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The Many Faces Of A Mass Murderer



How startling it all was, like lightning out of blue skies. One moment the Old Reagan was before us, hard-bitten war-monger growling at the foe. And then... suddenly all was changed. There stood New Reagan. He had allowed Gromyko to land at JFK airport! And even invited him to lunch. Mounting the podium of the United Nations, during this week of peace-highs, Reagan quoted Mahatma Gandhi and appealed to "our fellowship as members of the human race, our oneness as inhabitants of this planet." "Rancorless" the American press gushed. "A turnabout in American policy." Speculation raged about whether the "moment will be seized."

As we go to press, Reagan and Gromyko have not yet broken bread at the White House. When that happens it (and any subsequent talks) will certainly

be worthy of commentary in their own right. But this build-up week is itself laden with insights into the true meaning of such peace talk — the outlines of coming war press themselves sharply to the surface, and with them exposure of the nature of these men preparing to wage that war.

The hard facts of the week are sparse. Reagan had agreed to meet Gromyko. He vaguely suggested that some kind of ongoing contacts be maintained at the ministerial level. And he had made a speech couched in the twinkle-dust of imperialist double-talk. "Today," he had announced "to the great end of lifting the dread of nuclear war from the peoples of the earth, I invite the leaders of the world to join in a new beginning." Nothing substantive had been prearranged, and nothing seemed likely.

First of all, the very fact that such a meeting with Gromyko elicits oohs and aahs, reveals how unrelieved the hostility has been between the superpowers over the last years. As the *U.S. News and World Report* mentioned: "Until 1979, it was *pro forma* for the Soviet foreign minister when attending the U.S. to call on the President." But by 1983, it had become unusual to even grant landing permits to official Soviet diplomatic planes! On this meeting itself, the article continued, "most analysts, however, saw little diplomatic significance in the meeting." White House officials "claim it is nothing more than a traditional gesture."

Time magazine quoted an unnamed "U.S. diplomat" describing the prospects for the Wednesday meetings between Secretary of State Shultz and the

Soviet foreign minister: "We will have our say, and Gromyko will just have to listen." Shultz's topics were listed: Soviet aid to rebels in El Salvador and the Sandinista government, the Polish internal crackdowns, and the "human rights" situation within the Soviet motherland itself — all highly negotiable subjects! Gromyko was expected to be similarly flexible; as "a senior Kremlinologist in Washington" explained, "He will probably give us a good deal of tough stuff and lay out old positions as new Soviet initiatives." By Thursday, Gromyko's speech at the UN had made that quite clear.

Facade of "Hope"

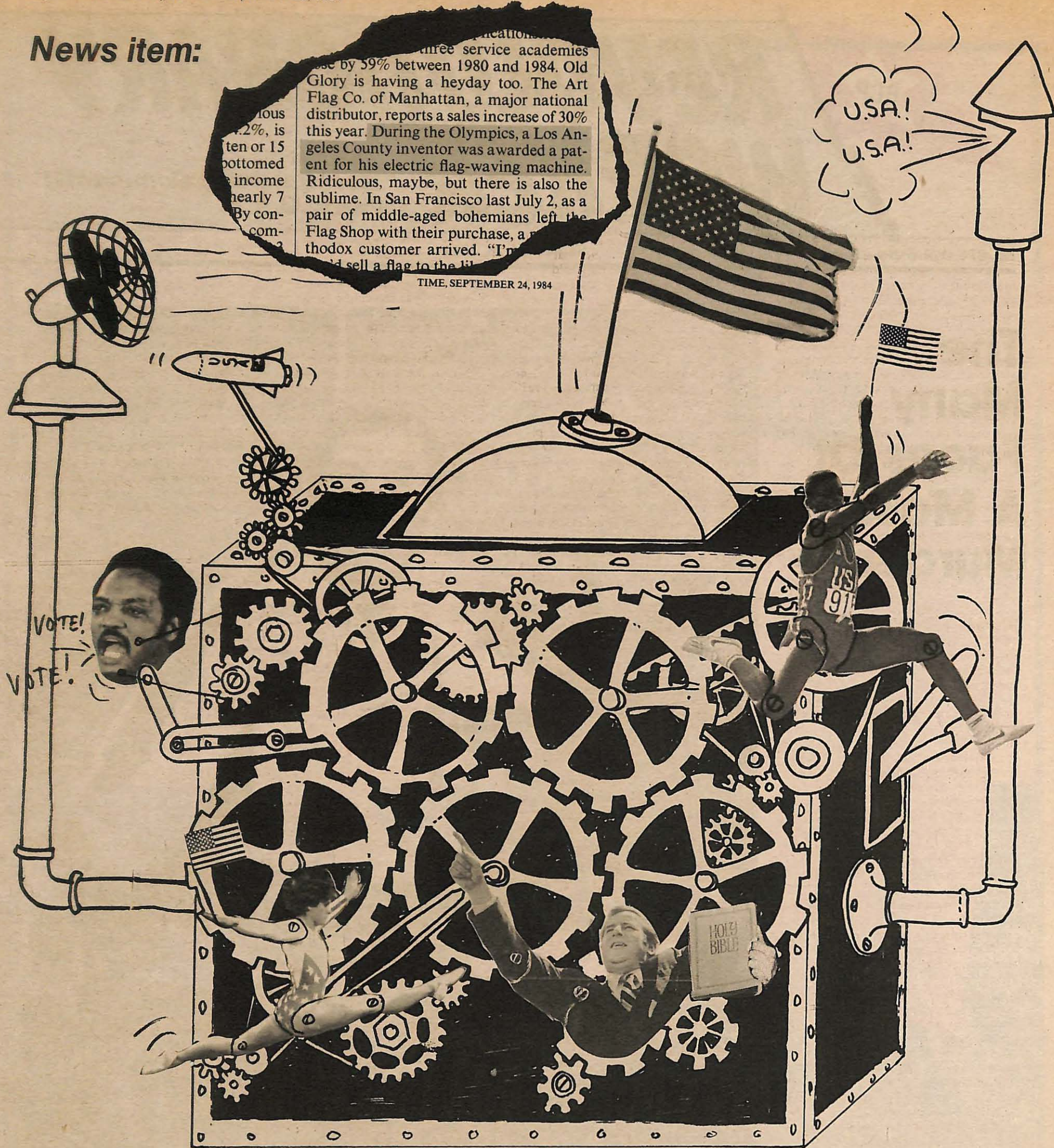
But for the American opinion-making machinery, the simple act of talking

Continued on page 6

News item:

...three service academies
...by 59% between 1980 and 1984. Old
Glory is having a heyday too. The Art
Flag Co. of Manhattan, a major national
distributor, reports a sales increase of 30%
this year. During the Olympics, a Los An-
geles County inventor was awarded a pat-
ent for his electric flag-waving machine.
Ridiculous, maybe, but there is also the
sublime. In San Francisco last July 2, as a
pair of middle-aged bohemians left the
Flag Shop with their purchase, a re-
ligious orthodox customer arrived. "I'm
going to sell a flag to the li-

TIME, SEPTEMBER 24, 1984



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Tanks And Protests In The Fulda Gap

Initial reports indicate that the Autumn Forge maneuvers of NATO's armies, now a couple of weeks old, have erupted into battles between military forces and antiwar demonstrators. Statements by the West German authorities claim that the war games have been plagued by "sabotage, vandalism and attacks on soldiers" in the last two weeks. In keeping with long-standing government policy, Carl Dieter Spranger, an official of the West German Interior Ministry, broadly smeared the activities as the actions of a "terrorist fringe." However, all other evidence confirms that the resistance to war maneuvers has been very broad, both in numbers and in political complexion, indicating that Autumn Forge has emerged as a particularly sharp focus of the European antiwar movement. On September 26 alone, according to West German authorities, at least 96 people were arrested at numerous sites as hundreds attempted to storm munitions depots, damage military equipment and blockade bases.

The NATO maneuvers are an extremely large and complex drill of the war-fighting apparatus of seven countries in the North Atlantic alliance. It centers on the training of 250,000 troops, taking in twenty-six distinct component "exercises." Exactly because these various maneuvers are increasingly unmistakable as a rehearsal for inter-bloc nuclear warfare on the European continent, and are seen as a living refutation of NATO's historic posing as a "defensive" alliance, intense opposition and obstruction has been generated.

"Operation Lionheart '84," the centerpiece this year, involves the shipping of 130,000 British troops and reservists across the channel from the United Kingdom to the mainland, and involves a battle for the crossing itself and simulated combat in West Germany. (Note the coy symbolism: Richard the Lionhearted, you will remember, was the British king who left England to lead the holy crusades against infidels and capture Jerusalem.)

Parallel to this is the standard U.S. operation of *Reforger* (Return Forces to Germany), which practices the reintroduction of an entirely fresh American army into the European theater of war using a massive airlift from the States. Within the Federal Republic itself the main activity is the operation called "Certain Fury" in which, as the name implies, Western troops are to practice their indomitable will against the foe.

Taken together, all the various components add up to a military statement that world war between the East and West is being approached as something quite winnable. And specifically three clear assumptions manifest themselves: (1) that in the *certain fury* of warfare in central Europe all the available means on both sides may well be quickly thrown into the fray, including the full range of chemical, biological and nuclear weaponry, resulting in million-man casualty figures within the militaries alone (and far more in the dense local populations); (2) that a key imperative facing the West is the reintroduction of new forces to the continent to step into the shoes of the deceased as rapidly and decisively as possible; and (3) that the thrust and counterthrust of WW3 might very well not follow the standard propaganda scenario of a "Russian tank invasion westward," but involve both offensive and defensive operations by NATO, including the option of immediate surprise "deep strikes" into Eastern Europe and perhaps Russia itself.

Political awareness of the NATO preparations for "deep-strike" capacity has been heightened throughout Europe by the continual leakage into the press of American plans, labeled "AirLand Battle," which combine strategic thinking about a military offensive into the east with tactical planning using new technologies (including clearly chemical,

biological and nuclear weapons).

The "deep strike" and AirLand Battle doctrines have often been publicized as means to strengthen conventional forces, and "raise the nuclear threshold." But NATO sources have openly affirmed that the use of nuclear weapons, especially the intermediate-range weapons like Pershing II, are an integral part of the new tactical doctrines.

Of course, NATO has never, in practice, restricted its plans to the fairyland "defensive alliance" scenarios that are its public policy. But NATO, in recent years, has worked out increasingly more modern and specific war-fighting plans linked with the ominous NATO war maneuvers, all of which has contributed to stirring outrage in Europe.

One sharp example of how that is manifesting itself is the running battle that is now raging in the Fulda Gap, in the Hessen province, east of Frankfurt. Fulda is one of the natural corridors through the rolling hills that run north-south through Germany, and is clearly a

passageway for the tank armies of either bloc. It is not only a focus of "Certain Fury" simulated battles, but is also site of a number of nuclear land mines designed to vaporize any Soviet tank armies that succeed in reaching it. In previous exercises the procedures called for evacuating all U.S. personnel from the area, while sealing off all roads which might have allowed the tens of thousands of local German inhabitants to escape.

In the past week it is precisely Fulda Gap which has been the focus of most of the reports reaching us. Preparations were laid for disruption of military activities. Several peace camps were established in the area as centers of resistance, and tactics included producing hundreds of simulated military direction signs to confuse troop convoys. The largest incident reported in the last few days involved heavy use of police with tear gas to disperse hundreds of protesters that had reportedly cut through a fence at the NATO munitions depot in Grebenhain, 30 miles northeast of Frank-

furt. Fulda police said that 55 protestors were arrested in an hour-long battle around the chemical weapons depot.

In England, where Defense Secretary Michael Heseltine had a letter written to employers asking for time off for 35,000 reservists in the country, peace groups called for major demonstrations, including a massive convergence of women at Greenham Common U.S. Air Force Base to protest the war games and cruise missile deployment. A leaflet calling for a huge new peace camp at the cruise missile base from September 20-30 stated:

"The state is pretending that the British people have accepted cruise. We have not. . . . Let each of these ten days be a total concentration on removing this threat to life on earth. Don't leave it to someone else, there is no one else! Let nothing obstruct you!" □



British foreign minister, Sir Geoffrey Howe (left) and Hans-Dietrich Genscher from West Germany watching Lionheart '84, 30 miles south of Hanover.

The Bloody Weapons Lab

"LAG and Arc groups will blockade and trespass at Livermore Lab and Site 300 on Monday the 24th in solidarity with fellow activists around the U.S. and abroad, united in a common struggle against the 'war to end all wars,' World War 3. Prevented from significantly affecting the military-industrial complex and the continuing arms race by our votes, we are putting our bodies on the line to stop the destruction of our planet."

Press release
from Livermore Action Group

Long before dawn on September 24th roads leading into the massive Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, one of the two main U.S. government labs for designing nuclear weapons, started to clog up. Along with the more tactically traditional blockaders sitting down in front of lines of incoming workers and

forcing the police to haul them away, there were mobile blockaders, groups blocking cars until police came, then taking off to other roads and other entrances to strike again; along with that, such things as junked rear axles of cars somehow ended up piled on Lab access roads, part of an "object blockade." Over 500 demonstrators showed up, and there were 107 arrests. At least one point, the cars of incoming lab workers and scientists were backed up for half a mile, and the local press and TV station gave the action grudging coverage.

This action was one of several held across the U.S., linked to the demonstrations in Europe against the NATO war games, "Lionheart '84," scheduled for September 20-30.

Along with the blockade at the main Livermore Lab site, there were actions at Sandia Laboratory and at Livermore's Site 300. Sandia Laboratory was set up as

a government-funded adjunct to Los Alamos and Livermore Labs, and it had never been hit by protests before. Four women poured four pints of blood at the entrance to Sandia and released a statement, stating in part: "We act today to tear away the facade of antiseptic respectability from Sandia Laboratories and to expose its blood-stained work. We spill our blood to expose the fact that Sandia technicians are preparing the weapons of universal bloodshed." At Site 300, a testing ground for chemical triggers for nuclear weapons, particle-beam weapons, and other such devices designed at Livermore, a small group of people were arrested after climbing fences and entering the firing tables, and two people spent 18 hours on the Site, leafletting and plastering the area with antinuclear-war posters. □

A PUBLIC SERVICE

The following document fell into our hands through circuitous and unexplained ways. Rumor has it that it was prepared by a public service government agency which has found "great cause for optimism" in the role played by the established

How To Be A Good Jew: Tips on Surviving the Difficult Days Ahead

Now that everyone's getting ready for the New Order in America, it can be painful to realize that not all of us will make the final cut for Team USA. But... not to worry! So what if you're not cut out to be a fanatical supporter? Maybe you can't even hack it as a responsible citizen worried about the mushroom clouds on the horizon, but understanding that the leaders know best and know most. There's still a role for you to play, after all, if you can't be a good German, you can still be... A GOOD JEW! It's easy! And to help you do it, we've collected survival tips from the last world war. Test yourself to see how well you're doing at being... a good Jew.

Tip No. 1: Don't believe it!

That's right, just don't believe it. Sure they said they're planning a winnable nuclear war, sure there's been an unprecedented buildup focusing on nuclear arms, sure plenty of weird scary shit is going down and yes, we too can hear the deafening crescendo of patriotic war drums — but what of it? Maybe they don't mean any of it. And it can't hurt to convince ourselves of it, can it? Let's learn from Vladimir Jabotinsky, the right-wing Zionist and mentor of Menachem Begin. He knew that the capitalists would never allow themselves to be caught up in a second world war, because the first one had wrought so much damage to their social system and threatened their very survival. In 1939 he wrote that: "There will be no war; the German insolence will soon subside; Italy will make friends with the British..." In the last week of August (ten days before the German invasion of Poland) he reiterated his view that "There is not the remotest chance of war..." See if you can apply this line of reasoning to today. Even verbatim quotes can work in a pinch. How about: "It won't happen because they might even destroy themselves."



Tip No. 2: Huddle together.

Mutual support is crucial in times like these. Seize on helpful bits of news, and repeat them to one another. The Germans were very obliging during the last war in providing the Jews with just such news. For instance, those who were deported to the gas chambers were forced, before they were gassed, to write postcards to their friends and family saying things like: "There's plenty of work here at Treblinka and we eat much better than we ever did in the ghetto." Try this updated version: Look for news items maintaining that the U.S. isn't really ready for a war militarily.



ELFbusters

Who You Gonna Call...?

Calling themselves ELF Busters, a group of antiwar activists waged another skirmish in their longstanding battle with the U.S. Navy's Project ELF over Labor Day weekend. ELF (for Extreme Low Frequency) is a nuclear submarine communications system.

Slogging through the cold bogs and woodlands of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, a group of 16 men and women from the Stop Project ELF Coalition pulled up surveyors' markers along a 14-mile route planned for ELF's antenna lines. Beginning soon after dawn on September 6, by dusk the ELF Busters had claimed hundreds of survey stakes, ribbons and benchmarks (used to record exact geographical locations) that they called "antiwar booty," and vowed that they would continue obstructing the construction of ELF.

"It's about time we took matters into our own hands. We had to raise the stakes, so to speak," quipped an ELF Buster from Michigan. "Once construction is finished, it may be too late to stop ELF," added another, a cartography student. "It will be a foot in the door for a much larger antenna, and the communications system would then be in place for nuclear war. It must be stopped through direct action before it begins operating."

This sense of urgency in regard to ELF is right on time. Project ELF, a giant transmitter that sends out Extreme Low Frequency waves to communicate with deep-water, nuclear-armed Trident submarines, is a vital link in the U.S.'s capacity to launch a nuclear first-strike attack and in its plans to wage protracted nuclear war. The U.S. Navy plans to build 56 miles of the ELF antenna in Upper Michigan with a projected testing date of March 1986. Three miles of pole and one ground terminal have already

been constructed. When completed, the Michigan antenna will apparently be electronically linked with a 28-mile antenna built in Clam Lake, Wisconsin in 1969.

A protest vigil was held at the Clam Lake site concurrently with the "stake raising" by Citizens Against Trident and ELF (CATE) and the Women's Peace Presence, which has established a peace encampment to oppose ELF. Plastic ribbons from survey stakes were draped earlier this year by protesters on a chain-link fence at the Wisconsin facility from earlier forays into the Upper Michigan construction area.

The ELF Busters say that they began slowly dismantling the survey line a year ago and continued this summer with over

40 people from Michigan and other states participating, and with the support of 100 more. One current project of the movement, which includes CATE and Wisconsin Project Disarm, is to send pulled stakes to public officials who support ELF and ask Upper Peninsula residents who spot ELF construction to contact the ELF Busters.

Legal challenges to ELF have been fairly well exhausted. A federal court injunction issued last January to halt construction on environmental grounds was overturned by a U.S. Court of Appeals on the basis of "national security," and this decision was upheld last month by the U.S. Supreme Court without comment.

All of this has made the necessity for "raising the stakes" that much clearer. As one ELF Buster put it, "We can't go around just begging politicians to stop nuclear weapons systems. We have to rely more on ourselves."

In response to the stake raising, Captain Roland L. Koontz, USN, the ELF program manager, said that the Navy would begin surveying just ahead of construction crews to prevent dismantling by protesters. A protester shot back, "Whenever they respond to us, we'll respond back." When asked of possible legal charges stemming from the direct action, she replied, "We ain't afraid of no Feds!"

The General Gets A Going-Away Party

Last month, Major General "Chuck" Briggs was celebrating a promotion. After a tour of duty at the Heidelberg headquarters of the U.S. Armed Forces in Europe, he had been given a post with the Joint Chiefs at the Pentagon. As a special going-away present, his staff at the 1st Personnel Command had the accompanying poster printed up in three colors, complete with ol' two-star "Chuck" in battle dress proclaiming "We're here to kill Russians!" Straight-up, Reagan-style.

The poster would have remained just a touching token of soldierly affection — except for one little snag. The civilian workers at the Army print shop were outraged when they came in to work one morning and found this little message well into its second color. The story made its way into the West German press just as the massive European war games of both blocs are in full swing.

U.S. Army spokesman Hadubrand Lutz had rushed out a statement to explain that the poster was "not officially sanctioned" and it "did not reflect the official position of the U.S. Army in Europe." The official role of the U.S. armies on that continent (in case anyone needs reminding) is "to create a balance of terror, and on that basis prevent wars."

But that's obviously *not* what they're telling their soldiers these days.



ANNOUNCEMENT

left during the current presidential campaign. The agency feels, however, that the left must even more firmly grasp and still better adjust to its function in the current scheme of things. In any case, we pass it along to our readers:

Tip No. 3: Remember, even in the darkest hour, help from on high is on the way.



Don't worry, because "they" just won't let something like a nuclear war occur. Who is "they"? Could be anybody. Last time around, there was help to hope for from many places. First there were the sensible Germans and the high command of the German army and the German bourgeoisie who would tolerate Hitler for awhile, but who were bound to oppose his crazier plans out of sheer self-interest. Then there were the other powers, the British, the French and the U.S. — once they knew what was happening in the camps they were sure to intervene. And finally, of course, there was God himself. And look how well everything worked out! Maybe Mondale or the Soviets (and of course Jesus or Allah) can give that kind of help today. It's sure worth hoping (and working) for, isn't it?

Tip No. 4: If you have lemons, make lemonade.

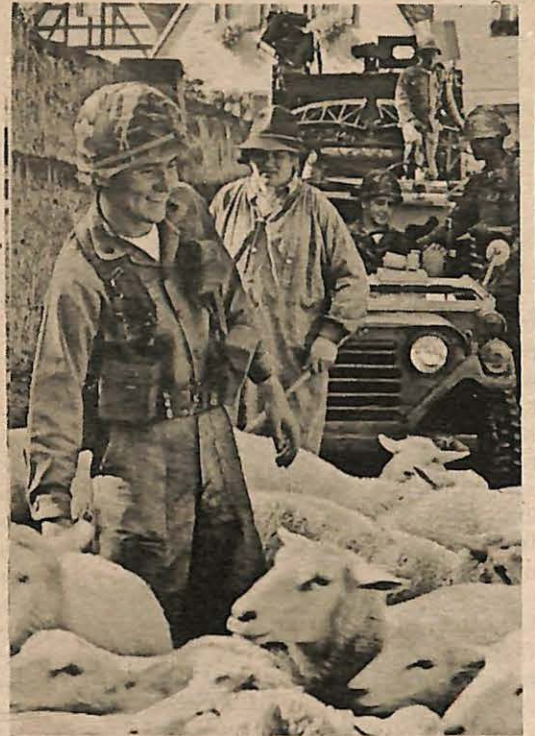


Okay, maybe the government isn't all you'd like it to be. Maybe it's, well, a bloody repressive gang of butchers. But look at the bright side. After all, the Nazis themselves permitted and even promoted the existence of certain Jewish groups. A faction of the Zionist movement was allowed to organize right up until 1938, and they were very extreme, going so far as to advocate a Jewish state and to actually fly their own Jewish flag! Are there any similar groups being promoted today?

And remember the example of the *Judenrats*, too. These were councils of prominent Jews assigned by the Nazis to govern the internal affairs of the ghetto, oversee charitable and relief activities for the beleaguered populace and represent the needs of the community to their occupiers. These *Judenrats* performed many important services for their people: They supervised the distribution of the 200 calories a day allotted to Jews (making sure it was done fairly), they got people jobs in the war factories and they even protested extreme instances of SS brutality. Later on these *Judenrats* decided in what order the Jews would be deported to Auschwitz and similar camps. Sure, it may not seem like much, but these were important forms of community empowerment and self-determination. Any contemporary counterparts deserve your cooperation and support. After all, they can't hurt, can they?

Tip No. 5: Look for the new opportunities.

Many young jobless Jewish men found a real chance for betterment in the ghetto police forces set up under the joint aegis of the SS and the *Judenrats*. Not only were these policemen guaranteed a good job (at least for awhile), they did well for themselves when they looted the homes of those who had to be forcibly dragged to the trains for the camps. And who of us is in the position to blame them? Careful, though — some of these police were unfairly shot at and even killed by spoil sports and soreheads among the bad Jews. And some of the Jewish police were understandably disappointed to arrive at the trains one day and find their own families in the cattle cars (to be followed shortly thereafter by themselves). But while it lasted it was a really once-in-a-lifetime chance. Now then, don't you think it's time to look at all those "be all that you can be" ads in a new light?



Tip No. 6: Play for time and don't do anything rash.



Here we should learn from a debate that took place in the Warsaw Ghetto in the summer of 1942, during what is called the great deportation. Beginning in July, the Germans took 5,000 to 6,000 Jews a day and shipped them out of Warsaw to the camps. A total of 300,000 people were deported during this two-month period to certain death. When a coalition of young, impetuous leftist groups argued for armed resistance and insurrection, the older, more sagacious leaders of the community pointed out that such a move would only call down even worse repression, and that the wisest course was to wait and see. These younger groups disagreed, but felt that they could not move decisively unless the entire community — especially its most respected and established leaders — was united, so the insurrection was not launched.

These young leftists later became very bad Jews indeed, however, and launched the famous Warsaw Ghetto Uprising in April 1943. But by then, thanks to the work of the good Jews, only 45,000 people were left in a ghetto that months before that held ten times that number. Thus the insurrection was severely hampered in its ability to spoil all the careful and painstaking years of work done by the community leaders who were, when all is said and done, working under very difficult conditions.

Yes, there are some troublesome groups and individuals refusing to act as good Jews. Ignore them. It's so much easier to be a good Jew — there's lots of different ways to do it, and if all else fails, you could just do nothing. It's as easy and effortless as watching smoke rise into the air.

But better hurry — time's a-wasting! Got your yellow star on yet? Nowadays they even come in different shades and fashions. What? You have no yellow star? Well, take one, quick and sew it on, there, where your heart is supposed to be. That's it. Now you're all ready. . . .



A Wake-Up Call

Anyone having trouble sleeping these days will be interested to know that experts are studying the problem. One experiment in sleep research, brought to our attention by a reader, was recently reported in the *Atlanta Constitution*. In Gainesville, Florida, volunteers are taking part in experiments on how people of different ages perform without sleep. At the University of Florida, Dr. Wilse Webb is keeping his subjects awake for two to four days and testing their ability to perform tasks on a computer. His studies compare the performances of six younger subjects (18-22) with that of 10 older people (40-49) and others between

the ages of 50 and 60.

The results, however, are unlikely to prove comforting to the restless. Dr. Wilse Webb is under contract with the Army Medical Research and Development Command. According to the Associated Press, the Army is interested in how people operate without sleep for a few days because the next war might be "short, brutish and nasty in that period of time," Dr. Webb said. "The Army's interest in how older people respond stems from the fact that most officers in command positions and with highly trained jobs are not young." □

Many Faces

Continued from page 1

about peace was the cue to paint a newly magnanimous America in broad strokes, brimming with good-natured hope, peering at every wrinkle of Gromyko's face for signs of thaw. One paragraph from a *Time* column by Hugh Sidney captured both the dizzy new facade of "hope" and the cynical foreknowledge that peace is not pending:

"Still, says Rusk (former Secretary of State Dean Rusk, a Kennedy Democrat) we need more 'pointless talk' at the highest levels of diplomacy. Out of such seemingly aimless moments come feelings that at first are formless, but can change the world some day just as surely as the strongest armies. Something could start this week."

Reagan's speech itself is an outstanding example of how superficial the token phrases have to be to be hailed as "remarkable" and "rancorless." In front of the UN General Assembly, on September 24, Reagan had been quite willing to lard his talk with flabby platitudes: "For the sake of a peaceful world, a world where human dignity and freedom is respected and enshrined, let us approach each other with tenfold trust and thousandfold affection. A new future awaits us. The time is here, the moment is now."

Scratch the layer of cosmetics and the hard lines of his statement trace out the familiar themes: The starting section of his speech was a sweeping statement of faith in the superiority of Western-style capitalism over the Soviet version. The hope of mankind, Reagan asserted, is to "take advantage of the creativity of the human spirit, to encourage innovation and individual enterprise, to reward hard work and reduce barriers to the free flow of trade and information" — meaning Western-style social structures and Western-style economic intrusion. Key to "peace," he proclaimed, was the NATO alliance, its vigilance and strength.

Revealing examples of U.S. peace-keeping roles were given by Reagan: he started by pointing out that Teddy Roosevelt had started this international tradition and had gotten a Nobel Peace Prize for it! Then Reagan leapt to the

American role in forcing frontline African states to negotiate directly with South Africa. From there he described how the U.S. undermines the oppression of Black people in South Africa itself, by bringing American capital into that country! He cited El Salvador as a successful example of U.S. advocacy of democracy, kicked Nicaragua for its brutal "subversion and militarism," and pointed to the Middle East as an example of U.S. involvement in "peace diplomacy" and warned the UN not to expel Israel. And finally he upheld the "right to determine their own destiny" for the Afghan people! "...tyrants and murderers," Reagan said, referring to the Soviet Union, "always fail. Think on it..." And twice he insisted, "We do not fear the trends of history."

It was in fact a "We will bury you" speech, garlanded with meaningless peace gibberish. Gromyko sat stonily, refusing even to politely applaud.

Official Alternative

But for Walter Mondale, the official alternative, it was all a vindication. He launched a so-called "tough speech" in which he hailed the "New Reagan"; this was a "sea change" and a "deathbed conversion" he said, in which the President was trying to "sound like Walter Mondale." And that of course is the truth because all along the bone of contention between the two parties was that Mondale complained that there was not enough of such pointless talk and the "dusting off of the conference table" to accompany the building of Mondale's beloved "leaner, meaner military." Asked what Mondale would say to Gromyko at his own private meeting with the Soviet representative, David Aaron, Mondale's chief foreign affairs advisor, replied: "He will support the idea of talks, period." Mondale himself added a second point; he explained he would say to Gromyko that "When Mr. Reagan speaks to you on the 28th, he speaks for all Americans... America has only one President at a time." Coming out of those talks he reported again that those had been his points. There, in a nutshell, is the fundamental unity within their political system and within their class — unity on the prewar two-track policy of cloaking war preparations with "pointless talk," and above all unity in the face of the enemy, to blossom fully when the shooting actually starts.

For the prostitutes of the ever-ready

American press, those few phrases of peace-gibberish were more than enough, not only to proclaim the New Reagan and project the peace-loving United States, but to recast all of recent history in a whole new light.

The *New York Times* (to pick just one of many examples) reinvented *double-think* with the opening lines of their commentary: "President Reagan's highly conciliatory remarks to the General Assembly today marked the culmination of a year-long effort by the Administration to convince the Soviet Union, the American public and Washington's allies that he is sincere in seeking a new era in Soviet-American relations, despite his previous harsh anti-Soviet remarks."

And what a "year-long effort" it's been... we remember it well! It started with the 007 incident, when the U.S. sent an airliner careening into Soviet airspace, coldly using the deaths of hundreds to blast the Soviet position in the international arena. In the warm afterglow of that atrocity the United States invaded Grenada and rolled Pershing II and cruise missiles onto the European continent, placing first-strike decapitating warheads within minutes of Moscow. The "year-long effort" at "sincerity" then took the form of establishing a forward invasion base in Honduras, waging a *Contra* war against Nicaragua and mining its harbors. U.S. troops were sent into Lebanon and naval task forces arrived in the Persian Gulf and Red Sea. In the U.S. mother country the 1936 prewar Berlin Olympics were recreated and East-bloc athletes were squeezed out — while the President himself settled back at his ranch and "joked" about incinerating the Soviet Union in five minutes. If this week of "turnabout" is the *culmination* of such a year, then what is it the beginning of?

What Kind of People?

More "pointless talk" may come out of this, accompanying the jolts and jostling of approaching war. For their various purposes the U.S. and Soviet imperialists both might be well served by dusting off the conference tables — to posture as benign before world opinion, to make minor adjustments in their grim build-up of doomsday weapons. But even the "senior officials" are blunt that "talk" is unlikely to even mean negotiations. The

Soviets have since June pressed for some specific talks on "Star Wars" developments, while the U.S., we are told, has no intention of agreeing to any restrictions until a U.S. plane-launched "satellite killer" is tested this winter. The United States wants to resume the broken Intermediate-Range talks in Geneva, now that it has started deployment of its missiles all over Western Europe, while the Soviets insist that the rockets be taken out first. Reagan made noises about wanting to involve the Soviets in talks on "regional conflicts," but when asked whether that meant the Middle East (where the Soviets are eager for a role) he replied, of course not, he was talking about regional discussion on *Afghanistan*!

In the Soviet Union itself the cold facts of the present situation were driven home by historical analogy in both the domestic press and in the *Tass* foreign wire services. In the place of any mention of an impending Gromyko visit an article appeared recapitulating the details of the 1939 Soviet nonaggression pact with Germany. Two points are relevant: that pact was an agreement signed with the Soviet Union's most immediate foe; its purpose was to buy time for preparations for the decisive battle. And second, as actual events turned out, the time was less than two years and ended with a brutal German surprise attack. In short, the social-imperialists, using symbolism from a time when the USSR was genuinely socialist, are crudely informing everyone to prepare for war, and not be confused by "talk" or even hypothetical agreements.

The question presses itself to the fore: just what kind of people are these, who one day joke about the incineration of hundreds of millions and the next prance around as Gandhi oozing studied sincerity, who pose for "photo opportunities" with their deadly rivals to convince everyone of their pacific intentions while they coolly ready the machinery of war for a final conflict? They are mass murderers planning worldwide mass murder, and to them human minds are simply more war materiel, to be molded and shaped for the purposes they have at hand. □

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.

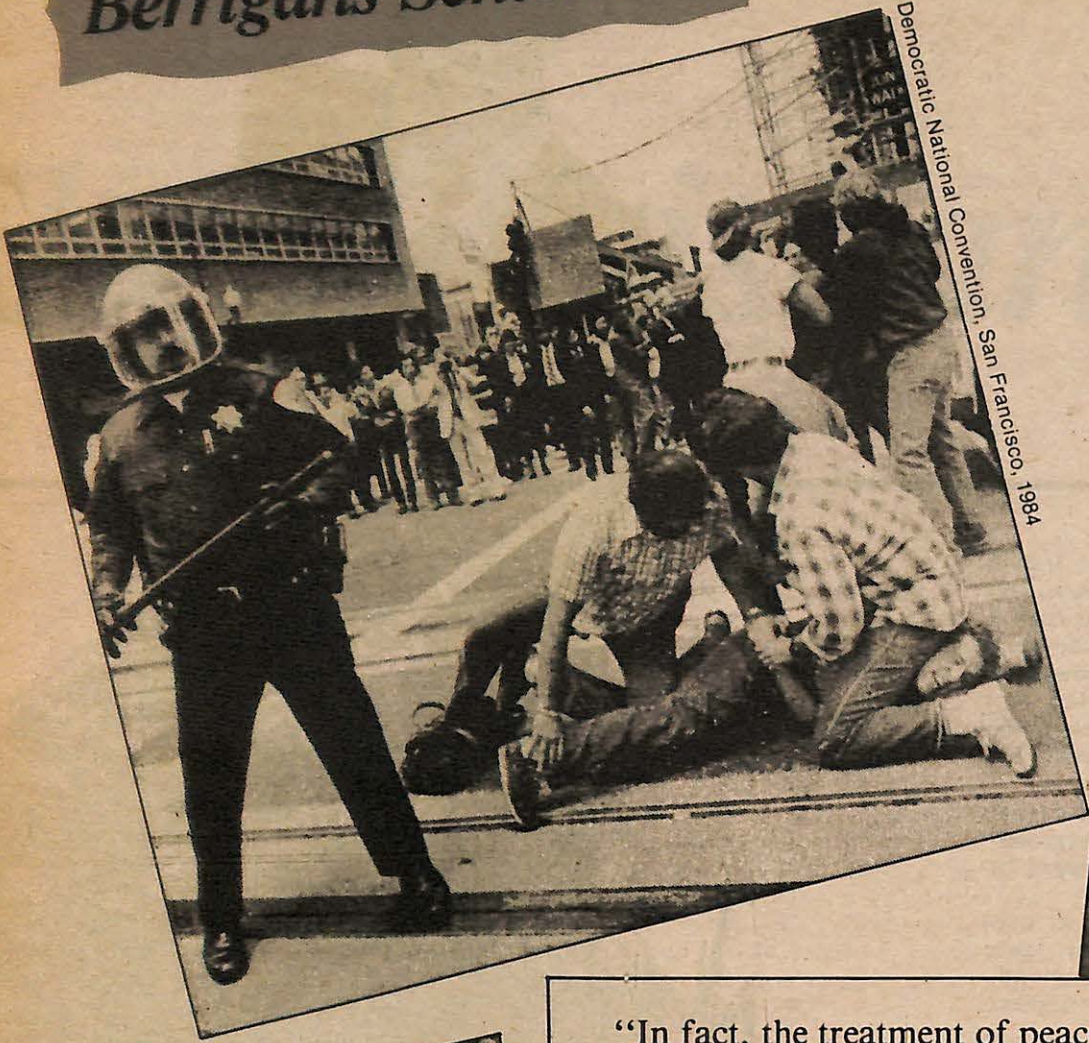
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Berrigans Sentenced



Democratic National Convention, San Francisco, 1984



Krefeld, West Germany, 1983

"In fact, the treatment of peace groups may be a litmus test of governments' true desire for peace."

*Ronald Reagan
Address to the General Assembly
of the United Nations,
Monday, Sept. 24, 1984*



Greenham Common, England, May 1984



Undercover cops attack,
Copenhagen,
Denmark, May 4, 1984



Bonn, West Germany, Autumn 1983

**Plowshares
Protesters Get
3-Year Prison
Terms**

Presidential Politics and...

"Put on the full armor of God, that you may be able to stand firm against the schemes of the devil. For our struggle is not against flesh and blood, but against the rulers, against the powers, against the world-forces of this darkness...." (Ephesians 6:10-13)

At a televised prayer breakfast in Dallas last month, Ronald Reagan exhorted America's Christian soldiers.

"Politics and morality are inseparable," he said, "and as morality's foundation is religion, religion and politics are necessarily related. We need religion as a guide." And he declared that "those who are attacking religion are doing it in the name of tolerance... isn't the real truth that they are intolerant of religion?"

Reagan's most infamous speech on the subject before this was made to a group of Christian right-wingers in Orlando, Florida, in which he summoned the holy rollers to a leading role in the crusade against "the focus of evil in the modern world," and where he concluded that "faith in God... must terrify and ultimately triumph." At the Dallas prayer breakfast, Reagan was just as heavy on the call to the religious to help prepare for smiting enemies. At the same time, Reagan's right-hand staffer, Republican National Committee chair Paul Laxalt, addressed a letter to "Christian leaders" also beckoning the fundamentalists into the fray: "Church and State are partners," said he.

It wasn't long before Walter Mondale joined the discussion... "fight" would be much too strong a word.

While Fritz presented his own drenched-in-god credentials ("I was born into a Christian family. I believe the faith with everything that's in me. We have a Christian family. I have a faith and its my whole being..." and so on), he stuck with the til'-now standard bourgeois American formula that religion was a "private matter" and best not injected into political issues. Such Reagan (and right-wing Protestant and Roman Catholic) pet issues as banning abortion, prayer in the schools, and tax credits for parochial schools would "corrupt our faith, divide our nation, and embitter our people."

Mondale timed this speech for delivery before the Zionist B'nai B'rith, an audience he obviously thought would rise to cheer the attack on "Christian intolerance."

With the Mondale remarks, a full-fledged and certified Campaign Issue took over the headlines, on the question, so we were told, of church and state. An earlier sign that religion would be put front and center this fall can be found in the call by Roman Catholic Bishops for a Catholic antiabortion offensive — New York Governor Mario Cuomo disputed the bishops' using the church-and-state argument.

For a couple of weeks, god and politics was all the campaign news to be read. The *New York Times* tut-tutted that Reagan acted like "people who are oh so sure they're right, who insist they alone represent the one true political faith." Edward Kennedy made a Major Statement arguing — albeit "gently," as the *New York Times* put it — that Reagan had made "blatant sectarian appeals" to the religious right. Cuomo expounded on the ethical dimensions of the matter at Notre Dame, insisting on the difference between "public issues and private issues."

The "debate" was on, and in a world careening toward war, the fact that

American presidential politics should draw its hottest sparks from who is, and who isn't, a "true Christian" is itself a sign of how narrow the circle of allowable discussion has become and how little separates the two bourgeois parties.

It was a debate which followed the point/counterpoint pattern typical of the campaign:

Act No. 1: Reagan seizes the point position, openly defining the most grotesque reaction, so desperately needed by the bourgeoisie today.

Act No. 2: Mondale tries to out-Reagan Reagan, defending the same essential position, with minor adjustments, dressed in the highest bourgeois principles.

Act No. 3: A legion of apologists and supporters rise to defend Reagan, who is played in the media as confident and unstoppable as Mondale gets clobbered as a dismal loser.

As the curtain went up on Act No. 3, the message which issued loudest of all was: "Reagan's the one for the bourgeoisie." With all the tut-tutting and gentle finger-wagging by the liberals, one might think that Reagan had gotten in a little bit of trouble. The man had sinned against "pluralism," the cardinal bourgeois principle that as long as a politician mouths some form of religious nonsense, no denomination shall be official. But instead the airwaves were filled with adoration for the chief executive and Reagan shaking off every criticism effortlessly — "teflon man" as the press put it, neglecting to mention that the invisible shield warding off criticism had been applied by the media — by the bourgeoisie — itself. One would have to be on another planet to miss who has been chosen as imperialist chieftain this time around.

What's more, the debate became the platform for the most revolting display of obscurantism and reactionary drivel. Quacks, hacks, and lynch-mob leaders appeared on Public Service TV and "gave their views"; Jerry Falwell, for example, informed CBS that "The idea that religion and politics don't mix was invented by the devil to keep Christians from running their own country." Back came the Kennedys and Cuomos with well-reasoned appeals to pluralism and the principle that *all* forms of religion deserve equal opportunity... and the imperialists had themselves a fine debate between know-nothings and Democrats over who's got the mandate from heaven.

Meanwhile, a spectacle unfolded which the media gleefully has termed "Fritz-bashing." The press, which had pressed the Democrats to make an issue of church and state from the time of Reagan's prayer-breakfast speech, now ruthlessly shredded Mondale. At every campaign stop Mondale was "besieged by demonstrators" (or "hecklers" if the demonstration wasn't big enough; even when one speech went fairly well, the *New York Times* pointedly commented that "there were no hecklers present"). Mondale sweated, grimaced, coughed, and winced his way across the country, late for speeches, banners falling off walls, shoelaces untied.

Apart from atmospherics, the most bloodthirsty and prominent of the attack dogs was the Roman Catholic hierarchy. Cardinal O'Connor of New York chose Geraldine Ferraro as a target, the Catholic candidate whose position has been that yes, abortion *is* murder, but not a fit issue for legislation. O'Connor announced, "I don't see how a Catholic in good conscience can vote for a candidate

that explicitly supports abortion." O'Connor named Ferraro and provided a two-year-old letter by the candidate to prove it. (This is the same O'Connor, incidentally, whose reverence for life was looking a little doubtful last year when, at a gathering considering the Catholic Bishops' Pastoral Letter on nuclear war, he said that the use of nuclear weapons "can be morally justified in certain cases.")

On September 13 came the double-whammy: the Pope himself, touring Canada, issued a call for government funds for parochial schools, arguing that "We cannot leave God at the school-house door." Nor, as everyone understood, at the White House door. The very same day, Ferraro was confronted by the Bishop of Scranton, Pennsylvania, who called her position on abortion "absurd" and "not a rational position," and said that her views amounted to "secular humanism" (a venal sin at least).

Ferraro stood fast on principle, backed by Cuomo and Kennedy, and recently even returned with some interesting exposure on the antiabortion hecklers. But Ferraro, too, came out of the god debate looking isolated and embattled. For those who can't stomach the vicious know-nothingism of Ronald Reagan, the bourgeoisie has served up Ferraro, a principled loser.

From the camp of the Zionists, on which the Democrats had placed such high hopes, came no roar of protest against Reagan and the Christian right. The American Jewish Committee issued

a desultory statement against "confusing religion and politics" but did not even name Reagan, while the B'nai B'rith hosted Reagan the same day it heard Mondale. The Democrats, as Mondale aides admitted, had failed to score heavily with the Jewish organizations. The official Jewish leaders, after all, know what side of the bread to butter. They are well aware that the Christianity of Reagan and the U.S. bourgeoisie is publicly sworn to buttress and uphold Zionism. The elected officials of the Christian right, such as Jesse Helms, have become virulently pro-Zionist; one example came this month when Helms opposed the U.S. signing of a treaty against genocide, saying that "Israel has killed a lot of Arabs.... Who knows how that might be seen by some world court?" Indeed, pro-Zionism is now standard among born-again, despite the theology that "God does not hear the prayers of a Jew." Moreover it is not the first time around for this particular holy alliance of mass-murderers: the American holy terrorists and the Zionists allied during WW2 in support of the state of Israel.

Bit by bit, the noose tightened on Mondale/Ferraro.

Hauling Out the Priests

There is something insane about the notion that American politicians are currently "questioning the separation of church and state." Since when did god leave American politics? Not a single American politician that we know of professes to be atheist; if there were, they would be crazy to admit it. The Mario



The Christian Soldiers



Cuomos construct ethical theses, the Falwells rave, but no one can voice the scientific truth of the matter that there is, of course, no almighty god whatsoever. The underlying issue is not church and state but *church* and the barging of the church into the political arena in a way that hasn't been seen since the last inter-imperialist war. The U.S. imperialists are hauling out the priests and preachers — exactly because what imperialism is facing is not just any four-more-years. Long-standing political alignments are being recast within the bourgeois system. And tremendous efforts are being

brought to bear for the creation of a new and more disciplined ideological mood. Religion, in short, is back, and intolerance is just the point. And the microphone is not just being passed to any old religion, but to those conservative theologies with a mean streak, those that

reject both "compassion" and "follow your conscience."

Catholicism has been active in this development, for many reasons. The role of the Vatican internationally has been invaluable for U.S. imperialism. With around 55 million adherents in this country, Roman Catholicism is the largest

single denomination, a large section of which is among the better-paid workers and shopkeepers known as "white ethnics." The hierarchy has forged an even more open role for itself recently by declaring its right to "spiritual leadership," and by redoubling the attack on liberation theology this month the Vatican has made crystal clear what kind of leadership is — and is not — called for.

But it is nativist white fundamentalism which has been placed front and center in America's ideological revival. The idiots who burned Elvis records in a crusade against "satanic jungle music" are back, with backing (having long ago welcomed Elvis back into the fold). Their superstars have been coiffed for the national arena, and their racism and anti-Semitism tactfully low-keyed for the moment. They have pasted together a crude theology of doom, and an ideology fit for an imperialist army: intolerant, sacrificial, obedient, and obscurantist — the gospel of Jesus packaged for readying the backward and bribed to stare straight into mushroom clouds, hopefully without blinking.

An increasingly powerful instrument in this development has been the networks of reactionary priests and preachers who have recently been summoned to the political frontlines: these networks gained prominence at the "Religious Roundtable" meeting in Dallas in 1980, at which the evangelicals threw their weight behind Reagan. A whiff of the stuff that wafted out of this meeting can be gained from the message of a major TV preacher, one Rev. Robison:

"I'm sick and tired of hearing about all the radicals and the perverts and the liberals and the leftists and the Communists coming out of the closet; it's time for God's people to come out of the closet, out of the churches and change America! We must do it!... Our preachers are to warn the people, we're to warn the people the enemy comes... we're being attacked by satanic forces."

As they came out of their closets the evangelicals have worked out an alliance with their former enemy, the Roman Catholic Church. These two largest cesspools of American religious reaction have combined on certain issues of mutual interest, especially antiabortion and the offensive against women known as the "pro-family" movement — but also including other issues such as tax credits for parochial schools. What this alliance has helped accomplish is a reactionary "Christian revival" shaking itself loose from its backwater breeding grounds, combining a rural holy-rollerism with the Catholic prejudices of the most backward urban workers and middle classes.

It might be pointed out that much of this territory was first explored by George Wallace, who took a base of Alabama racists and combined it with the flagwaving "hardhats." But this was the 1960s, when such reactionary social forces were on the defensive, indeed calling themselves the *Silent Majority*.

The born-again were put on the political map in a bigger way by mainstream Democrats through Jimmy Carter. It is revealing to look at the Carter "malaise speech" in which he called for a return to traditional and religious values and used the term now pegged to Reagan and the evangelicals, "a spiritual rebirth." (Jesse Helms in a recent TV speech: "Let us live each day mindful that the Lord may be giving us just one

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Christian Soldiers

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more chance to save America. With a genuine spiritual rebirth, we can do it.")

During the 1970s the electronic church of the fundamentalists mushroomed in growth, until today it numbers 1400 radio stations, 3500 local television and cable programs, four all-religious satellite networks with new Christian radio stations signing on at a rate of one a week and TV stations at one a month. Their combined audience rose from about 10 million in 1970 to around 20 million; these are no longer local preachers at the end of a radio dial, but major religious networks showcasing a handful of national figures.

Today these preachers bounce in and out of the White House, give invocations at the Republican Convention, and audience the latest bloodthirsty speeches of the U.S. president. A quick glance at the bizarre basics of born-again fundamentalism reveals why, from the viewpoint of the imperialists, these preachers' time has come.

In God They Trust

The central act of fundamentalism is being "born again," which is the act of "accepting Jesus as your personal savior and Lord of your life." The road to avoid eternal damnation is explicitly *not* made up of good deeds, but in the total subordination to "God's will." This is a divine will, mind you, with a pretty fair grasp of American imperialist politics, opposing as it does any slackening of the arms buildup, insisting on control of the Panama Canal, opposing abortion. And there is a more basic message underlying all this. As Falwell hammered home on the airwaves:

"We must be obedient to the World of God. Obedient. Whatsoever he sayeth unto you, do it! That's all there is to it! Find out what God is saying to you and obey him. Obey the Lord. Obedience!..."

Of course, in the usual manner, god has spawned a hierarchy of stand-ins for himself on earth who are also to receive total obedience... governments, fathers, husbands, employers and of course, your ranking officer. Not surprisingly, this quite-American god has decreed a social order that resembles some idealized vision of the forgotten American past, like a right-wing *Twilight Zone* episode; it features secure little patriarchal families, competitive small shops and farms in tidy small towns, where everyone — especially Black people and women — "knows their places," and where sex is recognized as "sin."

Alongside obedience arises "faith" as the justification for embracing totally irrational thought and action. A central belief is "the wisdom of this world is foolishness before God." Reason, science, and critical thinking are not only suspect but literally acts of mortal rebellion against the order of the universe.

Such antirationalism links directly with the essential message of this god, which turns out to be: "Prepareth to wage and win World War 3, against the Russkies!" Out of a Christian mumbo-jumbo about demons, devils, spells, prophecies, the "Book of Revelations," and the blood of lambs, a new, very up-to-date scenario indeed has been concocted for the "Second Coming of Christ." In best-selling tracts like Falwell's *Armageddon and the Coming War with Russia*, and Hal Lindsey's *The Late, Great Planet Earth*, we now learn that the Bible has predicted a war in the Middle East escalating into all-out nuclear holocaust. In the glare of the fireball Jesus will return leading an army of angels... this is the stuff being crammed into the heads of America's Good Germans in place of science and what *that* has revealed about the effects of nuclear fireballs.

It is just this religious doctrine which is echoed at every level of the Reagan administration (and not just by professional ignoramus like James Watt, the self-proclaimed "Christian Revolutionary"). Take the remarks by Caspar Weinberger during an appearance at Harvard. Here we have a top Cabinet member speaking at the most elite of Ivy League institutions



Bishops Bornemann and Sebastian with Goebbels (right) in 1935

and being asked, "Do you believe the world is going to end, and if you do, do you think it will be by an act of God or an act of man?" This is the kind of thing occurring at the top of the American political establishment quite a few centuries after the Middle Ages! Weinberger, not missing a beat, replied, "I have read the 'Book of Revelations' and yes, I believe the world is going to end — by an act of God, I hope — but every day I think that time is running out."

While still Secretary of State, Alexander Haig (well known as both a thoroughly cynical bastard and a lifelong Catholic) similarly spoke in Senate hearings of "the dramatic and God-given warnings" he perceived in world events and referred to the Bible as expert reference. Interestingly enough, he also alludes to an international angle to the Christian revival in numerous statements by pointing out that those American allies who couldn't possibly share the liberal-democratic "values" of the major NATO countries (i.e., certain Latin American states) were part of the Christian world and share a common "belief in God" which binds them to the bloc of Western civilization.

But undoubtedly the most energetic and most highly placed evangelist concerning America's role in the "final days" is the Commander-in-Chief himself. Repeatedly, he has described the struggle with the Soviet Union in terms of an epochal spiritual war against evil. He has asserted his claim that "We may be the generation that sees Armageddon." To Jewish leaders he explained that "Israel is the only stable democracy we can rely on in a spot where Armageddon could come." Naturally he has assigned himself a divine role in this great final battle saying that "I'm not quite able to explain how my election happened or why I'm here, apart from believing it's part of God's plan for me," adding in his current half-hour campaign commercial that he believed god had literally shielded him from the assassin's bullet, and was "sitting on my shoulder."

We also must note that all this high-level religious idiocy has been joined in the press with an all-around celebration of patriotic know-nothingism. For example, last week's *Time* magazine spread, "I Love U.S.," positively revels in ignorance and obscurantism. The magazine quotes a Las Vegas bartender: "Nowhere but in America can thousands of working-class people go on their days off and drink beer and wave pennants and watch a baseball game." To which *Time* cynically leers, "Nowhere but in America — and Japan and South Korea, and the Dominican Republic and Cuba and so what? Let her feel patriotic..." The magazine also glows about all the Americans who sang "America the Beautiful" as the Olympic Torch went past, even though, *Time* winks, "the torch had nothing to do with patriotism either; indeed it is a symbol of supranationalism."

Stupidity in the service of imperialism is the order of the day in America — an attribute surely needed to see "a springtime of hope" in all the mad preparations for war.

An American Hitler

It is highly unlikely that a Haig or a Reagan actually believes that Christ will

arrive in a mushroom cloud. There is the grossest cynicism at work here, not clinical madness in high places. Reagan himself, as has often been pointed out, rarely attends church. Rather, a cold pragmatism has prompted this spiritual revival.

In this, the U.S. evokes the German imperialism of Hitler. There, too, obscurantism was reworked with then new techniques. The German "race theories" have a fitting successor in "creationism." In Germany, hoary myths of Nordic warriors and gods were dredged up to play the role now filled by cowboys, Minutemen, and the Archangel Gabriel.

Most striking of all, neither Hitler nor

most of the rest of the Nazi leadership were particularly religious, but like the Americans today, they banked heavily on the church (and also used as a springboard the religious zealotry of the most backward part of their country, Bavarian Catholicism). The Nazi banner "Kinder, Kirche, Küche" (Children, Church, and Kitchen — the three places women were supposed to be confined) has its direct counterpart in all the current "pro-family" reaction.

Reagan is not a creature of the Christian right, any more than was Hitler. Neither has Reagan *together* with the evangelicals seized the White House and "overthrown" the normal channels of democracy, as some liberals and revisionists would have it. The creation of Reagan, an American Hitler, and the choosing of a specific religious coloration for his image, have been dictated by the driving needs of U.S. imperialism now. Just as the imperatives of German imperialism brought forward a Hitler, so has U.S. imperialism brought forward and enshrined its most fitting representative, Reagan. On the verge of committing unprecedented mass murder, U.S. imperialism definitely has need of the Christian right's ignorant armies.

What a fitting commentary on American imperialism and the desperation of its coming military gamble! To forge together a prowar social base from among those philistines they've bloated over the years, every piece of mental filth must be dredged up from hidden and forgotten corners of rural America and woven into the vestments of their President. Every crackpot superstition is given a voice of authority, and wedded to a truly Nazi nihilism, to prepare for what is ahead as the President exults over a "springtime of hope" for America. □

Lenin on War and Peace

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A Combat Marine In Every Kitchen

There is something to be learned from what the September 19 bombing of the American embassy in East Beirut has and hasn't done on the American political scene. For the Democratic opposition the bombing provided an occasion to rekindle memories amongst the electorate of the Reagan administration's Lebanon imbroglio of the last 18 months, a period which witnessed the greatest number of American casualties since the Vietnam War. Calling for U.S. "retribution" against the unnamed, unknown "terrorist" enemy, Walter Mondale argued that the real problem with Reagan's "Standing Tall" rhetoric was that it wasn't being sufficiently matched by real deeds. Expressing his own "shock and outrage," Mondale accused the administration of a "lax response" to a "perceived threat." When Reagan claimed on September 26, to cheering students at Bowling Green University, that America's vulnerability to such "terrorism" stemmed from constraints on the CIA imposed during the Carter years, Democratic leaders shot back indignantly that the burgeoning expansion of CIA budgets — and activity — actually began during the last half of the Carter administration.

Well, fair is fair, and anyone with their eyes open should accord the Democrats full credit for their contributions to war preparations, international reaction, and all that is associated with Reagan's "Resurgent America." As for Lebanon, the U.S.-Israeli venture launched there by Israel's 1982 invasion was no more, no less, a function of the American Middle East "peace process" than Carter's Camp David accords (not to mention the numerous Israeli incursions into, and bombing raids over, southern Lebanon during the Carter years). And when it comes to steadfast support for Israel the Democrats, as they remind one and all, take a back seat to no one.

But current Democratic efforts to resurrect the issue of Lebanon seem doomed to failure. The mythology of a reborn and resurgent America, presently being codified in the presidential race, is very much Reagan's baby and very much a requirement of these times. Resurgent America is a proposition that can only prevail — given the systemic and deepening economic and political crisis of the U.S. imperialist bloc — through a Triumph of the Will, at once an article of faith and a program for action. It is not only in Reagan's narrow political interest to heap scorn upon the "vacillation and weakness" of the Carter years and attribute — even at this date — U.S. problems to this period. This is a mythology born of a broad consensus within U.S. ruling circles; that the ongoing exorcism of Carter (and his protégé Mondale) invests even more "higher-than-life" qualities in the current Commander in Chief is of course the inevitable and desirous other side to the equation.

When asked over the weekend about the delays in the installation of security devices at the embassy (which arguably might have prevented the truck bombing), Reagan replied, "Anyone that's ever had their kitchen done over knows that it never gets done as soon as you wish it would." The comment led Democratic leaders to flail away with all the contrived indignation they could muster, but to no apparent avail. Most Americans — at least those who count in these matters — apparently did not see anything so "callous" or "flippant" in Reagan's remarks. The "domesticization" of an unruly world, after all, has long been a symbolic imperialist theme, and here the Great Communicator was rendering the concept comprehensible to even the most ignorant suburban layman.

The vaunted "teflon factor" surrounding Reagan's tenure in the White House, his imperviousness to the kind of run-of-the-mill criticism that would fell a lesser mortal, is real enough. And it stems not primarily from an overall degeneration of political discourse in late-imperial America, nor simply from a willful solip-

sism ("perception is reality") on the part of the nation's rulers and a good chunk of its respectable citizenry — real as this may be. The "teflon factor" would have no real sustainability if the plutonium factor did not weigh so heavily, and imminently, on the world scene and in imperialism's calculations. "Resurgent America" is a myth with a mission, possessed of a literal, vengeful force.

"America again perceives itself and is perceived as a great power," as Richard Pipes (a principal architect in this administration's foreign policy) put it. "What we had to accomplish after a very bad 15 years was to change the mood of the country, which is infinitely more important than negotiating one more treaty (with the Soviet Union — *RW*). . . . Reagan has accomplished in three years in foreign policy what FDR accomplished in three years in domestic policy. It's a complete turnaround."

Thus, while George Shultz admitted earlier this year that "our efforts in Lebanon have not left us where we want to be, by a long shot," the overriding aspect is that such problems as the U.S. has encountered there have *not* become the focus of any sustained national debate or questioning (indeed, the bombing of the U.S. marine compound last fall — followed as it was by the invasion of Grenada — actually served to further glorify the military and militaristic values). Obviously, U.S. imperialism's overarching agenda hardly leaves room for even a miniaturized replay of the "Vietnam syndrome," just as the U.S. could not afford — in this period of global preparation vis-à-vis its Soviet counterparts — to get overly "bogged down" by a deteriorating Lebanese position earlier this year.

At the same time, the U.S. has not given up in any fundamental sense on its designs in Lebanon either. The pullout of the Marines in February-March of this year was hardly the last word on the subject. Underwritten by U.S. funds, and with full U.S. political and diplomatic backing, Israel has maintained its severe, if costly, occupation of Lebanon's south. Israel still confronts Syrian troops in the Bekaa Valley, and maintains its strategic observation post at Jebel Barukh (the highest mountaintop in Lebanon), which through sensitive electronic equipment enables Israel to maintain surveillance over a vast area — reportedly extending into the Soviet Union itself. Israeli air strikes, against alleged "terrorist" bases

in the Shuf mountains and in the Bekaa, indicate Israel's resolve to remain an active military factor in those areas no longer under its control. It has tightened its grip on the southern region (below its Awali River line), in effect severing the south from the rest of the country; Lebanese commerce and travel has become increasingly perilous, and often expressly forbidden, across the Awali River line. More, it is this continued occupation — marked by disruption of indigenous economic activity, the imposition of curfews against villages and towns, frequent arrests (for interrogation, torture, or long-term incarceration) of "terrorist" suspects, and a generalized reign of terror enforced through the puppet "Southern Lebanese Army" and other "militias" propped up by the Israeli occupation forces — which has effectively kept the pro-Syrian government of Premier Rashid Karami off-balance, thwarted in its efforts to bring about some semblance of "national reconciliation" in Lebanon's remainder.

The Israeli occupation not only rewards a continuing intransigence on the part of the right-wing Maronite Christian forces, it has also put increasing strains on the position of Nabbih Berri. Berri, the leader of the Shi'ite Amal movement, is facing a growing challenge from within the Shi'ite community — including a growing "Khomeinist" trend — over the failures of the Karami government to effect any real change in the situation in the south, where Shi'ites comprise about 60% of the population. Add to this Israel's continuing "back-door" ties with Druze leader Walid Jumblatt, and it becomes clear that Israel's occupation of the south has presented the Syrians with a major obstacle in their attempts to consolidate their gains in Lebanon. Such unity as has been reached by the Karami government remains fragile, and Israel's role has been to keep the sectarian flames well-stoked and operative. That Israel could not do this without active U.S. support and connivance is not lost on the Lebanese. The recent U.S. veto of a United Nations resolution — a very moderate document mainly confined to documenting the indisputable, and savage, facts of Israeli "human rights" violations in the south — triggered a bitter response from the Karami government, though no real surprise from the Lebanese masses. That the U.S. veto should have been followed up by an anonymous telephone call in Beirut

threatening to strike at a "vital United States interest" in the name of the shadowy "Islamic Jihad" group, should come as no surprise in a country where U.S.-Israeli actions have meant tens of thousands of deaths over the past two years, and the shattering of hundreds of thousands of lives.

In the wake of the September 19 bombing of the U.S. embassy, U.S. officials have vowed to "not allow the forces of terrorism" to keep the U.S. from withdrawing its mission in Lebanon. They do so in the name of a general principle — that the "civilized norms" governing relations between nations be upheld, that the U.S. not be seen as "backing down" or showing weakness. But in Lebanon, the U.S. embassy is emblematic of something rather more specific and immediate. The continued American "commitment" to Lebanon signifies that that country remains very much a contested zone — between Israel and Syria, between the U.S. and the Soviet Union — and that, as such, the local sectarian strife and bloodletting will continue as part of this broader conflict. And it is this commitment that provides a life-line to the right-wing elements among the Maronite Christians — the "Lebanese Forces" militia and others — who retain their own state-within-a-state and hold powerful positions within the government and army as well. For these forces the prospect of continued American and Israeli "commitment" sustains their belief that the balance of power will yet again swing their way, and towards this end they continue to intrigue and provoke sectarian conflict.

Of course, there is talk now of a new opportunity for some kind of agreement between Israel and Syria, Israel offering at least a partial withdrawal in exchange for a Syrian pledge to help enforce a security arrangement for Israel's northern borders. Israeli Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir called, on September 21, for the United States to resume its tattered role as "honest broker" in carrying out negotiations with Syria over such an arrangement. And Assistant Secretary of State Richard Murphy held talks on the subject with both Lebanese and Syrian leaders, in Beirut and Damascus, over September 21-23.

Some factors point towards a possible, if limited, accommodation. With Lebanon's *pax Syriana* running into major obstacles, Syria's Hafez al-Assad has

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Reprinted from *Mass Line*

Punjab: Military Repression, Past and Present

The following article is reprinted from the July 1984 issue of Mass Line, a revolutionary internationalist newspaper in India. The article documents the military occupation of Punjab by the armed forces of Indira Gandhi leading up to and following the attack on the Golden Temple which received wide coverage in the U.S. press. At the end of June, a member of the Mass Line editorial team conducted a study of the situation in Punjab and the following article was one of a series published by Mass Line based on this trip. (See also "Rupture In Punjab," RW No. 261, June 22, 1984.)

Punjab has become another state on the lines of those in the North East where military/para military rule is the reality. During the first days of June an unknown number of army personnel (including specially trained sharp shooters and commandos) moved into Punjab with a well planned scheme of attack and elaborately drawn out "hit lists". The army took positions on all the roads and highways. The entire traffic within Punjab and connecting Punjab with the rest of India was suspended and total censorship was clamped down. By the 3rd of June the army had surrounded about a hundred Gurudwaras all over Punjab and was ready for brute action. Thousands of people got killed during the subsequent army attacks. Battle tanks and armoured vehicles, helicopters and sophisticated shells and poison gas were used by the army to destroy the Sikh religious centres and those defending them. These army attacks killed not only the Sikh fundamentalists belonging to the camp of Bhindrenwale but also numerous members of the public who had nothing to do with Bhindrenwale.

The bourgeois press and mass media directly controlled by the central government fed the people outside Punjab with a series of lies regarding the army occupation of Punjab. They ceaselessly tried to whip up narrow national chauvinism and communal hatred against the Sikhs. The bourgeois media and parliamentary opposition lauded the army and insisted that by all means the army occupation of Punjab is solely the responsibility of Sikh "terrorists". A Hindi newspaper belonging to the Indian Express group even came out with a salute to the army general, RS Dayal, who led the attack on Punjab. . . . In short, the media and central government stopped at nothing to generate apologies for the fascist attack on the people of Punjab.

But even a casual perusal of the media reports clearly shows that the reality is something totally different. The innumerable contradictions glaringly evident in the official handouts and media reports point this out. This is especially so in the case of reports on the so-called "healing touch", the second phase of the army attack on Punjab. In fact, more than lies and distortions, very little was even reported on this second phase of army attack. Newspapers and central government hypocritically spoke about the "healing touch", but the actual nature of this vicious second phase was not at all reported.

About the army attacks against the Gurudwaras, the press tried to project only the attack on Golden Temple in spite of the fact that at least hundred Gurudwaras spread all over Punjab were attacked. Actually fierce fighting and, more often, indiscriminate army attacks occurred in several places. A case in point is the army attack on the main Gurudwara in Muktsar — Muktsar Sahib — in which the army shelled the Gurudwara and two CRPF, two BSF, six army and seven Sikh people were killed. Similar instances of differing dimensions occurred in scores of other places.

The press and government always tried to project the idea that in the army attacks only "terrorists" and army personnel were killed. But in reality, when the army surrounded the Gurudwaras, many others apart from the regular dwellers were already inside the Gurudwaras. The "Akhanda Jatha" was going on and

many were courting arrest daily. Moreover, 3rd June is Guru Arjun Dev Day. During this day the Sikh people distribute "sabeel" (a cold drink made of milk, water and sugar) to the general public. In the premises of Golden Temple many people who were trapped inside were killed in cross fire when they were surrendering to the army. It is also reported that numerous dead bodies that were given for post mortem by the army had hands tied behind and bullet marks behind the heads. Though no exact number can be estimated it is only logical to expect that the army killed indiscriminately.

Another glaring contradiction in the official reports concerns the revolt in the army. Official reports stated that desertions and revolts in the army were caused by infiltrators and anti-Indian propaganda conducted by outsiders. But our investigations tell a different story. For example, the revolt near Ganganagar was actually triggered by Hindu army men who celebrated the killing of Bhindrenwale and humiliated the Sikh members of the army. Also the reports on this revolt stated that a few army men were killed and the rest surrendered or were captured. Actually, about 50% of the more than 300 army men who revolted were shot dead by Rajputana Rifles who surrounded them. Those who escaped entered Punjab through various routes and later some of them were captured. Many of those who escaped were given shelter by the villagers and even now are not traced.

During curfew days, even uncommitted Sikhs were humiliated by the army. Those who happened to be on the roads or travelling on trucks were made to "frog jump"; elders and those others who could not do it easily were "taught" with gun butts. The villagers who were ignorant about the clamping down of curfew and had come to the towns and cities on their cycles were garlanded with their own cycle frames after deflating them and ordered to return.

On hearing the army attack on Golden Temple, people from almost all the villages mobilized themselves and started for Amritsar in trucks and trolleys. It is learnt that at least one or two trucks started from each village. Most of them were spotted on the way by the army. These people were blindfolded, their hands were tied on the back and forced to lie down on the road in the scorching heat. The army resorted to firing on many crowds that had reached the outskirts of Amritsar without giving any warning.

Facts show that many firings were completely arbitrary. On hearing the attack on Darbar Sahib (the common name for Golden Temple) people started assembling in junctions. When the army ordered them to disperse they started dispersing. But in many junctions people had gathered in such a large scale that they needed time to disperse. But what happened in many places was that the army did not give them any time to disperse: firing started almost as soon as

orders to disperse were announced. This way five people were killed in Kauka village near Jagraon in Ludhiana and six in Rajpura in Patiala district.

The second stage of the army operation mainly involved combing of the villages. As during the first stage, numerous atrocities were inflicted on the people under the guise of searching for weapons and "terrorists". Actually only a part of the "combing" was done in the villages; the other part of "combing" was done in the torture camps temporarily established in open places, schools, colleges, etc.

During the initial days the military used to surround a village during the early hours of the morning and arrest those who go out into the nearby fields to relieve themselves. And when people gather on hearing the arrest of their fellow villagers, the army men conduct the "searches". In these "searches" which were apparently for capturing arms, all valuables like gold, silver and even clothes were looted by the army. This was the general method of operation of the army.

Contrary to the claims of the central government the villagers never co-operated with the army. In the initial period they used to protest and gather even people from the nearby villages. In some villages they even actively resisted also. In Talwandi village near Moga one army man was killed and the invading army force had to face a barricade of trucks and trolleys. The person said to be responsible for the killing of the army man was caught from another village, tied to a jeep and dragged on the streets in front of the villagers. Later he was beaten to death and the mangled body given to the villagers on the next day.

There are several instances when people were shot dead just because they dared to ask back looted property. Also there are many instances of Sarpanches being arrested and tortured when the army could not catch those in their list.

"Healing touch" was thus not limited to ordinary villagers; when the army men came to know that the victim at hand is a sarpanch or some local leader (as in the case of KS Gill, a Congress(I) MLA) extra humiliation is meted out. Some villagers told us that even local workers of Congress (I) suffered a lot with the result that they have now turned against the military and central government. Both Hindus and Sikhs suffered from the usual check ups in passenger buses and other vehicles; buses used to take six hours to cover a distance which normally takes only two hours. And of course, orthodox Sikhs who wear blue turbans or carry kirpans were earmarked for special humiliation.

Tortures committed by the army are brutal to the extreme. Hanging the victims upside down, severe beating all over the body, applying salt and chilli to razor cuts are some of the more common tortures. One boy in Amritsar was hospitalised due to a two inch crack between his legs caused by brutally stretching his legs apart. A doctor who recorded that many of the bodies given for post mortem had hands tied behind and blindfolded was arrested by the army on 25th June.

Now it seems that the villagers are not in a position to actively resist the army onslaught. Apart from bullets and horrible tortures, cheap medicines are also a component of the "healing touch" operation. Villagers told us that these military doctors distributing useless tablets are only there to pacify the people. Another gimmick played by the army is to ask the traders to display price lists. Also, police officials tried to organise meetings in which they asked the people about their difficulties. But when the people started raising their problems they were curtly asked to keep quiet.

Another development is the growing intervention of the armed forces to suppress

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Graphic from Mass Line

Mengistu: The Instant Communist

Who says that the Soviet imperialists are no match for the U.S. when it comes to things like rigging elections or presenting tin-horn dictators and military juntas as servants of the people? Recent developments in the Soviet neocolony of Ethiopia reek of the same disgusting imperialist odor — only blowing from the East instead of the West — as the U.S.-engineered elections in El Salvador and the seating of Duarte as the “legitimate representative of the people.” On September 12 the ruling Ethiopian military junta — known as the Dergue and which has ruthlessly ruled over Ethiopia since the pro-U.S. regime of Emperor Haile Selassie was deposed in 1974 — celebrated the 10th anniversary of its “revolution.” But the big event wasn’t so much the marking of the anniversary as it was celebrating the long-awaited founding of a Soviet-style revisionist “communist party” two days earlier — the Ethiopian Workers Party (EWP). The gathering featured revisionists from all over the world — from a top-ranking member of the Soviet Politburo bearing Moscow’s blessings and Erich Honecker, the East German head of state, down to lesser lights in the social-imperialist world like the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA) and the Communist Party of Israel. And, in addition to representatives from the pro-Soviet regimes in Angola and Mozambique, even a few pro-U.S. African regimes — specifically Mugabe of Zimbabwe and Kuwanda of Zambia — were present. Everyone offered their heartiest congratulations to the junta on its miraculous transformation into the EWP. By far, the greatest kudos went to Lt. Col. Mengistu — the U.S.-trained officer in Selassie’s army who presided over this transformation with guns smoking since 1976 — who has now taken his place among the “great Marxist-Leninists” of the Soviet world.

The celebration was grand indeed. By most reports the cost came to somewhere between \$150-200 million — 40% of which was paid for by the Dergue while the Soviet bloc picked up the rest of the tab. Interestingly enough, the Soviets are usually quite fond of criticizing the Western imperialists for tossing such huge extravaganzas while the masses of people live in poverty. Yet, not a peep was heard from these erstwhile “friends of the poor” about the hundreds of millions of dollars being spent on a party in Ethiopia while millions live on the brink of starvation. Nor have they uttered a word about Mengistu holding off on the purchase of emergency grain to

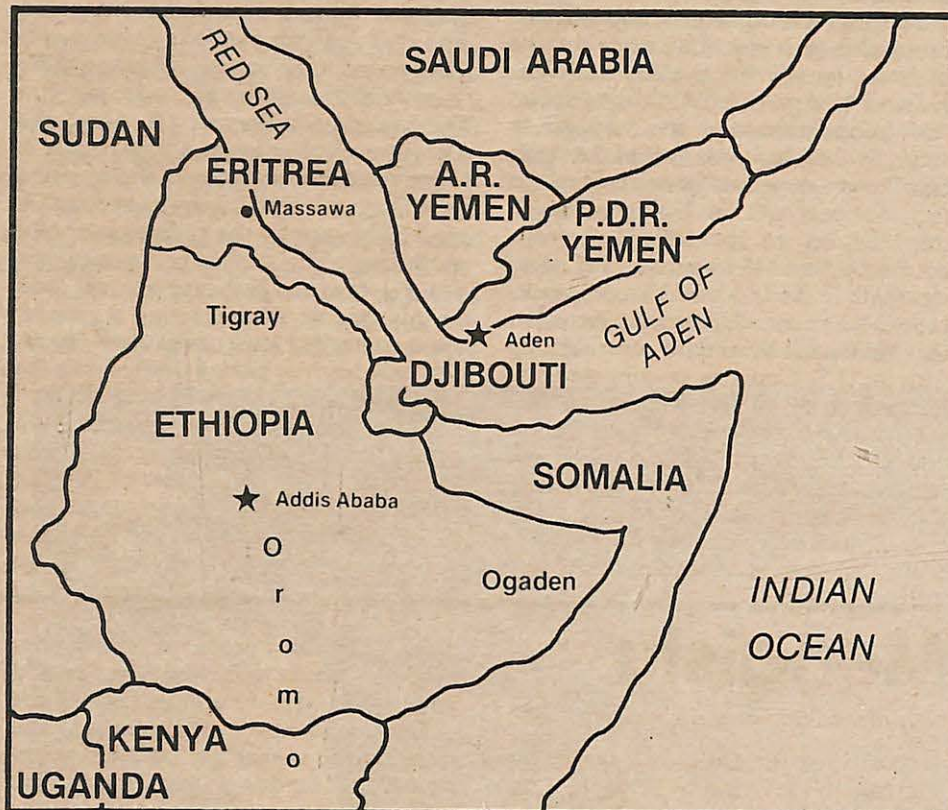
ease the famine situation because he just doesn’t have the \$25 million purchasing price. (One wonders where the demonstrators banging empty pots and pans, so common a stunt employed by pro-Soviet groups throughout the world, were during the festivities in Ethiopia.) The founding congress of the EWP was held in the brand new \$45 million Hall of Congress. All public places and buildings in the capital city of Addis Ababa were renovated. The main square in the city, Revolution Square, was enlarged and the roadway strengthened so that tanks could pass in front of the reviewing stand. Banners were draped across city streets. Billboards and statues of Marx and Lenin

suddenly appeared throughout the city. Even the top of the American-run Hilton Hotel was decked out in neon lights spelling out slogans celebrating the founding of the party. Ironically, one of the main slogans of the festivities was “Revolutionary Ethiopia Or Death” — a fitting reminder of the reactionary and bloody history behind this junta-turned-party.

Of course, as befits reactionary celebrations throughout the imperialist-run world, not everyone took part in the celebration or for that matter was even invited to attend. Less than a year ago the Dergue minister of information declared that the founding of the “Marxist-Leninist” party was in response to the demands of the masses of Ethiopian people. Yet, as a reflection of the actual nature of this party, most of the public was completely barred from the celebrations this year. The 50,000-70,000 people who served as spectators at the parade and other events were handpicked by the Kebeles — the Dergue-created and run neighborhood associations responsible for urban administration. Very elaborate and tight security measures were implemented to prevent any embarrassing disruptions of the ceremonies. Army troops were stationed along the city streets and especially on the road connecting the capital to the surrounding provinces. Travel into and out of the city was severely restricted. According to Ethiopian sources cited in the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times*, most of these security measures were aimed at preventing disruptions by forces aligned with the various national liberation struggles currently raging in the Horn of Africa.

Undoubtedly some, especially those who are politically and ideologically attached to the Soviet imperialists but who have also been somewhat embarrassed by the brutal and reactionary rule of the military junta in Ethiopia, will hail the

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Wielding The Hunger Weapon

It’s hard to imagine a more gut-wrenching picture, or one that concentrates so much about the crimes of imperialism in a world perversely molded to meet its needs. Famine in Africa; practically everyone has seen the horrifying pictures at least once. Children with huge empty eyes and stomachs so distended that it looks like they swallowed basketballs. A two-year-old kid that weighs nine and a half pounds or a 30-year-old woman who looks 70 and whose body is only skin covering protruding bones — both dying because they don’t have anything to eat. More precisely, they aren’t allowed to eat because they are on the wrong end of the social relations in the imperialist world.

In Africa today there are 150 million people facing starvation in 1984. That’s one out of every three Africans. According to the UN, five million African children are an inch away from death this year and another five million will suffer permanent physical and mental damage due to malnutrition. In 1980 and the first half of 1981 alone, 30,000 nomads died of starvation in just one region of Uganda.

One of the countries hardest hit by the famine in Africa is Ethiopia. Conservative estimates put the number of people virtually starving to death in Ethiopia today at somewhere around six million. Five million of these people are concentrated in Tigray and Eritrea — two of the areas where national liberation struggles against the Ethiopian empire and the pro-Soviet Dergue are going on. Thousands are dying daily. In Tigray alone 400,000 people have become refugees in search of food. In Eritrea people are eating seeds,

roots and wild fruit unfit for human consumption. Malaria, TB, dysentery, typhoid and malnutrition are widespread facts of existence. Throughout Ethiopia thousands of starving people are pouring into the urban areas daily desperately searching for relief and thousands more line the roads and highways begging for food from passing cars and trucks.

Given the dimensions of the crisis, the U.S. rulers and press have had to report on the famine in Africa and, especially today, in Ethiopia and the rest of the Horn of Africa. Of course, the angle of this coverage varies often, from just another “natural disaster” — or as one Western official in Ethiopia recently put it, “God doesn’t like Ethiopia” — to blaming the African countries and their policies for the famine, to overt propaganda points about the benefits of free enterprise and the inhumanity and callousness of the pro-Soviet Dergue. Lately, the U.S. has heavily favored the latter angle — especially as the Dergue recently formed its Soviet-style party. A favorite point that has set off cackling in the U.S. press over the last few weeks is the amount of money that the Dergue and its Soviet-bloc mentors spent to celebrate the formation of the Ethiopian Workers Party in spite of the rampant famine in the country. “How disgusting,” they scream, “the Soviets and the Dergue put politics ahead of starving people.”

For their part, the U.S. is quite fond of beating their own drums in praise of their “humanitarian famine aid” to Ethiopia. While this article will not deal with the underlying causes of the famine, it will shed a little light on the hypocrisy dripping from the U.S. bragging about its



People awaiting food aid in Tigray

“humanitarian aid” while pointing the finger at the “callous political maneuvering” of the Dergue and the Soviet imperialists. In Ethiopia the U.S. cynically uses its aid for one and only one purpose — to advance its own imperialist interests vis-à-vis the Soviet imperialists. Although the game is played out a little differently in Ethiopia than in many other places — mainly concentrating on winning influence with the Dergue and

Mengistu — the countering of Soviet influence is the sole concern behind all U.S. famine relief there.

Since the U.S. wants to talk about “spending priorities” and politics being placed before people, it seems only right that the U.S. role in relation to the Dergue and famine relief in Ethiopia be brought out.

First of all, famine and starvation in

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Hunger

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Ethiopia are not phenomena peculiar to the Dergue and the domination of Soviet imperialism. In fact, even in the "best of times," thousands of Ethiopians have died annually from a lack of food. When the U.S. controlled Ethiopia there were quite a few famines. In 1955, 400,000 people died in Tigray and Wollo provinces alone and in 1973-74, 200,000 people died in the same general area. Haile Selassie, the U.S.-sponsored emperor at the time, attempted to cover up the famine by barring any coverage of it and while hundreds of thousands of people starved, the emperor's dogs were fed gourmet platters of meat daily. Where was the pious U.S. outrage then?

Secondly, who is the U.S. trying to fool when it feigns outrage over the Soviets putting politics and political spending as "the priority" in Ethiopia. The exact same thing is true for the U.S. For the U.S., "food aid" is a political weapon. Its distribution is primarily determined by U.S. political and strategic designs. Anyone wishing to dispute this fact should offer up an explanation of why the U.S. cut off food aid to Mozambique, another pro-Soviet country severely affected by drought and famine, in 1981 in response to Mozambique expelling four U.S. spies. Or maybe they would feel more comfortable in explaining how the latest U.S. food and development relief program recently proposed by Reagan, which ties aid directly to countries taking up pro-U.S. policy, is somehow "apolitical."

In Soviet-dominated countries, like Ethiopia, this weapon is particularly useful to the U.S. rulers. Famine relief here is simply a carrot dangling in front of the Dergue — just enough has been dispersed to make it clear that the Dergue would be better off under the U.S. wing and at the same time just enough to ensure that massive starvation will keep a steady pressure on both the Dergue and the Soviets. While a State Department official recently assured the *RW* that the U.S. was being most generous with \$38.6 million in food aid given to Ethiopia so far, "more than anyone else," this is realistically a very paltry sum — only 17% of the overall relief provided and far, far less than what is needed. And, it is also interesting to note that the U.S. has employed a deliberately slow delivery process in terms of dispatching this aid to Ethiopia. Actually, the slow moving delivery process itself is part of the U.S. political game in Ethiopia. Last spring the U.S. and its bloc knew that hundreds of thousands of tons of grain had to be delivered to Ethiopia before October 31. By September only 30,000 tons had been delivered. The remaining 200,000 tons was scheduled to arrive over the next four months, that is, during the same time that Ethiopia's main port is slated for unloading shipments of cement, machinery parts and fertilizer.

The fact that the U.S. would criticize the Dergue and the Soviets for spending hundreds of millions of dollars on a political celebration instead of feeding the starving people is the height of hypocrisy. The U.S. knows full well what the Dergue does and doesn't do in relation to these famine victims, including how the Dergue uses much of the famine relief aid given to it. However, since the U.S. is only concerned with countering the Soviets in Ethiopia not even a peep of protest has been uttered in connection with this.

For instance, it has long been an open secret that the Dergue uses famine relief aid for purposes other than feeding the hungry. The U.S. and other Western imperialists dispatch food aid into the various relief agencies operating inside Ethiopia. When the food arrives at Ethiopian ports it is handled and transported by the Dergue's official Relief and Rehabilitation Commission (RRC). From there it often times ends up in Ethiopian army camps and garrisons or for sale in urban market places. Sometimes the food itself, under the guise of a drought refugee resettlement plan, is sent to feed the regime's reserve army troops that have been set up as colonial settlers throughout Oromia — another oppressed region engaged in a national liberation struggle against the Dergue. Or, some of it serves as prison food for

the "strategic hamlets" that the Dergue has forced the Oromo people into. And finally, *Oromia Speaks* (the journal of the Oromo Liberation Front) has reported that some of the food is repackaged and shipped to the Soviet Union in repayment for the \$3 billion in Soviet weaponry with which the Dergue's troops are armed. Meanwhile, peasants walking along the roads to reach famine relief centers have been gathered up by Ethiopian troops and forced back into their villages.

All of this has been backed up and documented by independent observers and former officials of the RRC who have defected to the liberation movements in Tigray and Eritrea. The Eritrean People's Liberation Front and the Tigrean People's Liberation Front have also made widely available photographs of army warehouses and garrisons they have captured that are full of famine relief food.

The response of the U.S. and Western Europe has been most gracious in the face of these crimes. While the U.S.'s UN ambassador Kirkpatrick did initially seize on this information for its propaganda value, overall there was little of the "outrage" that one would have expected. In fact, not only did the U.S. continue to ship supplies to the Dergue, but the government and the various relief agencies (both in the U.S. and Europe) quickly put a lid on the whole matter. Actually, they have gone overboard covering it up with the U.S. Congress denying the truth in the face of all the evidence and the relief agencies declaring that the Dergue and its RRC might be "overtaxed" but they are doing a better job of distributing the food than most other African countries. When a spokesman for the U.S. State Department's Bureau of African

Affairs was asked by the *RW* to comment on the Dergue's use of food relief and the pictures of captured army warehouses, he simply and angrily replied, "Unbelievable, not possible!" And, as far as most of the relief agencies are concerned, it is interesting to note that a member of the West German Green Party, who had seen the army's use of food relief first hand, recently wrote a letter to the Red Cross demanding an explanation. In response, the Red Cross sent her an inane note about their concern over prisoners of war.

It is also true that while the Dergue gets 95% of the relief aid sent to Ethiopia, it only has access to 5% of the famine victims. The Tigrean People's Liberation Front and the Eritrean People's Liberation Front, who control most of Tigray and Eritrea — where 95% of the famine victims are concentrated — get only 5% of the famine relief aid. The Dergue explains the situation by denying that these national liberation struggles even exist and claiming that they, the government, have access to all famine victims so there is no need to send this aid to anyone else but government channels. Of course, the Dergue does offer food to some people in Tigray and Eritrea but only if they come into Dergue-controlled towns and switch their allegiance to the government. Not surprisingly, this scheme has insured that few Tigreans and Eritreans ever get food in this manner since entering a government controlled town can easily mean arrest and death or getting drafted into the Ethiopian army.

Once again, the U.S. response has been quite understanding and cordial. The spokesman from the Bureau of African Affairs declared that "We recognize that Eritrea and Tigray are part of Ethiopia so why shouldn't the government get all the

aid." Actually, this response is not all that surprising since the U.S. has no interest at all in supporting the struggle in Eritrea and Tigray against the Dergue. Just a little more than a year ago even the "great liberals" at the *Washington Post* declared that "No Ethiopian government could tolerate" the "dismantling" of Ethiopia that would be implied in a victory for the Eritrean or Tigrean people.

Other State Department personnel and Agency for International Development (AID) officials have brushed these charges aside, saying that there is really very little that the U.S. can do about it since most U.S. food aid is channeled throughout relief organizations like the Catholic Relief Services (one of the largest "private" relief organizations in the world), World Vision and the Lutheran World Foundation, and it is these organizations — limited to dealing with existing regimes — that actually decide who gets the food. What this explanation conveniently leaves out is the fact that these groups are heavily funded by both the State Department and the Agency for International Development (and many officials from the Catholic Relief Services are actually former AID and State Department officials) and if the agencies want to keep this funding, they dispense their aid according to "U.S. policy."

Politics and political maneuvering are certainly in command in Ethiopia when it comes to "aiding" or not aiding millions of starving people. The bottom line here that decides priorities for both the U.S. and the Soviets are the imperialist politics and the contention of the two blocs over an extremely important strategic position prior to world war and nothing else. □

Mengistu

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formation of the EWP as a progressive step towards a "socialist Ethiopia." Actually, however, one would be very hard pressed to marshal any kind of support for this proposition. The program adopted by the EWP is essentially the same as that of the Dergue and, not surprisingly, this is an out and out neocolonial program. For those unfamiliar with the Dergue's program it should be noted that it has produced nothing but intensified oppression and exploitation of the masses of people living under the Ethiopian regime. (For an analysis of the program of the Dergue, readers should refer to the *RW* series on the Horn reprinted as the Revolutionary Reprints pamphlet: "The Horn of Africa: Imperialist Battleground.") Here, a taste of the neocolonial thrust of the EWP program can be gotten by simply referring to the most publicized aspect of the new program — the ten-year economic plan which relies on Western imperialist "investments" for 70% of its financing.

But the chief aspect of the Dergue's political program is its barbaric wars against the Eritrean, Tigrean and Oromo people. During his speech to the founding congress, Mengistu made it clear that these wars would continue to be one of the main pillars of the EWP regime. Over the past ten years these wars of national oppression have involved chemical warfare, daily bombing runs over Eritrea, forcing the Oromo people into "strategic hamlets," massive military offensives against the liberated areas of Tigray and Eritrea, arrests and executions of national liberation fighters (including setting up concentration camps in Tigray) and attempting to starve out the liberation struggles in Eritrea and Tigray, two of the areas most heavily affected by famine in the Horn of Africa today, by withholding all food aid from famine victims who live in these areas.

Even the leading personnel and social base of the EWP mirrors that of the Dergue. All seven of the top members of the Dergue have been elected to the executive committee of the EWP. The other four members of this executive committee are civilians who have been closely associated with the Dergue and include at least two of the Dergue's top people in its "nationalities work" — another indication of just how important defeating the national liberation struggles in Ethiopia is for both the Dergue and its Soviet overseers. (For the Soviets, a solution to

these "nationality problems" is quite important — access to the Red Sea coast and ports of Eritrea are a large part of the strategic importance of Ethiopia.) The main change is that the Dergue has extended its narrow ranks beyond the military and security forces to include civilian bureaucrats.

The fact of the matter is, the formation of the EWP has nothing at all to do with the transformation or liberation of Ethiopia. Instead, it is a direct product of Soviet neocolonial strategy today, especially as it applies to strategically important countries — in terms of positioning for fighting and winning world war — that the Soviets have captured politically and militarily. As was pointed out in "Angola: A Case Study in Soviet Neocolonialism" (*Revolution*, Spring 1984), the Soviet emphasis on the need for revisionist parties as the form of their neocolonial state was a development of the shift on the international scene that marked the mid-1970s — especially in terms of the contention between the U.S. and the Soviets — and of the Soviets' relatively new ability to capture power outright in a number of strategically important countries. Because of the position of the Soviets in the world today — their late appearance on the imperialist scene and the fact that they appeared as a challenging power — the Soviets are unable to completely dismantle the U.S. bloc's economic setup in the neocolonies they politically control. This situation sets up a very sticky contradiction for the Soviets. On the one hand, the Soviets find it necessary to not only allow but to encourage their neocolonial offspring and the Western imperialists to deal with one another on a very large scale. On the other hand, this does give the U.S. quite a bit of maneuvering room among and a sizeable wedge into the ruling circles in the Soviet neocolonies. More than anything else, this set-up is very temporary and it underlines the fact that the Soviets are willing to enter into such situations only based on their assessment of just how temporary they actually are — that is, it is a situation which exists pending a redrawing of the world through world war. All of which dictates that in countries like Ethiopia, or Angola, the Soviets require the tightest and most loyal form of organization for their comprador state apparatus — a revisionist "communist party" tightly bound up with the aims and designs of social-imperialism.

In Ethiopia the formation of such a party was a particularly pressing and difficult task. The strategic importance of

Ethiopia to both the U.S. and the Soviet blocs — the factor which has always been principal in determining Ethiopia's value to the imperialists — has meant that the contention for control of the country has been intense, with the U.S. basing its strategy in relation to Ethiopia today on the possibility of one way or another ripping Ethiopia out of the Soviet bloc. On the one hand, they have used their economic leverage and aid as a wedge into the Ethiopian ruling class. And, at the same time, the U.S. has also seized any and all opportunities to exacerbate the situation inside Ethiopia, including looking to various pro-U.S. and feudal forces inside Eritrea with whom they might cut a deal. Militarily the U.S. has completely surrounded Ethiopia with solidly pro-U.S. regimes and has increased the U.S. military presence and influence throughout the region. In addition to the U.S. Rapid Deployment bases in Kenya and Somalia, the U.S. has also fueled the on again, off again war between Somalia and Ethiopia over the Ogaden region. Military occupation of the country by thousands of Soviet advisors and approximately 16,000 Cuban troops, combined with a home-grown military dictatorship armed by the Soviets to the tune of \$3 billion, has not been enough to insure Ethiopia's viability within the Soviet bloc. For one thing, such a situation has placed a strain on the Soviets and tied down thousands of Cuban troops which might be better placed elsewhere in the world. For another, the Ethiopian army is not exactly the most reliable political partner that the Soviets could muster up — trained by the U.S. and the Israelis it undoubtedly still contains forces within it that might, under certain conditions, be convinced to switch their bloc allegiance. It is also true that the continuing wars against the oppressed nations and nationalities in Ethiopia have created a very volatile situation within the army itself.

Based on this, the Soviets have been pushing the Dergue to get on with forming a party for quite some time now. Because of the intensity of the contradictions in Ethiopia this has been a protracted, difficult and very bloody process. On the one hand, the Soviets have bent every effort to aid the Dergue — all 13,000 full-time EWP officials have been trained inside the Soviet Union. And, the Soviet and Cuban military occupation has been quite helpful in terms of freeing up the Dergue to both pursue its wars and carry out the process of pulling together the most loyal organization possible. This process has been quite bloody and

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Every Kitchen

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in recent weeks begun to suggest a need to separate the Lebanese crisis from the broader Middle East situation. And Israel's problems in Lebanon are well-known — the economic burden of maintaining occupation forces in an increasingly hostile environment, the fissures and strains within the Israeli polity over Lebanon. Israel's problem, however, does not lie solely in arranging for the security of its northern borders (as Israeli and U.S. spokesmen generally claim). That has always been, and remains, the least of its aims. More, Israel seeks to lessen the burdens of its extensive occupation in the south while still retaining some means and levers with which to maintain influence in Lebanese affairs and at the same time preventing a clear-cut Syrian victory and consolidation there, the "last word" as it were. Just how to do this when all Israel's efforts to prop up a stable clientele amongst the traditional Shi'ite village leadership in the south have failed, when the Shi'ites "have been rendered useless as negotiating partners" (as the *Jerusalem Post's* defense correspondent put it) — this is the basic dilemma Israel has not been able to yet surmount. And the prospects of an Israeli withdrawal must still be regarded as highly suspect.

Even now, as Israeli leaders are more forthrightly speaking of a withdrawal, new defenses are being built in the eastern sector of south Lebanon. A new system of fortifications, including bunkers, camps and roads, are being installed in anticipation of the winter. Israel's chief Engineering Corps officer estimates it would take four to six months to remove these fortifications — a curious set of signals indeed from a government anxious to demonstrate "light at the end of the tunnel" in its Lebanon entanglement.

No less ambiguous are the signs in Washington. The Murphy visit suggests a possible resurrection of the U.S.'s "peacemaker" role, yet the Murphy trip was accompanied by a simultaneous deployment of three U.S. warships, including the assault ship *Shreveport*, containing a contingent of combat Marines, to a position just off the Lebanese shoreline. At the least, this maneuver

served to revive memories of the last time U.S. warships were so situated — with the U.S.S. *New Jersey* raining indiscriminate death and destruction over the Druze villagers on the hills overlooking Beirut. There has been no surfeit in calls from U.S. government circles for retribution against "terrorism," nor should it be forgotten that Syria remains very much on the State Department-designated hit list of "terrorist nations." In any event, a flurry of diplomatic activity, should it be forthcoming, hardly signifies any move towards "peace" — the correlation and complementarity of U.S. diplomacy and Israeli "biting dog" military operations is a long-standing fact, to which countless graves stand in mute testimony.

Certainly, Israel is not in the same place today as it was when it invaded Lebanon in 1982. Its economic difficulties as well as fears of military overextension, are compelling reasons for a momentary retrenchment. But the further development of U.S.-Israeli strategic cooperation, accelerated since last fall, adds a new dimension to the equation. While the talks conducted between the U.S. and Israel under the terms of the "strategic cooperation" agreement have been held under the strictest secrecy and have not therefore yielded much "news" in the media, there is no question that what has been discussed weighs heavily on further developments — not restricted to, but certainly including, what happens in Lebanon.

Outgoing Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Arens indicated some of the contours of these talks in a recent interview with the *Jerusalem Post*:

"We are planning for contingencies and situations in which both governments will consider that their interests are being threatened. We are not looking at any situations where one side will be expected to act unless at the time, both governments agree to act." Should a need for such active cooperation suddenly thrust itself upon both governments, "it will be impossible to react in a haphazard way. Preplanning is necessary to allow us to work in concert."

Arens discussed both the strengthening of Syria's military position since 1982, as well as the problems facing Israel — defense budget cuts, etc. But all in all, Arens held that Israel still maintained a more than credible "deterrent" against the Syrians. Given the meaning of "deterrent" in current parlance, Arens provides a pretty ominous hint of what

probably lies at the centerpiece of U.S.-Israeli preplanning: "The deterrent we are looking for is one that will make it unlikely that people sitting in Damascus will think they can plan a war and that it will go according to the way they would like to see it go. Well, I can say that they are not in a position to do that, to plan with full confidence. And if they do decide to take the risk, I can safely say that they will meet some very unpleasant surprises." □

Punjab

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press the democratic struggles of the people. Even before the army entered the scene, the police and para military forces were involved in beating down the struggles of farmers led by the Bharatiya Kisan Union (BKU). Many of their workers are illegally detained. Now the rottenly corrupt bureaucracy entrenched in the Electricity Board and Block Development Offices are having a field day in taking revenge on those who exposed their corruption and sometimes even forced them to publicly return the bribes collected from the farmers. Moreover, BKU's boycott of political parties thwarted Congress(I)'s "meet the people" programme. In this connection too, many BKU leaders were charged with fake cases like theft and violence.

Recently, in a village in Gurdaspur district, farmers gheraoed (surrounded — *RW*) the police party who came with electricity officials to disconnect the electric connections. In one voice the farmers declared: "shoot us first, then disconnect". The villagers forced the police to withdraw. Punjab police and para military forces whitewashed all the slogans written by BKU and confiscated all the placards and boards declaring ban on the entry of electricity and agriculture department officials. Under threat, people have started to pay electricity bills in some places. Of course, this is nothing unexpected because an organisation like BKU is incapable and unwilling to formulate and implement a programme which can work in the absence of so-called democracy.

The people are deeply hostile to the central government and if they are not acting accordingly, it is only because of the present situation of lack of effective leadership with a correct approach which can articulate this intense hatred. □

Hunger

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primarily carried out by shootouts, assassinations and arrests within the Dergue itself (this governing body had been reduced to approximately 30 people from an original 120 people by the time of the formation of the EWP) and mass extermination of oppositional forces among the people. The most contemptible moment in the history of the Dergue is now known as the Red Terror — a period in 1977-78 during which 30,000 people were arrested and 10,000 killed as the Dergue moved to eliminate its leftist and other opposition among the masses.

For the Soviets the long wait is over and they have greeted the formation of the EWP with marked enthusiasm. As the celebrations of the founding congress began, the Soviets even announced that a new economic agreement between Ethiopia and the Soviet Union had been approved. In large part, the Soviets are counting on this junta-turned-party to clamp down on the contradictions in Ethiopia in order to secure this flank of the Soviet war-fighting position. In the course of ten years of "socialist rule" Ethiopia has the distinction of having produced more refugees than any other single country in Africa, and most likely the entire world. Today, seven million people within the Ethiopian empire face imminent starvation due to famine. And, most importantly, the situation in relation to the liberation struggles in Eritrea, Tigray and Oromia (which played a large role in the downfall of Haile Selassie) have intensified tremendously. Most recently the first stirrings of open opposition inside the capital city since the "Red Terror" have been heard. In fact, in the period before these recent celebrations anonymous leaflets calling for "Death to Mengistu" appeared throughout Addis Ababa. (While no one has claimed responsibility for these leaflets, the Dergue has arrested hundreds of Tigreans in connection with the incident.)

Given all this, the task assigned to the EWP by their Soviet parents is phenomenal indeed. In many ways, Ethiopia today very much resembles the situation in which the U.S.-sponsored imperial regime fell — a resemblance which must send more than a few chills up and down the spine of the Soviets and their newly formed "fraternal party." But, the fact of the matter is that the times are different today. And the possibility of the situation that exists in Ethiopia actually blowing up out of the imperialists' control has far heavier stakes riding on it than ever before. Given this, it is certainly understandable why the Soviets have rejoiced so loudly over the Dergue's change of costume. □

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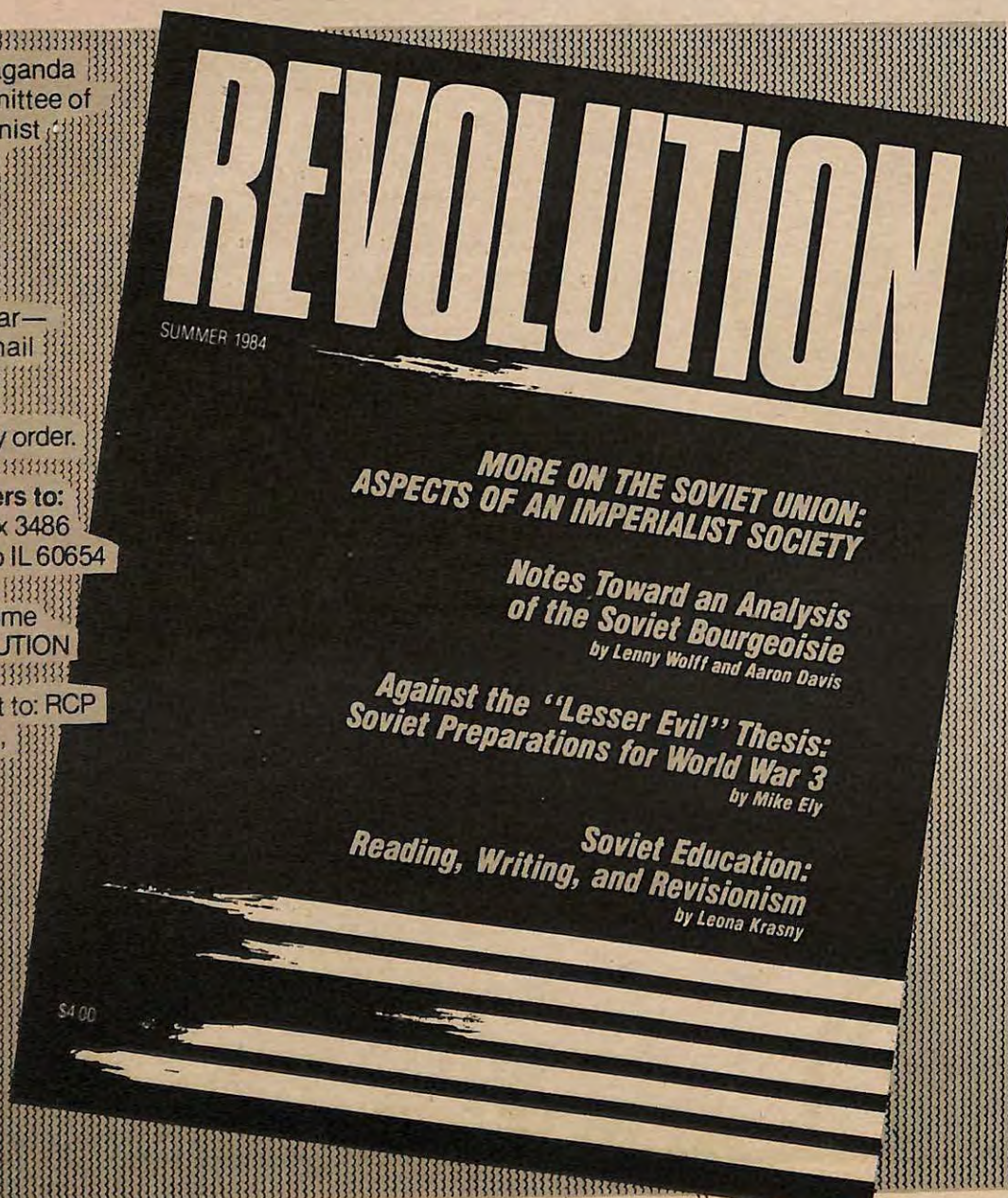
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