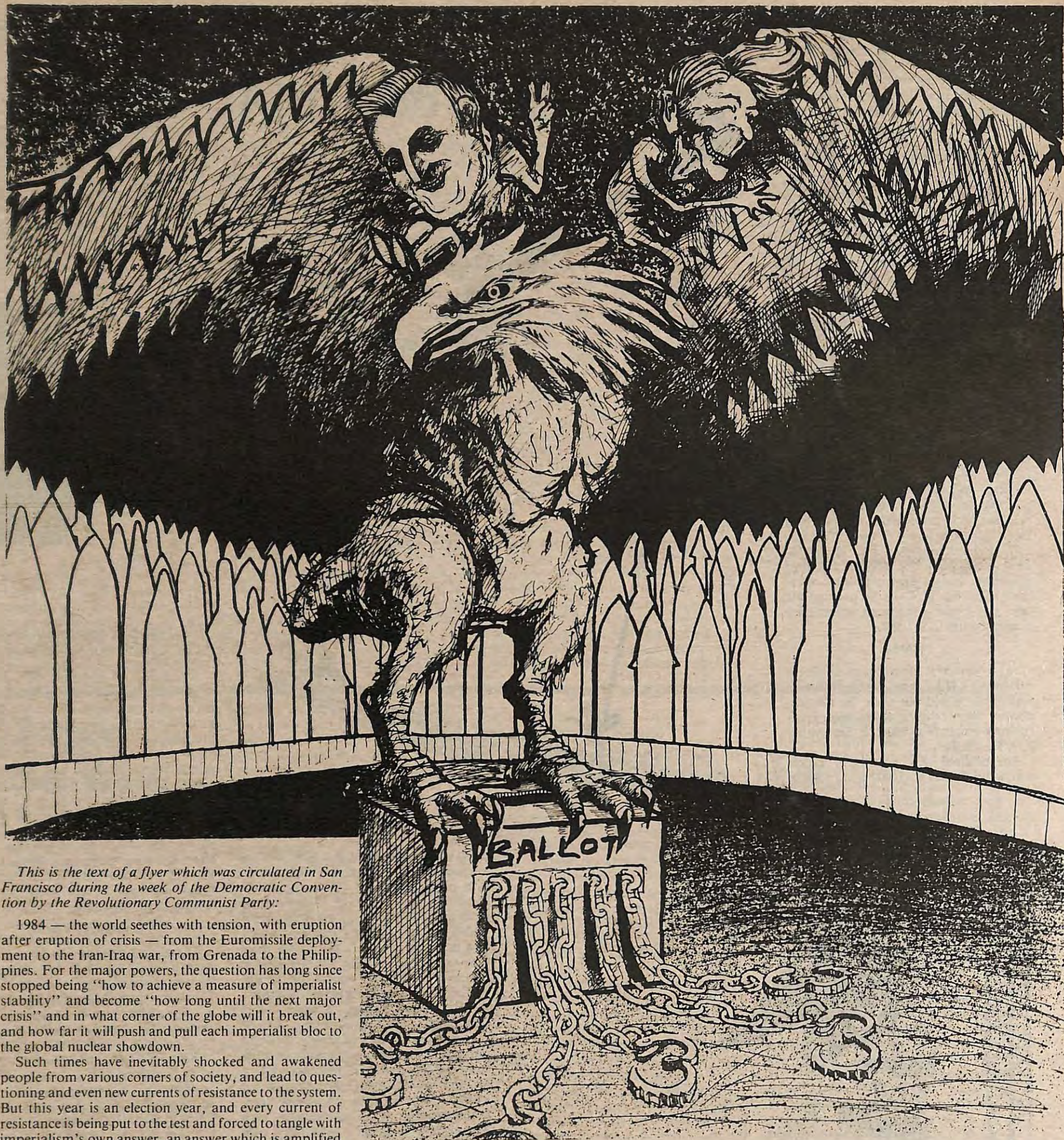
Where does all this leave the U.S. version? In shreds — not a single one of their major reconstructions of the events has survived intact. The explanation of why the plane went off course is scarcely credible — even among American commercial pilots, ex-military men and highly paid experts, the official account is hotly debated. There was in fact a RC-135 in the area, which issued not a word of warning. And there is no evidence whatsoever that the Soviets knew that they were shooting down anything but a RC-135 that had spent more than two hours over one of the most sensitive regions of all the USSR.

"A Conspiracy Theory"

The gaping holes in the U.S. version have been noted in a few prominent Western publications, including the *LA Times* and most thoroughly in an article in *The Manchester Guardian*. The author, R.W. Johnson, wrote his article, "A Conspiracy Theory for the Downing of KAL 007," for reasons which appear to be bound up with a "neutralist" opposition to U.S. emplacement of cruise and Pershing missiles in Europe and especially England. Johnson notes the profusion of U.S. lies and constructs another theory at length which does fit the known facts (though he considers this more consistent theory still not provable) — a theory of a U.S. conspiracy behind the downing of 007. The U.S. purpose was twofold, says Johnson — to gather intelligence, and essentially to grease the skids for the deployment of cruise and Pershing missiles in Europe by undercutting the opposition with a demonstration of Soviet criminal behavior.

Johnson highlights the potential intelligence significance of the region of the USSR which 007 overflew, and of the consequent Soviet determination to deal with any such overflight. As Johnson sees it, the deployment of the cruise and Pershing missiles in Western Europe gives the U.S. the ability to strike at Soviet turf with nuclear missiles in 6-8 minutes. While the Soviets are countering with the SS-20s in Eastern Europe, this is not enough — what the Soviets need to match the U.S. threat are missiles capable of reaching the U.S. mainland itself in a comparable time. For this the Soviets count on expanding their nuclear sub attack force, and the location from which that is most feasible is precisely the region 007 overflew: the northern Pacific coast of the USSR. The Soviets have recently begun a massive buildup in the area, and already the main Soviet nuclear strike force, of up to 30 subs, operates from Petropavlosk on the Kamchatka Peninsula. The U.S. has countered with inten-

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This is the text of a flyer which was circulated in San Francisco during the week of the Democratic Convention by the Revolutionary Communist Party:

1984 — the world seethes with tension, with eruption after eruption of crisis — from the Euromissile deployment to the Iran-Iraq war, from Grenada to the Philippines. For the major powers, the question has long since stopped being "how to achieve a measure of imperialist stability" and become "how long until the next major crisis" and in what corner of the globe will it break out, and how far it will push and pull each imperialist bloc to the global nuclear showdown.

Such times have inevitably shocked and awakened people from various corners of society, and lead to questioning and even new currents of resistance to the system. But this year is an election year, and every current of resistance is being put to the test and forced to tangle with imperialism's own answer, an answer which is amplified by the force of habit and hawked and promoted by every form of modern mass communications. We will put it in terms of a fable, "The Quintessential Expression of American Democracy": although there are rich and poor, industrialist and worker, mansion dwellers and ghetto residents, generals and foot soldiers, there exists a Great Happiness because Lo! the government is "by, for and of the people." Political leaders are chosen fairly and equally by all; in this way the future course of events is determined by sober and reasonable political debate and shaped by the "will of the majority".

Even if shabby and timeworn, the fable continues to prove itself extremely useful to those who actually rule society; elections have allowed society's rulers to drape their rule in the guise of the "people's consent" and at the same time have given them complete freedom of action. Elections have never stopped a single covert CIA action, a single Marine invasion of an oppressed country. Elections have never even pulled any imperialist country out of a world war, let alone ever stopped such wars from happening. Elections have never stopped the vicious round-up and expulsion of immigrant workers from the U.S., they have never stopped police murder in the ghetto, they have never even begun to affect the rape and degradation of women. Elections never stopped the cold-blooded police murder of revolutionaries in the '60s, including over 25 members of the Black Panther Party; elections have never stopped or even slowed down the use of police, troops, and even tanks to put down dangerous rebellions and threatening demonstrations at times of political turmoil and domestic crisis.

Elections have in fact always existed to mask real power in this society, to hide and cover the underlying dictatorship. The life of the oppressed, the political experience of all who have dared to challenge anything important about the system, screams out that society is

fractured into antagonistic classes, that there is systematic oppression of minorities and women, that real decisions are made in backrooms and always on the basis of strengthening and extending imperialist relations and oppression. Still, the illusions linger. "At least," the fable goes, "everyone has the chance, and duty, to voice their opinion equally with everyone else in the voting booth. At least those with power and influence are forced by democratic elections to listen to, and be swayed by, the voice of the people." They listen alright. They listen for signs that the illusions are weakening, that there is a need for fresh faces in high places, the need for new images to bolster old illusions. The fable's lingering vitality does not mainly come from an inherent charm of a stupid fairy tale. The fairy tale promises domestic political peace and relative prosperity — even if the peace grows tense and the prosperity grows thin. The hard truth is that these don't come from a fable, but from the spoils of a worldwide chain of investment and plunder. American democracy is the "crowning glory" of an international network of exploitation enforced by the guns of Salvadoran death squads, the instruments of torture in Brazilian prisons, the massacres in Palestinian refugee camps. Elections in the U.S. are the bloom of a hothouse flower, cultivated to delight and distract those shielded from the harsher realities of the world by Marine bases across the globe, border patrol murder of "illegals," the Tac squad in U.S. ghettos.

And today, when capitalist accumulation and plunder begin to strangle in their own excesses, when mortgages on whole nations come due, and the imperialist world squares off war blocs to redivide shares of plunder and purge their whole structure with rivers of blood, what banner is raised to rally the millions to fight and die for the empire? What else? The banner of American democ-

racy, with free elections its centerpiece.

Elections are always a vicious trap; the citizenry is hounded from all sides to accept the limits and boundaries of the elections as the very definition of "serious and real" politics and to see their actions as voters as the very highest form of participation in politics; the candidates through their differences and their agreements set the terms for what can be considered reasonable and official political debate in society generally: after the election, the ruling class does what it has to do anyway, under the leadership of a new (or old) President blessed by the election with the "people's mandate." It's an old game; there was Woodrow Wilson, who campaigned in 1916 under the slogan "He kept us out of war," then lead the U.S. into WWI. There was Lyndon Johnson, in 1964, who charged that Barry Goldwater would try to bomb Vietnam back into the Stone Age — and upon LBJ's election, he proceeded to try to do just that.

After four years of hysterical anti-Reagan tirades from various quarters, the system has finally coughed up the official alternative. Walter points with pride to his "vast experience" during the Carter administration — to make the point that his would be a steady hand on the nuclear button. He does not promise not to push it. He did indeed have a lot of experience during the Carter administration — as one of the officials charged with formulating and implementing U.S. strategic doctrine for the 1980's. His accomplishments? In a couple of years, the Carter-Mondale administration introduced the highest peace-time increase in the military budget to date, announced the development of the MX and the 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

Elections 1984: Road Forward Or Deadly Trap?

construction of new nuclear warheads, and mandated the achievement of extended nuclear war fighting capability through Presidential Directive 59. Secretly, work was started on the antisatellite weapons and antiballistic missile weapons like the x-ray laser. Since leaving office, Mondale has upheld as quite necessary this massive leap in the preparations for WW3 — with a few quibbles over the MX. Reagan the “arch-warmonger” has only extended and continued what was in the main begun under the Carter-Mondale administration.

There is in fact virtually no debate over the basic questions of defending and expanding the empire today between Reagan and Mondale. This election year, the viselike pressure of what the U.S. has to do in WW3 has so constricted the political stage in the U.S., and demanded such a degree of social discipline and national unity that the ruling class cannot set terms for even the sham debate of the election campaign that pose any alternative but war. This is what the people are to troop to the polls to give their “mandate” to. This is the limit and bounds of acceptable and reasonable deviation in official political life today.

Locked in this vise, the terms of the great presidential debate seem almost entirely focused on image. And Walter’s image? He’s the solid, calm, experienced, backroom imperialist politician; the very fact that he’s so boring stands as his sharpest contrast to Reagan. It is as if Walter Mondale is being offered as a kind of political tranquilizer for mainstream America. For those uneasy with Ronald Reagan, and unsettled by his openly reactionary image, the Democratic Party offers Walter “Valium” Mondale; the opportunity to stay numb to what time it really is, and numb to the fact that what the system is bringing to a head will shatter the foundation of people’s lives and destroy the small bits of comfort they may have been able to scrape together from the spoils of empire. And so in the vast mainstream of America, the ruling class has set the terms of debate, and given the voters the choice; to march off to WW3 with the upbeat, apocalyptic Ronald Reagan, to defend motherhood, baseball, and apple pie; or, to march off still half-numb, “protected” by the political tranquilizer, Walter Mondale. The system desperately needs the result: a genuine, truly American, democratic people’s mandate for WW3.

And this year, with the mountains of nukes on each side, with the U.S. leading its war bloc and sure to continue duking (or nuking) it out in Central America, the Middle East, or elsewhere, with the corrosion and rot of American society more obvious than ever, there have been special inducements and special efforts made to bring discordant and alienated groups and people into the electoral process and onto the electoral road. This “special promotion” has operated within and through the overall incredibly limited and strangled political terms set by the major candidates — it is as if the Democratic Party has suddenly opened up a bargain basement annex to sell what are essentially the same old shoddy goods.

Suddenly the political air is full of wild claims of the marvelous things that can be done for the oppressed people of the U.S. and the world inside the old Democratic Party — and only within the Democratic Party. The fact that the Democratic Party is (and will continue to be) the same old imperialist Democratic Party offering another warmonger for president makes the promises and enticements offered harmless enough to the system. But the promise of “someday” utilizing the Democratic Party as a vehicle for progress has become a keystone for a variety of political miracle workers — from Jesse Jackson to the revisionists and social democrats of the left. When in fact

the “miracles” they work inside the suffocating bourgeois political process all serve imperialist agendas, whether U.S. or Soviet. And these “miraculous” agendas demand that anything that stands outside of and in opposition to the electoral arena, even something like a commitment to civil disobedience, must be suppressed. That’s 1984 political “realism.”

The political agenda offered by Jesse Jackson and company would be harmless enough anyway, to imperialism. “Oppose the Arms Race” — but always stay firmly within the need for U.S. national “defense,” and within U.S. national interests. “Oppose U.S. Intervention in Central America and other parts of the World” — but never challenge the basic economic and political relation of imperialism. Jesse himself carried this out in a truly exemplary way in El Salvador. He embraced Duarte, U.S. puppet and butcher of the Salvadoran people, and proclaimed him the “legitimate representative” of the masses. “Justice and Equality Inside the U.S.” — exemplified well enough by the massive promotion of crude and cruel illusions that a few Black faces in high places would change the systematic national oppression rooted in this system, or that the possibility of a woman vice president would end the oppression of women.

Such “opposition” is hardly a threat to the system. It is instead a necessity, considering how many have already been driven down and driven out of the electoral system, and how many more will be driven into opposition by what is going on in the world right now. The ruling class needs a program to catch and ensnare society’s outcasts and rebels; it wants to bring a measure of electoral discipline to these “outsiders,” and it needs to extract a promise of loyalty to the basic political framework of imperialism in explosive days to come.

And of course, this year all the proponents of the “loyal opposition” program call on people to campaign and vote for Walter Mondale. Whatever intricacies of phrasing are offered, whatever promises of future Rainbows, this year “more than ever,” 1984 political “realism” finds a real choice and a real difference in the general election. And thus greases the skids for the “people’s mandate” for WW3 that the ruling class has so carefully set up with the Reagan duet.

For those who refuse the role of 1984 “realists,” there remains the question of dealing with U.S. imperialism. The one that, as a casual part of daily business, has made life an endless horror for the majority of people of the world — to the point of 40 million people a year dying of starvation. The same U.S. imperialism that, in order to maintain and extend those very conditions of operation, is methodically calculating how to fight and win WW3. And is willing to take the risk of “Nuclear Winter” in order to do it.

Extreme times require and make possible extreme solutions. Preventing world war and taking strides toward liberating the people of the world demands the historic revolutionary initiative of hundreds of millions of people on this planet, acting to tear the fabric of world imperialist relations enough to alter the whole dynamic of the convulsions gripping the world. The “realists” say such things are impossible — and in fact highly undesirable — but the intensity of the collision of the basic forces in the world is already forcing tremendous conflict, and in its wake opening cracks and fissures in the grip of imperialism over the world — fissures through which the mass revolutionary initiatives of the oppressed and exploited people of the earth can assert themselves. Such extraordinary times are bound to throw over every political convention and standard of “normal” times inside imperialist monstrosities like the

U.S., to force open tremendous possibilities and pose historic challenges to the people who live in such places. Contrary to the dreary “realism” that clings to imperialist exploitation, the fact remains that seizing such times for revolutionary offensives holds the only possibility of actually preventing world war and all the horrors that entails.

Such possibilities of revolutionary times in major imperialist citadels have been rare in history so far. Making the most of such times requires the kind of realism that takes advantage of every ruling class blunder and every opening up of the system’s basic weaknesses; the kind of realism that seizes on every opportunity to intervene in the imperialists’ preparations for war, to mobilize people to oppose them and to prepare people to launch and win a revolutionary civil war, to be in a position to smash and destroy the U.S. government as one part of the worldwide process of revolution. Such a road of course demands risk and sacrifice — but even more it demands the kind of global historic vision that is content only with accelerating the liberation of the people of the world, the kind of vision that frees people up to take the only course that will ultimately eliminate the underlying causes of war, by eliminating the oppressive class relations that spawn it.

The imperialist system itself, driven by its own mad, anarchistic compulsions, is bound to unleash forces that throw whole regions and continents “up for grabs.” Time is pressing, and the words of Mao ring out, more relevant and timely than ever: “Cast away illusions, prepare for struggle.”

In order to achieve their strategic goals, and advance their overall program, the ruling class has seized on this election to awaken certain sections of the people into political life — only it is political life in an arena and on terms favorable to their agenda. In the face of this, should those who see further and understand something of the nature of the system prostrate themselves under the banner of “realism,” and cheer the electoral motion of the “masses” — who are being pulled into a politics that are profoundly against their real and fundamental interests? Or should we take advantage of the fact that the system is shaking people awake for its own ends, and enter into the arena to expose and oppose the agenda and the road that imperialism is trying to ram through?

The ruling class is making a serious attempt to shape the whole political stage in the U.S. in a way that conforms to its interests. They are fighting for a very deadly future — and fighting to surround and outlaw even the possibility of any other roads. To all who can see beyond the limits they set and the terms they mandate, they are hurling a challenge and a crossroads: to “buy in” to the seduction of electoral progress and the spoils of imperialism, and to pave the way for WW3 — or to take up the challenge, to enter the political battle the elections pose, and to do all possible to expose and shatter the terms the ruling class has set, and through this, to open wider the road of mass independent historical action.

This is no time for deadly dreams of condescending saviors, of “miracles” pulled from the citadels of power. The world already shakes with the tremors of the nuclear “miracles” they have to offer. The elections are a fine time for us to begin to do some shaking of our own.

**THROW DOWN IN THE STREETS
NOT AT THE BALLOT BOX!**

Bourgeois Democrats And The Truly Weird

Militant posturing and sardonic sniping have always been the life impulses of the trot-clot known as the Spartacist League. So it is not surprising that they carefully refrained from the general opportunist rush to fawn before *specific* Democratic candidates. This enabled them to mock the most unseemly spinelessness in the pages of their *Workers Vanguard*: "Under pressure of the anti-Soviet war drive, the U.S. left has shifted rapidly to the right in the past period. Now support for the Jackson campaign is the reformists' back door into the Democratic Party." And who can deny that at least this single observation is true enough.

But also, not surprisingly, the Sparts have been hunting for their own "back door" into good graces.

The first hint came when, last April, the Sparts were listed as one of the several potentially violent and disruptive groups posing a danger to the Democratic Convention. Their response was to use their own supposed indifference toward bourgeois politics as an assurance that they would not politically challenge or threaten the electoral circus. They wrote: "For our part, we think the Democratic Party Convention will be a monumental bore. We have no interest in seeking to lobby or pressure this party of racism and imperialist war. To do so would only serve and strengthen the unfortunate illu-

sion that this party has something to offer working people." "Speaking for ourselves, the Spartacist League has no intention of demonstrating at the Convention or even selling our newspaper there."

Ah, but that position was laid down a few months ago, and since then the attraction toward more open fraternizing has proven too great.

The *Workers Vanguard* reports:

"On 26 April 1984, the SL general counsel sent a letter to the Democratic National Committee protesting the false characterizations in the bourgeois press labeling the Spartacist League as violent and as intending to disrupt the Democratic Convention. The letter described these lying accusations as 'a renewed governmental COINTELPRO-type effort.' And the question was posed: 'one wonders if an object of this provocative and false reportage is the Democratic National Convention itself?'"

In this upside-down world, the target of the bourgeois press campaign is not revolutionary politics or any politics which is seriously raising opposition to their electoral circus and their war plans, but rather the procedures of bourgeois democracy itself — the American system is in danger, and the trots rise to its defense!

The July 6 *Workers Vanguard* contains

a remarkable article under the kicker, "Spartacists Offer to Defend Democrats' Rights":

"Under the cover of this scare-mongering campaign the cops propose to themselves disrupt the Convention, turning it into a militarized zone and unleashing their own real violence against the tame liberals and reformists who are expected to demonstrate in SF in conjunction with the Democrats' gathering. In response the Spartacist League, a Marxist political organization, is today announcing our offer of a security team contribution of a dozen trade unionists and SL supporters to defend the democratic rights of the Democratic Convention. The SL also calls on the AFL-CIO, the Teamsters, ILWU and other labor organizations to organize an additional labor defense guard for the Convention. The profound political and class difference between the Spartacist League and the Democratic Party in no way belies our position that the Democratic Party has the right to assemble and nominate its candidate."

Chinese revolutionaries used to call such self-exposure "confession without torture." We "Stalinists" have always known that if you scratch a trot you will quickly reveal a rabid bourgeois democrat right below those arcane formulas. Look at the world through their eyes and you get the bizarre scenario

where the bourgeoisie's own democratic charade (complete with guaranteed "rights" and election) is such a danger to their own "anti-labor" and war needs that a Reagan-police plot is afoot to sink the Democratic National Convention. Talk about "missing the point"!

Imagine the scene of the Sparts "intervening" in the raging political struggle around this whole election hullabaloo... with an offer to add a dozen of their wimps to the police forces, the armies (and the nukes!) defending the Democratic Party and its whole system.

Like all Spart "activity," this offer takes place in the realm of absurdist symbolism. But it capsulizes the not-so "profound political and class differences" between much of the left and the Democratic Party: meet one more petty-bourgeois grouping that truly believes that the Soviet Union is the only hope for opposing U.S. imperialism, and simultaneously that the Mondale campaign poses an objective threat to "Reaganism."

Leave it to the trots to combine an extreme case of negative example with the truly weird. □

007 and Those Who Set It Up

Continued from page 7

sified surveillance of the region, including a rehearsal involving three entire aircraft carrier groups in April 1983 for a conventional attack and invasion of both Sakhalin Island and Kamchatka. The U.S. commander-in-chief, Admiral Robert Long, described this as "the largest fleet exercise conducted by the Pacific fleet since World War 2." The invasion rehearsal was accompanied by a number of surveillance aircraft — RC-135s, U2s, SR71s, EP-3As (AWACs) and EP-3Es — which were met by a fleet of the Soviet's own surveillance aircraft. As Johnson notes, "After the KAL 007 was shot down it was widely maintained... that the satellite age had rendered air surveillance obsolete. As can be seen, neither the U.S. nor the USSR believed this in practice."

007 thus overflew one of the most sensitive areas on earth in terms of immediate intelligence contention between the U.S. and USSR (a fact which the U.S. could count on the public not knowing).

Given this, the inconsistencies of the U.S. version give rise to the idea that 007 was equipped for intelligence gathering. This not only comprehends the facts — including the incredible deviation from the normal flight path, the presence of the RC-135 and its silence over events, the evasive flight pattern of 007, its own radio silence, etc. — but also U.S. objectives in the area.

The U.S. did reap what the London *Sunday Observer* deemed "the biggest coup for many years for Western intelligence from the event." A hint of what was obtained is contained in a recent column by Jack Anderson, known for his ties to U.S. intelligence. Anderson sums up the Soviet's difficulties in stopping 007 — that they failed to pick the plane up over Kamchatka, never correctly identified it, scrambled eight fighters while only one even got close, then shot two missiles, of which one missed entirely — and then concludes: "The voyage of Korean Airlines Flight 007 showed that an unarmed civilian airliner... was able to penetrate Soviet airspace for more than two hours before it was finally tracked down and destroyed.... The Soviet's inept performance against a civilian airliner was dramatic evidence that they would do even worse against the U.S. B-52 bombers.... It now seems certain in light of the September incident that our B-52s are capable of penetrating Soviet airspace. And it is the U.S. which accuses the Soviets of operating from

"the military mind-set"!

The Real Mission

But while 007's pilot may have thought he was just on a spy mission, the U.S. clearly had bigger plans. For 007 was not simply an intelligence-gathering mission which went awry when the Soviets shot the plane down. Instead, the U.S. counted on the Soviets shooting down the plane — and on the U.S. reaping a political bonanza off the downing (though the U.S. would also gather even more intelligence through monitoring an actual pursuit and downing then simply through electronic surveillance conducted by 007 itself, as Anderson's column revealed).

The U.S. knew beforehand the unparalleled sensitivity of the region; they knew the Soviets had downed a KAL airliner in 1978 for over flying less sensitive territory; they knew the weaknesses of the Soviet command structure, which they constantly harp on, and how in a tight time-frame this would put pressure on for a downing; they knew the limitations of the Soviet radar system in identifying planes beforehand, and counted on it. All this explains not only the presence of the U.S. RC-135 but its veil of silence.

Johnson points to some of the political benefits to the U.S. in the wake of such an event. "In Europe the peace movement is dealt a crushing blow. At every stage in the debate over cruise and Pershing, the KAL tragedy is endlessly cited by the right-wing politicians, and the left has no answer. In a new mood of public shock and resolution, the emplacement of the new missiles goes ahead." 007 was, and was calculated to be, integral to this "stampeding" of the "U.S. allies into a new escalation of the arms race." Also of importance here was Japan. As the *New York Times* put it, "007 incident will help Nakasone's defense plans."

All of this was part of the larger purpose of consciously preparing public opinion for war with the Soviets. As the *Washington Post* put it, "Yes it is the evil empire"; another paper editorialized: "007 proves Reagan was right." Such was the conclusion to be drawn throughout the West. This was the heart of operation 007: the preparation of an unprecedented opportunity for galvanizing opinion against the Soviets as an essential complement of the military buildup which is already preparing the West for war. If the Soviets wouldn't themselves provide such an opportunity, then the U.S. would — relying on their rival simply to pull the trigger at the right moment.

Master Butchers

In the context of this U.S.-master-minded butchery, the liberal Democrats' actions stand out in particular as an example of their own true nature. The votes for denunciation of the Soviets' "barbaric act" were unanimous in both Houses: 95-0 in the Senate, 451-0 in the House of Representatives. Kennedy, Hart, Cranston, Dodd, Barnes, Tsongas, Ferraro, O'Neill were among the dignitaries joining the war cry. Ted Weiss, a liberal congressman from Manhattan who speaks frequently at antinuke rallies and Central America solidarity events, proclaimed that the Soviet action "warrants the outrage and condemnation of all of those in Congress and all who work consistently for peace." Alan Cranston, who of the major Democratic contenders in the primary had donned the "peace candidate" label like no other, stated that "I and others in the freeze movement... have repeatedly stated we cannot trust the Russians. We do not trust the Russians... (the 007 incident) demonstrates once again the deep, deep differences between our system and theirs." The Congressional resolutions condemning the Soviets were, according to Democratic Senator Moynihan, the first time in history the Senate has formally charged another nation with having committed "a crime under international law." Moynihan went on to explain that the declarations were worded so as to give Reagan "a mandate to act with force and range" in pursuing sanctions beyond those already in place (the suspension of Aeroflot flights). Reagan declined to add anymore.

So, what kind of people are we dealing with? In particular, we are dealing with Walter Mondale, who criticized Reagan after the incident. "We should have been somewhat stronger in what we did."

Any suggestions, Walter? □

**The right to vote
has been won...**

**Now we need the
political awareness
and sophistication**

**NOT TO USE
IT.**

Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

CORRECTION

In RW No. 264 (July 13, 1984), in the article on page 7 entitled "The More Recent Legacy of the Democrats in Central America..." there is an error. In column 1, last paragraph, the sentence that begins: Instead, large numbers of Democrats, etc., etc. — this should read: Instead, large numbers of Democrats have supported every major appropriation bill, as aid escalated from \$25 million in 1982 to over \$60 million in 1983, and even higher this year.

Fog

Continued from page 1

Mondale gave his acceptance speech, that things really broke loose in the San Francisco streets. After the War Chest Tour was subjected to a second mass arrest, well over a thousand youths marched on the San Francisco Hall of Justice, the police attacked, and turmoil swirled over an area of several blocks. Hundreds more were arrested.

In the weeks leading up to all this, as the Convention shaped up as an important political event, youth and others from different parts of the country began to gather in the San Francisco area. On the other side, preparation had been underway for an even longer time, backed by all the resources that come from holding political power; the Democratic Convention, after all, was going to be the imperialists' show. In order to try to ensure that events even outside the convention hall proceeded in their proper channels, massive forces of police had been mobilized, the networks of the FBI, CIA, and Secret Service, and other forces of the political police had been drawn together. A heavy schedule of deadly, and deadly dull, "outside" events was organized, designed to sweeten the bait of the electoral trap and to drag everyone possible into loyalty to the political framework of this system, and away from real opposition to imperialism.

Four days before the Convention itself, a confrontation broke out, at what all sides agreed was the real beginning of the period of Convention protest: the counterdemonstration to the Moral Majority on Thursday, July 12. Falwell & Co. had attracted various groups of protestors; when one of the groups openly attacked the oppression of women and preparations for war, the government made its move.

The clash came following a militant and rowdy picketline against the Moral Majority; when protestors from that line moved down the street to enter a larger and more respectable group headed by the All-Peoples Congress, and some youth even dared to step into the streets with spirits high, police attacked with horses and clubs. The police did not want the more rowdy crew to join forces with the larger more respectable rally; and they were also seeking to make their own mark on Convention protests at that point; the beatings were quick and vicious, and women were especially singled out — some, including a medic trying to assist someone already beaten, were sent to the hospital.

The police beatings were shown repeatedly on TV, and noted with approval by newscasters. The state violence was attributed to the so-called provocative, illegal actions of a small core of spoilers, while the police were only "intervening" to keep the peace, so it was said. In a broadcast later that week, one local TV newscaster was so overcome with ruling-class emotion at the police work that he offered the SFPD to Dallas for use at the Republican Convention as well.

Typically, media reports also went on to name those responsible for the breach of loyal peace; a horrid trio that in one combination or another would be targeted by the press over and over again for the next four or five days: "Eighty RCP members and punk rockers affiliated with the Livermore Action Group," as Deputy Chief Eimil put it in press interviews. Clearly, the message was that anyone acting in concert with any or all of the above-mentioned "horrid trio" would be subject to police repression — unless they cooperated with police and fingered and turned over the disrupters.

An indication of just how far all of this would be carried was played out the day after the Falwell demonstrations. Fifteen groups and individuals united to hold a press conference outside the hotel where the Moral Majority was meeting, to denounce the police attacks and the media distortions and to set the record straight. These included women from the San Francisco Women's Building, women from the Alameda Peace Camp, representatives of the Abalone Alliance, War Chest Tours, Peoples Medics, and the RCP; alongside were about 30 other people, including some of those beaten the day before. After the press conference

Statement by Proletarians at LAG Rally

This statement was signed by four proletarians from Silicon Valley and was accompanied by a banner which was signed by 40 proletarians.

We immigrant workers support this demonstration against the convention going on. We could not be there today because, for all the so-called "democracy" here in this country, there is open terror being unleashed on us by the U.S. government. Now they are trying to cover up this terror by talking about amnesty for a few with the Simpson-Mazzoli Bill.

We reject the government's attempt to get over on us with all their talk about giving the immigrants who have proven to be loyal and upstanding people — a break. There is nothing good or progressive about the Simpson-Mazzoli Bill. It is nothing but a way to clamp down on us all. We can see in the way they are already using this bill, even before it's passed, to carry out their raids. They have set up this new process "Operation Cooperation" where they have the companies working with the Migra to turn over the workers to them. They want to have us up against the wall — in that way they feel they can have more control of us, especially with their talk about a new ID system — a way of keeping track of us, of entering us into their computers.

Just like in Mexico we see the politicians at election time trying to cover over the worst part of what their system does to people. Here we see the Democrats who say they are the party of the people,

playing both sides, saying they don't like the bill but "they have to make concessions." But if you look at them we see Mondale who, while he was vice-president on the Immigration and Refugee Policy Commission, helped develop and make recommendations which were used as a basis for this bill. Or Jesse Jackson who, through Operation PUSH in Chicago, quickly posted notices of "jobs available" after Migra raids there during one of the government "Operation Jobs." This shows us more the truth of what they are for.

The government wants us to feel isolated and vulnerable — think about trying to work to support your family with a dog biting at your heels. Why should we crawl before them just to let them continue to exploit us here?

The U.S. government doesn't respect borders. Any time it feels the need they invade or take over other parts of the world. They change the borders through their wars — like Israel in Lebanon.

Our answer has to be — Down with Imperialist Borders! We are one class worldwide. We should fight for a world without borders.

DOWN WITH THE SIMPSON-MAZZOLI BILL AND ALL THEIR OTHER TRAPS!

DOWN WITH THE U.S.'S MASK OF DEMOCRACY — THE ELECTIONS!

Portions of this were read at a Livermore Action Group rally outside the convention.

had started, and with large numbers of reporters gathered, the TAC Squad showed up in force, demanding that the press conference vacate the sidewalk, driving away much of the press, and forcing the conference to reconvene on the opposite side of the street — and even this intimidation of their own reporters went unreported in the bourgeois press!

The back and forth continued to escalate, with the media's service to the political police quickly reaching absurd proportion. One incident was described in a RCP leaflet: "When women protestors stood up in the middle of the Moral Majority conference and began to embrace and kiss each other, newspaper reports said they were from the 'Radical Communist Party.' (No, we haven't changed our position on this question, but we are more than happy to be associated with the worst nightmares of the Moral Majority!)...the papers quoted one Moral Majority-ite as saying, 'They ought to be shot.'"

The bourgeois terms for protest became even clearer with the remarks of Falwell himself. Even as his flock was calling for the shooting of lesbians, Falwell on TV had the nerve to state that gay rights demonstrators were fine with him (give us a break!) but that the RCP should not be allowed on the political stage. This was really the epitome of San Francisco's highly praised democratic pluralism — everyone from Falwell to the most liberal bourgeoisie agreeing on what political point of view is unforgivably outside the pale.

For several days following the Moral Majority actions, the political stage was grabbed by a series of long-planned and solidly "loyal opposition" events — the Peoples Convention; a labor march that according to the press attracted 150,000 people; a "national march for lesbian and gay rights" that attracted 50,000, also by press accounts, and which was led by dozens of homosexual Convention delegates; the "Vote Peace in '84" rally, which was estimated at 15,000.

The rationale offered by not a few of these loyal oppositionists, is that the Democrats are a lesser evil whose election will "buy time" for the left. But as time went on this week, the argument about "buying time" looked more like "Playing for Time" — a movie about an or-

chestra of prisoners in a Nazi concentration camp. Our loyal oppositionists showed just how long they were willing to bow and beg for the good graces of the bourgeoisie, in the person of the Democrats.

The "Vote Peace in '84" rally was highlighted by speeches by Jesse Jackson, George McGovern, and Ron Dellums. This event lived up to its own advance billing as an attempt to mobilize the peace movement for the elections in November. But it also seems that there was a significant section of people who went expecting a rally that opposed war, and were surprised and disappointed at its patriotic and pro-U.S. character, overall little more than a promotion of the Democratic Party. One man altered a "Vote Peace in '84" button to read "War is Peace in '84."

The AFL-CIO rally had openly boast-

We don't want our fair share...

We want to tear the whole system down!

Elections are the wrong arena...

It's going to come down to REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

ed of that kind of character in advance, so there was little surprise — the free hot dogs offered as bait to members of the poorer unions and the free jackets offered by the richer unions seemed enough to keep those rank-and-file trade unionists who showed up content to march in line behind Mondale, at least for now. Those not content could be simply thrown out — as happened to one member of the ILWU Local 6, who showed up in a donkey mask and wearing a hat with slogans that criticized the Democrats.

After the authorities' moves in the wake of the Moral Majority demonstration, and following days of the loyal opposition on parade, the ruling class was no doubt hoping that the rebels in the field were largely isolated and on the defensive, and the police made a move to strike a sort of knockout blow at the Democratic War Chest Tour, scheduled by some of the rebel youth for Monday, July 16, the opening day of the Convention. The youth gathered for a tour of the financial district, first making a stop at the international headquarters of the Bank of America, then moving across the street to the Diamond Shamrock Corporation, a major manufacturer of Agent Orange and a contributor of \$100,000 to the Democrats for the expenses of the Convention. While the tour was sitting on the steps of the Diamond Shamrock building (legally, and not as part of any civil disobedience), the TAC Squad encircled the entire group, without warning or dispersal order, and arrested nearly 80 people, many on felony conspiracy charges.

The *San Francisco Examiner*, parroting the police, called the whole thing a "civil disobedience" action, and quoted Deputy Chief Eimil, "(who) said police intelligence had information — culled from informants among the protestors and from notes a protestor dropped before being arrested — that the demonstrators planned to roam the city to obstruct traffic and other democratic processes." In short, while the youth were accused of *thinking* about stepping off the sidewalk — the real "crime" was obviously exposing the Democrats — and the purpose of the bust was to send a sharp message to anyone else thinking of doing the same.

But the reaction to the bust was not what the authorities had hoped. Broad numbers set out to expose the bust as publicly and as noisily as possible, and at the same time work to accelerate preparations for the LAG action. The "Vote Peace in '84" rally was held in the evening a few hours after the bust, and the leading forces in that rally were bombarded with demands to announce and denounce what had happened to the Tour, to the crowd of 15,000 who would surely have been outraged. Somehow, the announcement was never made.

Now there was even more at stake in the outcome of the LAG rally, scheduled for Tuesday; it was seen by many as a prime opportunity to expose the Democratic Party for its support for war. For just that reason, it had been the focus of struggle and controversy; the possibility of attack by police was real — and kept some people away. But the ferocity of the system's attack on any real opposition during the Convention had taught some people that all this talk of "avoid violence" on the part of the authorities was not only vicious hypocrisy, but more importantly, a cover for an attack on any political view that opposes imperialist politics and the electoral trap. There was a growing understanding, at least in some quarters, that what was involved had a lot to do with capitulating to or fighting against World War 3. The RCP leaflet cited above hit at this point: "it turns out that San Francisco's much vaunted 'freedom to demonstrate' is much like Warsaw's. If you want to demonstrate in a government-sponsored peace parade, fine. But if you want to march in an *anti-government* demonstration, no matter how peaceful you are, out come the cops and clubs." As one demonstrator put it, "You could call us thought criminals."

The LAG rally, as noted, was a success; the mere fact that it drew around 2,000 people to such politics had to give the authorities fits. The vicious arrest of the War Chest Tour was denounced and exposed at the LAG rally, and another go for the Tour in the financial district announced for the following day, with wide

Continued on page 13

Nightmares in the "Year of the Woman"

The year 1984 will be lauded by some as a great year for women. After all — a historic step has been taken with the first woman vice-presidential candidate.

But Ruth Christenson knows the reality of growing up as a woman in the United States of America and she hates the nightmare. At 23 years old, Ruth has marched in antipornography demonstrations and done volunteer work at shelters for battered women. She's been arrested at peace demonstrations and she's experienced the degradation of being raped.

On June 11, Ruth walked into a local downtown pornography shop in Minneapolis, Minnesota. She had doused herself with gasoline and in protest she set herself on fire. She is now in critical condition with burns over 65% of her body, but doctors are hopeful that she will live.

Ruth had mailed a statement to the Mayor and a city councilman that afternoon. This statement read:

"...I have often been shocked and angered by the degradation and relegation of women to second-class citizenship in our society. There was a feeling of — what has all my life struggle as a feminist been for? I feel that the pornographers and the values they represent have ruined my life.

"Sexism has affected my life in a myriad of negative ways. The misery it has brought into my life is difficult for me to articulate because it has been so extreme and because I have lived my life in a culture which consistently views that misery as entertainment or pleasure, particularly in men. I feel it has been an absolutely shattering experience; psychologically and spiritually.

"To me, pornography represents not only the economic exploitation and advantage gained through the degradation of women, but absolute spiritual and moral bankruptcy in our society.

"It's crushing for me to have spent years in my life struggling very hard to be respected for who I really am and not as the cultural stereotype of a woman, struggling to enter a trade — only to realize that our society has never and will never recognize me but as a piece of meat.

"Pornography is an ideology of hopelessness. It's an ideology that says men can feel good by degrading women, and by doing this on the deepest personal level. And it says they can't stop. It says they have to do it because they need the \$ they make from it. They pretend they can't stop it. They want us as women to believe that this is a natural or inevitable phenomenon when in fact they have chosen it. They have chosen to believe and live out this sexism towards women and to not take any responsibility for it or to even pretend it doesn't exist....

"I realize that most men do not want to end the degradation and exploitation of

women which they are involved in. However, I can no longer accept living in this type of society. As I said before, sexism has shattered my life — psychologically, economically and spiritually. Because of this, I have chosen to take my life and to destroy the persons who have destroyed me.

"I do not know if any of this will have any impact on your civil rights legislation, but at least someone will have done something about this nightmare of racism and sexism that most pornography involves.

Sincerely,
Ruth L. Christenson"

The nightmare continues and America is indeed a woman-killer. □

World To Win!

Continued from page 5

Some give money."

I am a professional in a U.S. technical establishment. If I work directly for revolution, the capitalist beast will destroy my career and remove me from the kind of work I love, so I and others in my situation are limited in the personal energy we can give. But we get more than just the trickle of loot that the average U.S. proletariat gets from imperialist rape of the Third World: we get a full dribble. So we can and should give money and give it generously.

Of course there are many international organizations that are worthy of support, but the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement seems to me to have the best approach to the betterment of the situation of Third World Peoples. Mao Tsetung liberated a quarter of the earth's people with these principles, and many other nations of people have followed.... Above and beyond the effectiveness of the principles of the movement in attaining state power and holding on to it, the principles of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution point to a permanent revolution of unending betterment, and point away from the stagnation that set in after many successful revolutions.

So technical professionals can and should give money. But there is something equally valuable and equally safe that we can give. As the average American proletariat can be said to be in the belly of the beast and give it a tummy ache, technical professionals are in the brain of the beast and can give the fucker a headache.... Edward Teller — loving daddy of the H-bomb — seems very aware of the disastrous effect of the exit of competent scientists and engineers. In his debates with disarmament advocates, he dwells ad nauseam on the patriotic duty of the most technical people to apply their genius to developing space battle stations and other super technology weapons....

We can support Third World revolutionary movements indirectly, but they are desperate for money. Rich liberals and philanthropists don't send them money. People who would send them money are the most revolutionary, but the most revolutionary tend to be the most oppressed and have the least money to give.

The parties in the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement are the most likely to do the most good but ironically have the least access to funds. If you agree with the movement and have the monies, a very large donation seems called for. If you agree in part, a proportional part of a very large donation seems called for.

An aerospace scientist,
Southern California

Dear RW:

I'm writing these lines to share with RW readers some of the experiences I've had with the *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement* and how this *Declaration* is becoming a material force for all internationalist revolutionaries.

It was the morning of the First of May — there were still many things to do before the demonstration that was to be held in Damián García Park, Los Angeles. I went with an American friend to a park where some "greens," or pacifists, were having a picnic — we were going to invite them to the May Day celebration and take them copies of the *Declaration* and leaflets.

The park was beautiful and it was sunny and springlike. Most of the people there were American youth, apparently a lot of petty bourgeois forces. They treated us with polite indifference. When my friend stopped to talk with some people who were sitting in a circle on the grass, I went over to a table where people were talking. I was really at a disadvantage since I don't speak much English and because my extremely thin appearance bothers lots of people, but it was necessary to break the ice with these people. I put several copies and literature on one end of the table and started to hand out leaflets to everybody who was at the table and to people nearby. After a short while I realized that they were discussing the leaflet, the part about the formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, so I immediately gave them several copies of the *Declaration*. Several people were very openly against it, and said that the *Declaration* went against the nonviolent character of the group, but others upheld it as something new and important that had to be considered, so I intervened and asked them if they were all pacifists or were some of them maybe antiwar. My question took them by surprise and they asked what difference did it make. I told them that there was a difference, that it was different to be against an inter-imperialist war for the redivision of the world so that you can exploit peoples, like what's happening now where the rival blocs of imperialist powers led by the U.S. and the USSR are driven toward war as the contradictions of the imperialist system sharpen, the contradiction between the different imperialist powers, the contradiction between imperialism and oppressed peoples and nations, and the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in the imperialist countries. All these contradictions have a common origin in the capitalist mode of production and its fundamental contradiction. The inter-imperialist rivalry between the U.S. and the USSR — what drives them to war, or as declared Mao Tsetung: "Either revolution will prevent war or war will give rise to revolution" — and this is the analysis that is made by the *Declaration* and it is our stand toward war and we don't believe that there is any other way to oppose war, much less

in a pacifist way.

I was able to talk to them at length because one of the youth who had upheld the *Declaration* spoke some Spanish and he volunteered to translate what I was saying.

As our discussion went on, one guy said that their (the pacifists') response to a war would be civil disobedience and pacifist resistance in opposition to the war, and nonviolent confrontation, and that enough people inspired by Gandhi setting the example would force the U.S. to not enter into a war and to elect leaders imbued with a democratic spirit, which implies being pacifist.

Then our discussion centered around democracy and the true character of bourgeois democracy and what class interests it serves, in order for this youth to think that is worthwhile to preserve or defend it, be it peacefully or whatever. The system behind the democratic facade trains, arms and spends millions of dollars to keep the military and their hangmen in power so that they can keep their claws and their transnationals and monopolies in the poor and oppressed countries — they steal the sweat and raw goods from the peoples and it is from some of that sweat and blood that bourgeois democracy feeds — it's not necessary to wait for World War Three to be outraged by the crimes that the imperialist democrats commit, since this very minute thousands are being killed by the arms and military equipment of the democratic system. There, in El Salvador and in Nicaragua; it was this very same democratic system that destabilized the democratically elected government of Salvador Allende in my country and it was the military, trained and led by this imperialist democratic system, who have massacred and tortured my people. On the other hand, the stuff about a peaceful road to socialism, as was tried in Chile — disarming the masses and leaving intact the state apparatus — is a tactic of Soviet social-imperialism. Yes, it is not only the imperialist democrats of the U.S., but also the Soviet social-imperialists who are stung by talk of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and for them, depending on what will better work as a tactic to manipulate the desire for liberation of a people, they too will resort to calling for democracy, if that will better fool the masses.

We talked some more about many things of global interest, but more than anything there was a lot of discussion when several of them admitted that in fact they were not pacifists but were against the war. One woman said she would go to the May Day celebration that day in Damián García Park, and the man who had translated for me said that he would propose to people sitting on the grass that they go celebrate May Day and be present when the document with the *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement* was presented. I made him see how important it was to announce and spread the *Declaration* and also to participate in

the fund drive, since the reason the dollar is so strong is due to the plundering and immiseration of other nations. People here have a big responsibility to financially support the total development of the *Declaration*.

There's another experience that I want to share — it has to do with a forum that also took place in Damián García (ex-MacArthur) Park. For the most part the people who come to this park are people of Latin America — Mexicans, Guatemalans, lots of Salvadorans and from various other countries. Most of them are the so-called illegals that come here to escape the massacres in their countries and are very nationalist — for a lot of them their revolutionary sentiments started and ended in their countries. At the forum there were speeches in both English and Spanish about the *Declaration* and how important it is to the understanding of the world in its changes and of what is developing, seen from the perspective of the science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Afterwards the speakers answered questions from the audience. It was truly an unforgettable experience and tremendously inspiring to all that were there. Apparently, people's questions went much broader than the scope of the *Declaration*, but, on the other hand, it was the very *Declaration* that provoked those questions and changed the world outlook of a lot of people at the park. Some of the questions were: "What happened with the Iranian Revolution? Why didn't El Salvador, Cuba and other countries sign the *Declaration*?" Another that made a lot of commotion and provoked discussion was around Cuba's economy.... Another thing that was very heatedly debated by a group of youth was the question about the Palestinians pulling out of Beirut and why the *Declaration* makes the analysis that in the long run a defeat can be turned into a victory and why wasn't it preferable for the PLO to come out shooting rather than die trapped in Beirut.

These and many more questions were debated at the park where a short while back there had been strong nationalist sentiments but now peoples' interests were being turned toward understanding and conquering the world, admitting that, yes, we're illegals, not just here but everywhere. We don't have a country because what awaits us in our countries is to be killed, tortured or disappeared by the military. We don't have a country because we want the world with which to end this nightmare of this imperialist system. Our Haitian and Dominican brothers might not be able to raise a lot of money in those countries demolished by hunger, but we who live in the belly of the beast will pledge the finances necessary to support our leadership on an international scale — we will donate a day of work, some time, and the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement will advance with its historical task.

A Chilean Revolutionary
Internationalist from Chile

Fog

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support. The Democrats were repeatedly exposed for their responsibility for imperialist wars past, present and future.

At the rally, a statement by four proletarians from the Silicon Valley electronics plants was read (see accompanying box). This was accompanied by a banner from forty immigrant proletarians from the same area. The banner read: "Down With Simpson-Mazzoli Bill: An Imperialism Clampdown for World War Three. Amnesty is a Sham. Down With Imperialist Borders."

The LAG rally was also attacked, in fashion quite consistent with the operations of the political police around the Convention. A Jewish Defense League figure from southern California charged into the march with an effigy of Jesse Jackson hanging from a pole. He provoked a fight in front of TV cameras, was pushed out of the rally site by demonstrators, and finally rescued by the TAC Squad. TV coverage of the live rally focused on the incident and characterized the entire action as a pro-Jesse rally saved from turmoil and disruption by the "neutral" TAC Squad.

One "thought criminal" commented on the rally afterward: "The most important thing for people to know (about the LAG rally) is that there is a lot of new energy out there, a lot, and that's what's going to save us, if anything will. That there's a lot of new, and maybe sort of marginal and unorganized political forces that are smart and have their eyes open and are very angry. Not enough. It's not the upsurge that it was during the '60s. But there is something out there."

The Democratic War Chest Tour the next day turned into a high-energy march through downtown San Francisco — with stops at a number of important financial contributors to the Democrats, all of them richly deserving of the exposure they got. And this, as it turned out, was only a prelude to Thursday's action.

Thursday at noon there was a concert in the protest ghetto, featuring bands like the Dead Kennedy's and the MDC. At a certain point, 150-200 people left the concert to take the final Democratic War Chest Tour of the financial district. Near the site of Monday's bust, police surrounded the Tour with horses and trailbikes and arrested nearly ninety people on misdemeanor charges of blocking the sidewalk. Those not arrested returned to the concert, exposing what the police had done.

Around seven o'clock, between 1000 and 1500 people from the concert marched to the Hall of Justice to demand

the release of those arrested earlier. The march was led by a giant model of a "trojan donkey" (which ate money and shit missiles) inscribed with the slogan "beware of geeks bearing gifts." No sooner had the crowd reached the Hall of Justice, than the police moved first to clear the steps in front of the building, and then to clear the entire street out front.

However, this left the whole street flanking the Hall of Justice to the youth, who then began to stage a die-in at a major intersection, chalking ghostly outlines of their bodies on the pavement. The authorities then clearly faced a major contradiction. A big battle might tear open the media blackout which was so necessary to the Democrats' show of harmony and patriotism. But Moscone Center itself was only a few blocks away.

So, just as Walter Mondale called on the masses to love America, play by the rules, and do their homework, the police began to seal off a large area nearby, including shutting down freeway exits that feed that part of downtown. The cops then moved on the large crowd, fighting inch by inch, swinging clubs, and using horses and trailbikes, and undercover "quick arrest" teams jumped out to make selective busts. The scene lasted several hours, with police helicopters hovering overhead the whole time. According to TV news reports as of Thursday, 280 people were busted outside the Hall of Justice, including at least nine counts of inciting to riot and felony assault charges.

One TV commentator, speaking as usual for the authorities, captured the significance of the political action of the youth when he said, "This is what we feared the most." Truly this mass defiance in opposition to the government and the politics of loyalty had not only politically broken the bounds but had materially shattered the orchestrated plans of the authorities to contain and suppress any outbreaks of protest. At the last moment, the independent political initiative and action of these youth had gone over the edge. One young woman, about 20, after spending the whole day and evening in the streets, said, "It was the greatest day in my life."

The Democrats' electoral circus was staged as preparation for a future of war and crisis for imperialism. The antics of the loyal opposition were indispensable in staging this circus. But the defiance of a disloyal opposition also says something about the future and its terrible and unpredictable problems for those who hope to perpetuate this criminal system. □

Seattle Forum on Persian Gulf

On Saturday, July 7, over 40 people gathered in a Seattle hall to discuss the tense situation in the Persian Gulf. Called under the slogans, "Stop U.S. Peacekeeping (Warmongering) in the Persian Gulf!", the forum was endorsed by both the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA and Supporters of the Union of Iranian Communists (Sarbedaran). Leaflets announcing the forum were distributed in Arabic, Farsi and English.

In attendance were people from Iran, the U.S., and other countries. Speeches were given by both endorsing groups. The speeches covered some history of imperialist penetration into the Persian Gulf, why today the area is a flashpoint for world war, the related instability of a number of regimes in the area and the real possibilities for revolutionary advance, including the tremendous importance of the formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement of which the RCP, USA and UIC (Sarbedaran) are founding participants.

The discussion, which lasted for over two hours, covered a wide range of questions. Just how serious is the crisis in the Persian Gulf and what does it have to do with the imperialists' drive towards world

war? What makes one area of the world a flashpoint for world war and another area not? Is world war really on the agenda or is an alarm being unnecessarily sounded? In the face of the seriousness and complexity of the situation in the Gulf, what are the tasks of revolutionaries here and around the world? Are what the press refers to as "momentary interests" between the U.S. and Soviet Union a sign of their colluding against the oppressed peoples of the world or is this borne of their sharpening contention? Are revolutionary possibilities on the agenda in perhaps a number of places in the world, including the Persian Gulf?

The *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement* served continually as a reference point throughout the lively and high-level discussion with many individuals citing various sections and generally focusing on the document. Pledges were made to the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement's worldwide fund drive and the importance was stressed of distributing the *Declaration* broadly and in many languages throughout the world. □

Police Work

Reports have reached the *RW* that along with their practical work, the police have been giving lectures in political theory as well: during the Thursday night action, for example, one cop grunted, "Democracy flows from the barrel of a gun." Such "lessons" continued to be delivered — and were met with defiant response by the youth.

On Friday, July 20th, the 80 "thought criminals" arrested on the Monday Democratic War Chest Tour, appeared in court for arraignment at the S.F. Hall of Justice. The felony conspiracy charges that had been handed out so freely on Monday were dropped to infractions on all except three of the "criminals," who were still charged with misdemeanors, including "inciting to riot." With all of the defendants crammed into a single courtroom, the judge called the roll. As their names were read, some in the group responded with "Seig Heil!", and others with the "Atomic Dog" howl. One youth stood up and announced that he refused to recognize the whole farcical process — and then just walked out of the courtroom, followed by two other defendants,

and backed by loud applause from the rest of the youth in the room.

After the arraignment, as the youth left the courtroom, a woman announced that there was another stop on the Democratic War Chest Tour — she had a petition protesting the actions of the police, signed by more than 50 people from a broad range of political tendencies and organizations including prominent figures in the loyal opposition. She called on all present to go upstairs to present it to San Francisco police chief Con Murphy. As the group set off down the hall to go to Murphy's office, the TAC Squad charged in and arrested a member of the RCYB (Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade) on charges of inciting to riot during the Thursday night action outside the Hall of Justice. At that point, the group in the hall stopped, and the woman with the petition began to read it aloud. The TAC Squad then arrested two supporters of the RCYB — one on charges of interfering with the arrest of the RCYB member and the other on charges of assault. □

Jesse Jackson

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get into, Jimmy Carter, Gary Hart had his piece, but let's move to the windup — Mondale and Ferraro accepting the nomination to lead this war party. Now I already gave you a slice of where Geraldine's coming from and how she's got the right stuff for imperialism, but it should be noted that she made sure to point out her law and order credentials, which puts her in another very fine legacy, right down there with Spiro Agnew and other vice-presidents who run on this law and order leg.

But let's get to Mondale. Here's the guy who's supposed to lead this stuff. Now, I just want to give you two slices of what he laid out. One was this bit of "look at us, we're America." This is a quote: "Just look at us here tonight, Black and white, Asian and Hispanic, native and immigrant, young and old, urban and rural, male and female, from yuppie to lunch-pail, from sea to shining sea. We're all here tonight in this Convention speaking for America." But then he also wanted to make clear what time it is and what the program is, in case anybody got a little confused about what they stood for by some of the stuff that was being run out. "Look at our platform, there are no defense cuts that weaken our security. No business taxes that weaken our economy. No laundry list that raids our treasury." In other words, be clear on what time it is. And he's already demonstrated that he knows what he stands for — as vice-president under Jimmy Carter.

Also, look at the whole style of his speech. He also made clear the sharp differences from Ronald Reagan. I guess the sharpest way to say it is that this guy is dull. No, I mean the guy is *dull*. You've got to see it, because for some people it's a little jarring to get the vision of the future from Ronald Reagan. It kind of shakes some people up and they'd much rather have a scene where, behind this guy, it looks like nothing is really going to go down. We're going to be valiumed down, and that's how they look at it. They think maybe we'll get some time from this guy, but actually what it comes down to is: if you're shaken up by Ronald Reagan and his warmongering shit and his rhetoric and boasting about standing tall in the world, and all that kind of mess, then what you can do is get behind Walter, and be lulled to sleep by his speeches and his political style and he'll lead you to World War 3. That's what the choice comes down to. And they were making that clear in a lot of different ways.

And there's also the lesson that they tried to rub in our faces about what America really is. This whole pitch to Middle America, second and third generation immigrants who really believe in this country, this flag, and its traditions, Traditions like family ties,

religious convictions, hard work and strong defense, and also traditions like narrow mindedness, national chauvinism, keeping oppressed nationalities and women in their places. So it even comes down to: on the one hand, they've got this "first woman in the White House" and all that, but then they've got these pictures of her and they're splattering them out now to show you where Gerry's really coming from. And one of the main pictures they like to dangle out is a picture of her serving dinner to her family — to make sure, yeah, she knows where her place is, she's clear on that. They dangle these "historic firsts" out there, but they also wring their hands on how it's going to play in middle America. They bring on Fritz Hollings to say that Jesse Jackson really is a good boy and there's nothing to worry about — even though he does have a tendency to shoot off at the mouth, he's a good boy and there's nothing to worry about.

And then, nonstop selling of the American Dream and how it's available to all who work for it. Stories about the immigrants whose sons and daughters made it, sharecroppers whose children are getting in; and all of this is more advertisement for why people should rally around this Dream in its hour of need as they prepare to go down for it. You've got to note that for all the criticism of Reagan around budget cuts and slashed social programs, nobody, and that's including Jesse Jackson and his Rainbow Coalition, is running out promises to restore these programs and so on. It was just another reminder of what time it is and what's on the agenda for imperialism. Not the time to offer out more concessions and more crumbs to the masses as inducements to line up with imperialism, but a time to cash in on the crumbs that have already been scattered out in the path, to pull in the chips. You've got to get on the wagon for the crusade against the rival empire.

"Come On In And Get Spit On"

This point of cashing in on the chips that are scattered out in the path, is a good spot to talk about Jesse Jackson and his role. This is something that is important to get into because this is what was supposed to be the real "progressive" alternative. The "get behind Mondale" argument was a lesser of two evils, the fall back which a lot of people are going to run to, but Jackson was supposed to be the real "progressive," the thing that you should really want to support. And the way that they really ran this out was through the battle that they ran down for the "progressive" minority planks that they fought for in this Convention. This was supposed to be the fight to win the Democratic Party to a more progressive stand. They already began to redefine that before it went down, with Jesse saying: well, our aim here is to have democracy, which doesn't mean we should think we're going to win, just that

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Jesse Jackson

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we have the chance to raise the right issues. Which is kind of like getting ready to get spit in the face.

So let's look at these planks and what they had to say; and what they actually stood for; and where they came from too. Because when you look at the process of how it was determined which planks would get argued out and how they were allowed on the floor, there was a deal between the Jackson Rainbow Coalition and Walter Mondale and his forces that these platform planks should go down. Jesse didn't have enough backing in the platform committee to get them on the floor. But Mondale and Co. said: hey, it's cool, we can let this stuff get debated, we can get it put out there. And why these four? Why the one they said was to cut the defense budget, but when we get into it that's not what it was really about. Why the ones about no first use, affirmative action, and no second, run-off primary? Why those as opposed to social programs being restored, or the Palestine issue or recognizing Cuba? What it comes down to is again the recognition by all forces of what time it was, what was on the agenda, and what had to be the limits of debate at this point, what was it that they were going to try to shape up this so-called progressive alternative around, and this display of democracy? It was in terms of what was acceptable, what was acceptable to imperialism.

So let's get down to the content of these planks. There was one which they advertised quite a bit, and they had Ron Dellums going all over town telling youth that they were trying to cut the military budget by 20%. Well, I actually read the thing, and it was kind of hard, because the whole thing was leading to the platform and proposed changes and it kind of put you to sleep, but I actually did read it. The platform said that they wanted to raise the budget by a slower rate than Ronald Reagan. That's what the majority plank said. The minority plank didn't challenge that. What it said was: "We understand that excessive spending endangers our national security, just as much as inadequate spending does." In other words, they don't want to have any inadequate spending on the defense budget either. Then they go on to say that the need for strong defense is not an issue; they agree with that just as much as the majority. See, in the midst of a call for growth in the defense budget, they were saying: there's some waste in here and let's get rid of it, let's get rid of the \$6,000 wrenches but at no cost are we going to do anything that would mess up the defense of our national interests; we're down for that too.

The no first use plank, the other half of their peace platform, was to replace a statement which said move towards a no-first use with one which said let's adopt no first use now. Now, any imperialist superpower which tells you that they're not going to use nuclear weapons first is lying. No, their conventional troops are armed with nukes, on both sides of the border in Europe. And it's not for show, they don't have them there because they look good in the pictures. It is because that's how they plan to fight ground wars, including using nuclear weapons. Another thing that helps us get clear is that the Soviet Union already has proclaimed that they won't use nuclear weapons first. However if you read the statements by their military planners on how they plan on fighting World War 3, they are planning on nuclear weapons also. They say straight up that World War 3 is going to be based on massive use of nuclear weapons, and they also say that if you fight a war with nuclear weapons, the key to winning that war is the element of surprise. So what good is this no first strike pledge when these guys say that they're not going to shoot first but the key thing is to surprise the other side? But the Democrats didn't even want that for show, they shot that down too.

As for the domestic agenda, what planks were put forward? One was on affirmative action which they negotiated away anyway; it was a quick deal. The other was a call to make some changes in the election procedures, especially in the south. And what this came down to was paving the way, or fighting to pave the

way for more Black elected officials, more Black faces in high places. In other words, Jesse's planks came down to: let us barter into the system and in return we can play a better role for you, rallying a section of the oppressed around you. No real progressive alternative. But even these planks, planks which in no way challenged imperialism and its war preparations and hardly called for reorienting the direction of this system and this country, even these things were smashed down.

We've got to remember that a lot of leftists were telling us along with the rulers that we should be realistic: that the Democratic Party is really the only game in town, and if you want to change things, be realistic, get into it and struggle to win it over to a progressive agenda. Yet this not so progressive agenda got raised and smashed down within it. That was our display of democracy. Now, their explanation for that was: well, the Democratic Party can't afford to send out the wrong kind of symbol right now. Right now it's got to be a battle for who does represent god and country and who's going to lead this empire off to war. So the message to these people, this "progressive" alternative, is to get in here, you get a chance to make a show, you might get some positions in here, but for right now move to the ass end of the donkey and march behind the war programme.

A High-wire Act

It was following the spitting on these minority planks that Jesse got his hour in the spotlight. And I think we've got to say that he used it very well. For the rulers. The focus of the campaign was run Jesse run, or win Jesse win. Well, a good slogan that pulls his speech together would be crawl Jesse crawl. But after the hiding that his so-called progressive agenda had gotten, did he get up there and denounce that? Did he say that we've got to really get down and struggle around this? No. What he did was work overtime to try to get the oppressed to identify with the oppressor. Look at his definition of America, his "quilt" analogy: it's a quilt of many colors, and a different color patch represents a different color people, and we're all stitched together with one thread, one thread that ties all people of America together. If you want to talk about a thread that ties together the peoples of America and America with the people of the world, you have to talk about one long thread of oppression, suppression and domination — from the beginning theft of the land from the Indians, through slavery, through the rip-off of land from Mexico, and all the way up to today, when the U.S. dominates over half the world and is prepared for war with the rival imperialist bloc headed by the Soviet Union. This is the quilt that's stitched together and this is what he wants people to identify with, and to struggle to get their fair share of.

In his speech he boasted of having successfully rekindled some hope in this rotten system, dragged some sections of the people back into their political process, literally begging for the opportunity to keep on doing that up until November. He passed over the defeat of his so-called progressive alternative, by saying what was important was they got to raise the issues, not whether they won or lost. It was a good thing to say after he got smashed. And then he wound up with the rousing call for the oppressed masses to pull themselves up by their bootstraps. And he put this out in an equal opportunity way, independent of whether or not you got any boots.

Some people are looking at this and it's kind of like you get a hangover, you get drunk and you wake up the next morning and you got a hangover. Well, some people, including a lot of people who supported Jackson, have that hangover now, like they got drunk in all this madness and their head hurts. And they're trying to figure out why, but they ain't got to the source of it, they ain't figured out that what they drank is what got 'em the hangover. They think that stuff they drank before the Convention isn't the problem, it's just that they got hit in the head at the Convention. They tend to think that Jesse backed down on what he used to stand for, that he stood for something good, but then he kind of dropped off in the Convention. I think this misses the point. Because the Con-

vention and the role he played in it was what the whole thing was pointing toward anyway.

It was a three-ring circus: there were a lot of clowns and he could play this role, there were a lot of asses and he could fit in there too, but really it was the high-wire act of the three-ring circus. A high wire act that's being done with precious little net, because he had to walk down this wire, even better put, crawl down this wire, but he had to balance some things. On the one hand, he had the need to fashion a radical image and cling to it to draw in sections of the disaffected, convince them that this was something that was out of control, that wasn't under the thumb of imperialism. But on the other hand, he had to deliver these people right up under the thumb of imperialism.

And this explains a lot that went on in the lead up to the Convention. Do you remember the interview in the *L.A. Times*, when he dangled out the threat that he might go fishing in November, unless they get something at the Convention. This is why in the months leading up to it, he had to be critical of government policies in the Middle East and Central America. This is also why, after the crass show of his speech, and pledging to get down with Mondale, he had to raise some suggestions or demands, depending on which speech you listened to, after the Convention.

But this is also, looking at it from the other side, why he isn't promising restored social programs, why he criticized his supporters for booing Andy Young and Coretta King. And why he's got to go with Mondale. Because it's time to hunker down and prepare for war, and Jesse knows what his mission is in that. And there's also a secondary point about why he had problems with his supporters booing Coretta King and Andy Young and people like that. Because when you get down to programs, the programs are the same: the oppressed will stick with America and maybe get theirs too. That's what the program comes down to for both of them, so Jesse does have a problem with that kind of program being called out. There's this begging that he's doing now to try to tighten up on the image. It's nothing but a continuation of the same kind of mission and the same kind of role. The high wire act with the little net.

It's very much in line with the overall content of his agenda. We've gone through some of his peace planks. In the Middle East, you remember that, he had to get Goodman back on the job, dropping more cluster bombs on the Arab peoples no doubt — while Alfred Griffin who refused to go to Lebanon because he didn't want to fight against the Arab people, well, that was something Jesse couldn't take up — that was outside the program for now. And you'll remember him in Central America, hugging Duarte, anointing him as the legitimate ruler of El Salvador that the rebels ought to get down with and talk with. You remember him meeting with Castro, and who he brought back, but also the fact that it paved the way for the U.S. government to set up some meetings with Castro. Maybe that's the big progressive victory that we're missing in this thing, now that Cuba is sitting down with the U.S. government. And then there was what he had to say around Overtown. He made the tactical move of not going to Overtown, when the latest rebellion broke out there, because when he went to Liberty City, he had to dodge rocks trying to cool out the rebellion there. But this time when the city went up after the cops who killed Nevell Johnson were let off scot free by the courts down there and another rebellion broke out, Jesse was very quick to tell the rebelling youth to turn their outrage into votes for him. And it's no wonder that *Time* and *Newsweek* want to anoint this guy as President of Black America.

I mentioned these new demands that he's running around, now that he's trying to keep things tight — what's the content of these new demands? A few more Congressmen from the deep south, some positions in the Democratic Party and the Mondale campaign, and some more money for a voter registration drive. He's just begging for more Black faces in high places, and a greater opportunity to do the work of the imperialists trying to drag people into their elections trap. We've got to get serious with this; this isn't the first time that somebody has said that Black

faces in high places are going to set us free. But the last time they told us, that was not the way it came down. They got more Black faces in high places, and the masses of Black people got worse conditions, on every front, yet he wants us to go for more of this. And as he fights for this, we're supposed to get behind him and wait for his signal. I mean this is the progressive alternative, truly the right stuff — the right stuff for them. Jesse's begging for a little more window dressing, in order to trick the masses who've been ground down beneath the heel of this system into thinking that there's room for us in the house too. But the role that they've got for us, the Black masses, and everyone else in the wagon train careening to the frontier for a showdown with the rival imperialist family, is on the front lines unless we head it off with revolution.

Revolutionary Civil War

There's one last aspect of the Convention and the buildup to it that I want to touch on. Throughout the course of this, they put out the idea of people in America lining up along racial lines and scrapping it out, I mean the prospect of race war. They started this before the Convention, through their discovery of Louis Farrakhan's statement, a few months back. They just discovered that this guy was making his weekly broadcasts and there was something they could quote in it. But they also did it through their airing out of the Black-Jewish conflict. Every few hours of the Convention they'd show Rabbi so and so, laying out his thing, then they'd show one of their Black faces in high places laying out the other thing — how these guys got to scrapple for power. They presented spokesmen for whites snarling at spokesmen for Blacks and Harold Washington from Chicago who couldn't even stand to look at the white alderman from Chicago who was at his throat. All this has been going down. And it's got a dual purpose for them. On the one hand, they have a reactionary social base that they have got to rally behind everything that America stands for. Included within that is keeping the oppressed nationalities in their places. On the other hand, they've got to convince the Black masses that hey, you got to take a realistic course at this point. There's nobody you can rely on but your spokesmen. Try to get them further up at the master's table where all the goodies are being divided up; if they are getting more influence in the system, that's the only way you've got a chance of getting yours. And you should expect that you won't be getting too much anyway. They have to do this, and we've got to see that in the situation where there aren't large numbers of people in motion, it's a question of pre-positioning a certain kind of pole for the masses of the oppressed to rally around, erecting that pole in advance of strong opposition and, hopefully heading off the possibility of strong opposition rising up. Now we've got to see that, but try to take the covers off it. We should learn that they fear the masses rising up against their system, not being bound in by their trap, and now they're working to bind the oppressed to these realistic Black spokesmen. And that's something that we've got to see but also build on.

In some significant ways in the face of their Convention, quite a bit went on, from before it started, all the way through it, and even down to the end of it. And it's very fitting as they wound up with their orgy of plastic American flags being waved around the convention, that others wound up marching on the Hall of Injustice. It's fitting; it shows that there's a couple of different roads out there. But we've got to go further with this. It's got to be taken up in terms of what really is the road forward. Working within the system and in their arena or going up against the system? And that's what we've got to be doing with this anti-candidacy: we've got to be really striving to jerk around the terms of this debate, and that's what's got to be going on in the streets too, and every other front when we're up in the face of their elections trap.

But let's also look at where this has got to be headed, where this has got to go. Their system is headed for World War 3 and it doesn't matter whether the Democrats or the Republicans are in the White House or in the dog house, that's where it's going, and at the same time it's

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not going to let up on the daily horror it forces people here and people around the world to endure unless it's headed off, headed off by revolution. The arena that they're holding out is definitely a trap. The only alternative is one of taking things in our hands, and preparing to rise up and wage revolutionary civil war to wipe that system off the face of the earth, and move on to continue that revolution, to eradicate once and for all every vestige of that dog-eat-dog madness — the outlook of men over women, white over Black, and one nation over another — all of it. In this context, we know that it is going to require war between two sections of the people. There are those who are drugged on the crumbs from America's plunder and are going to go down on it. We know that that's out there. When they run out the idea of war between two sections of the people, the only basis they run it out on is that one section's got to fight the other for the crumbs of imperialism. But what it's actually going to come down to is rallying a section of the people who never got into this American dream, uniting around that kind of core all the people who are shocked and outraged by what's happening now and how it's going to accelerate in the period to come. This is going to be between two sections of the people. So be it; the sooner

the better. We've got to get this system off the face of the earth, and we can't shirk back, from the real way that that's got to go down.

Now I know when we raise something like this, people have some problems with this question of violence. I think we have to discuss that and there are a few ways we've got to approach it. The alternatives we are faced with today are not alternatives between peace on the one hand and revolutionary civil war on the other. What we are really being faced with, and people have to see this, and I think they are going to see this more as this battle for God and country goes down and as things develop with this system — what it comes down to is this: is the war going to be launched first by the imperialists, over the question of who gets to control the whole ballgame, and ended by them; or is it going to be revolutionary civil war, war to get the system off our backs, once and for all?

Another thing, when you look at the kind of life this system means for millions here and around the world, well, I think you've got to see that it's really going to be a festive occasion when at last we can line up and do this beast in and strike it down once and for all. All the suppressed energy of the masses, the kind of stuff that we've seen on numerous occasions come out in small ways — whether in Liberty City, Overtown, the 1960s, or in people moving on the Hall of In-Justice — what we've seen come out in small ways and for brief periods of time, all

that's going to be really concentrated and qualitatively cut loose on a higher level. And we've also got to see what that's going to mean for people around the world. Frankly, right now, they aren't waiting for us to move; however, if we can strike this monster down, think of what that will mean to the people being suppressed and dominated throughout the world and being dragged to the threshold of World War 3. The chance to get out from under this system is really going to be something very festive. I'm waiting, but I'm also preparing and I think that's how we have to see it.

There's another real question involved in this that I think we have to take note of. The point of picking up the gun is to get rid of it once and for all. And the point of establishing proletarian rule is to transform society to the point where the need for a state structure of any kind has been eliminated by the elimination of the material basis for state structures and government, especially the division of society into classes. These are real questions that we've got to look at and analyze, because we have seen this process before. We've seen proletarian revolution come down in different parts of the world before, but we've also seen imperialism exact its revenge on proletarian revolution, revenge on its conquerors, through eliminating the freedom to carry forward the transformation of their society and also the freedom to spread that revolutionary process to different parts of the world. And ultimately,

setting conditions under which the proletarian revolution could be overthrown and turned back under the domination of imperialism under a new form. We've seen these problems, but we've also got to look at them for what they are and analyze them and what is really the road forward. There's potential for revolutions to be turned back, and that's a real potential that exists out there, but that's no reason to refuse to embark on the road to revolution or not to prepare for that alternative, by mounting the political stage now in opposition to the rulers, around every major question, including opposition to their election trap. Taking this kind of independent initiative is really the only alternative and the only road that points to a future different from the one that their system points to — World War 3. And that's why we say: We don't want our fair share of this system, we want to tear the whole thing down, elections are the wrong arena, it's going to come down to revolutionary civil war. □



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nothing to lose but their chains.
They have a world to win."
Communist Manifesto



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