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A Vote In '84 Is A Vote For Nuclear War

Create Great Disorder Everywhere!

The second great debate is over. There is the ritual handshake between the candidates; the commentators make their typical, dumb comments; the lights fade. But a residual message hangs in the air and it is unmistakable. These "great statesmen" of our time — all of them — are looking into the brilliant light of the mushroom clouds and not turning away. To anyone really seriously listening, they have made it clear: they have ready, capable button-pushing fingers; they're on a course toward World War 3 and won't turn back. They call on us to vote to select the finger we want to do it.

Oh, yes, they *do* debate. They offer a choice. Mondale presents the virtues of the efficient, smart manager. He demonstrates his firm grasp of the techniques for counting multiple warheads. He aims for more bang for the buck. Mondale concludes his remarks with existential remembrances of being told as Vice-President

that he could be awakened at any time to make that "most fateful decision on earth." He assures us that his managerial skills will have prepared him, as President, to act decisively. He will, he has firmly stated, meet the Russian challenge. Reagan, on the other hand, is visionary. Ever the apocalyptic ideologue, his conclusion wanders into a dream of looking back from a future 100 years from now and on the other side of some conjured great divide. The man has gone from dealing with the shape of world politics straight on into the shape of the world itself. He wonders aloud if the California coastline he is driving along, as he dreams, will still be there in 100 years. He has earlier told us that Armageddon might come the "day after tomorrow." Welcome to the '84 elections!

Continued on page 8



Excerpts from:

A Horrible End, or An End To The Horror? by Bob Avakian

page 3



Ambush At Gender Gap

"Presidential Image" has pointedly been made a big issue in this election — with a capital "M" that stands for MALE and openly declares "macho is mightier." The cops at the Democratic Convention certainly captured the election spirit as they stood outside, holding up numbered signs, *rating* the women delegates walking in! And in synch, throughout this campaign, both Reagan and Mondale have whipped out the same yardstick, trying to out-male each other at every opportunity.

Pro-Reagan propaganda implies that Fritz is a wimp. Mondale says Bush "doesn't have the manhood to apologize" for an "untrue" accusation against the Democrats. Reagan pumps iron on the cover of *Parade* magazine and the press just happens to also mention that Mondale has appeared in a cookbook "wearing an apron and offering tips on butter versus margarine for his Fettucini..." One, perhaps, is tempted to pass all this off as typical electioneering/locker-room hi-jinks. But at a deeper level this aspect of the elections is yet another lesson on the sickening social relations in this society and how this election in particular is being used to further put a vicious clamp-down on women.

The "rule of men over women" has been rather openly stated as a central part of this year's election with a two-fisted approach: building up the "masculine identity" of America and simultaneously

slapping women back into every traditional dungeon. The fact that this is also the year of the first woman running for Vice-President has in no way softened the attack, but instead provided a further mean twist to it.

Since the Conventions, the quest for the definition of "commander in chief" has required refinement ad infinitum, with seemingly no end to illustrations of how presidential authority is the highest version of "Father Knows Best." One *New York Times* article put the "macho-factor" in the proper "vote-getting" perspective. Typical American males are first polled about their pro-Reagan position: "He's a man who, when he says something, sticks to his guns"; "I have to say Mondale's just not as forceful..." at work the guys stick to Reagan primarily because they see the race as women versus men, with Reagan standing for the values of the men"; and then the 25-year-old who says "he has noticed some men his age turning toward Mr. Reagan because he 'comes off as being a father figure' with solutions to their problems."

The article cites a Democratic media consultant who puts the nuts and bolts of the issue this way: "What you have with the President is an appearance of competence and being in charge.... Mr. Mondale, by contrast, projects a quote-unquote weaker male image.... He (Reagan) took a bullet in the chest and survived, and all of America saw it. That was a very macho thing."

Well, if you've known the security of nice American family life, you'll know the man to vote for. After all, when you fell off your bike and broke your arm, didn't your mother run around "being emotional"? And then wasn't it your father who was the one who stayed calm, called the doctor and "took charge"? No? Well then, your family didn't watch enough TV. You haven't learned the ABCs about those patriarchs — head of the nation or down to the smallest family unit — *they* know how to deal with crisis!

For the point of all this is exactly crisis — this is an election in a prewar period. The question in this campaign is precisely, "Who would you want to be in charge in a crisis situation?" Or more accurately, "Who would you trust to push the button?" The cult of male identity in these elections is tied directly to war: ruthless leadership, authority and macho-guts are needed in order to go up against the Russians. As one man tells the *New York Times*, "It's a John Wayne-type of thing, you know, the Cavalry"; "Reagan can butt up against the Russians." And a Republican consultant adds, "Reagan is a healthy dose of macho, and Mondale is part of the Brie-and-Chablis crowd. The Mondale people need to toughen their boy up."

But Mondale is certainly not one to be out-machoe. No way is he about to be a "sissy." One of Mondale's advisors responded to the Republican braggadocio this way: "The truth of the matter is on

male issues, defense and economics and things like that, Mondale is solid.... Even further than that, Mondale is sort of a man's man. He likes to do the things that we associate with male, what do you call it, macho. He's a fisherman. He likes to sit around and have a drink in the evening with his shoes off and a cigar in his mouth with his friends. He's a hunter. He's interested in sports."

It would all seem silly... if its aims were not so brutal, in fact.

The back-and-forth between Reagan and Mondale over who's the better male has a flipside — how so-called feminine qualities are exactly *not* what's needed. A Republican analyst posits that "The reason Mondale runs behind among men comes down to the fact that male voters in the main are not distressed by Reagan taking an aggressive position toward the Russians. And that men are less bothered (than women) by the feeling that Reagan is not sympathetic enough on social welfare issues"; the implication being that women are "softer on the Russians" and too "emotional about social issues." Thus again the maleness needed for battle is posed against women's "weakness." No room here for "men who fight like girls!"

Companion to all this has been, of course, the upfront attacks on women, all along the campaign trail. Ironically, the employment of Ferraro as the first woman Vice-Presidential candidate has been the focus of much of this; ironically, because Ferraro herself has certainly been picked as a woman who can "fill the shoes" of any male bourgeois. And she certainly does! Her particular role in the election is in itself an attack on women and deserves separate treatment. But in spite of Ferraro being "one of the imperialist boys," there has been a pointed use of her campaign to run out all sorts of women-hating stuff. For example, there's the now-famous comment by George Bush's wife who, "off the record," called Ferraro a "word that rhymes with rich" and later Bush's press secretary was also quoted as saying that Ferraro was "too bitchy." These little "quips in the campaign" only add to the whole atmosphere of the woman-versus-man theme and highlight the message that while bourgeois women are allowed to play the game of politics — running the country is still ultimately male territory.

While the nomination of Ferraro is touted as a victory for women's liberation, the press makes sure to show Ferraro out on the campaign trail, *as well as* tending to the chores of shopping and taking care of the home. And even her qualifications are frequently drenched in male-chauvinist stereotypes. *Newsweek* recounted how as a Congresswoman, Ferraro had "wanted a seat on the Budget Committee because she was a woman and the budget was a woman's issue." To this, Tip O'Neill, who had given her the job, responded, "She gets along great with the fellas.... Some members might say she's an ambitious, pushy broad. But

Continued on page 4

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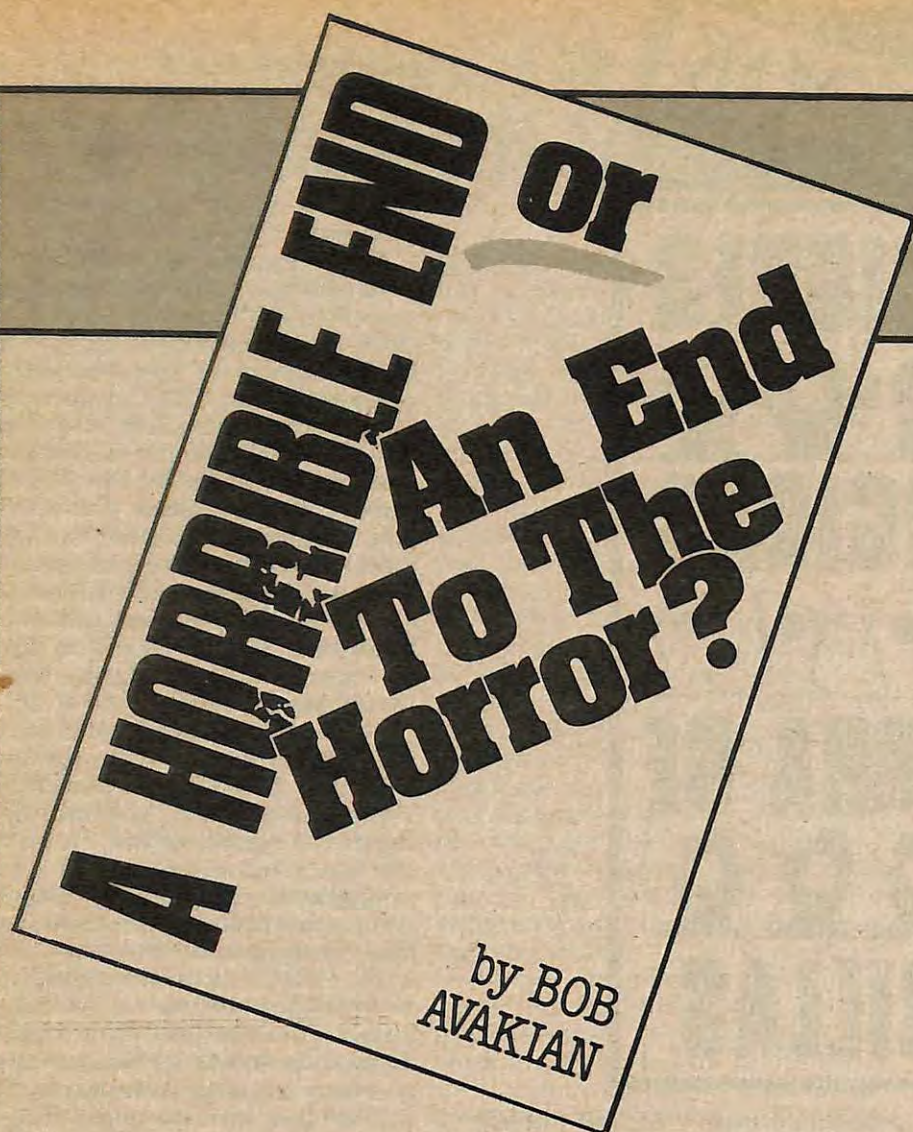
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The '80s: Decade of Extremes

Both sides, worldwide — the imperialists and reactionaries of both blocs on the one side, the proletariat and revolutionary masses on the other — will be faced with the need to seek extreme solutions to extreme circumstances. The '80s is not the '60s, true enough — but still less is it (will it be) the '50s! (One reflection of this, in the cultural sphere: the attempts of the U.S. ruling class to revive some of the values and norms, including fashions, styles, etc., of the '50s, is partial, modified. It is mixed with some revival of the '40s, i.e., wartime conditions!, but more with the conditions and "atmosphere," in particular the desperate decadent edge, of the '80s.) This is not a period coming off but one leading toward a major explosion of the world contradictions of the imperialist system and toward a resolution (one way or the other, on one level or another) of these contradictions through forcible and highly destructive means.

There is and will increasingly be sharp polarization in society. Although this will involve contradiction and spiral-like and not straight-line motion, the "middle ground" will be increasingly shrinking and the position of conciliation characteristic of the middle forces will be undermined as things come to a head. In the '60s in the U.S., while there were real and powerful revolutionary trends, there was still for most the underlying assumption that there was plenty of material abundance to go around, and even among the most oppressed in rebellion there was an aspect of "everybody else is doing okay and getting theirs — and I want mine!" Things in the '80s already are and will even more dramatically be on a far different foundation than this.

All this is a *good* thing — not something to shrink from or be intimidated by — but it requires the revolutionary outlook of the proletariat, a radical rupture with the present system and its values, to grasp this, to even recognize let alone seize the opportunities amidst the extreme circumstances.

"Revolutions Gone Sour"

Some sharp examples: China follows, within two decades, down the same path of capitalist restoration as the Soviet Union and there are no longer any socialist states at this time; Iran and Nicaragua give inspiration (especially coming only a few years after the loss in China) but, while certain reactionary class forces were overthrown and some blows struck at imperialism, no fundamental change, no real liberation occurred — no real rupture with imperialist world relations and real embarking on the socialist road — and instead new exploiting class forces (of one type or another) imposed their rule as new compradors dependent on and serving imperialism while maintaining "revolutionary" pretensions in one form or another.

These setbacks are part of the motion toward the approaching world-historic conjuncture and not "the end of the story" (even for the revolution in those countries but most of all for the world revolutionary movement) for this period.

During this "approach" to that conjuncture, in many ways things are more unfavorable for the proletariat than when everything does come much more fully to (or even further toward) the exploding point. The imperialists and reactionaries have more maneuvering room than they will have when things become even more intense, are "drawn tight"... explode.

A correct understanding of such setbacks, recognizing that they are bound up with the overall world situation and its motion and development — not merely the general historical context of the world struggle between imperialism and the forces of proletarian revolution but the specific, immediate world situation and where it is headed — such an understanding is essential in order to fully learn from this negative experience, and specifically to grasp the heightened revolutionary opportunities the approaching conjuncture holds.

This week the Revolutionary Worker presents the second of excerpts from Bob Avakian's newest and most important work to date, A Horrible End, or An End to the Horror? The entire book is being serialized weekly in Spanish in Obrero Revolucionario. In English, we are only excerpting some sections to give our readers a "taste." The book is available at local Revolution Book-stores and outlets, through RCP publications, and at some other locations.

This week's excerpt includes several subsections from Chapter I and its second major section "Questions Concerning Revolutionary Possibilities." The other subsections in this section of the book are:

Again On How Political Preparation Is Key Now

Politics and Politics

Co-optation in the '80s

Present Conditions and Political Suffocation

What About the Fact that Most People Are Not Politically Active Now?

The Real Lessons of Grenada and Some Other Recent Events

We Are Just Waiting... But We're Not Just Waiting

Ordinary People Rising to the Occasion

The Potential Role of Black (and Other) Prisoners

An Appeal to Those the System Has Cast Off

The Prince "1999" Line

This "line," especially in its desperate edge, does express the sentiments of significant sections of the masses, especially many youth, including proletarian youth. I find interesting the constant and very sharp tension (at least in the one Prince album that I've been able to listen to, "1999") between the general sort of nihilistic hedonism that runs through it and the underlying and sometimes surfacing sense that something is wrong with this and it is not going to work after all. This is true also of the title song "1999": They're going to blow the world up; my mind says fight but deep down I know there's nothing that can be done about it, so let's party, "I'm gonna listen to my body tonight."

It's important to talk about this line and specifically why it won't make it, including, ironically, on its own terms (and here the comment of a friend upon listening to this Prince album is very insightful: "to these people partying is deadly serious business"). It's impossible to get real satisfaction with all this shit surrounding you and hanging over your head and impossible to avoid being drawn into the "vortex" of gathering world events — impossible exactly because of what time it is and what is up (note that "1999" even speaks to this, especially in its ending — "Mommy, why does everybody have a bomb... mommy, why does everybody have a bomb?").

Such a line is an expression of particular features of the immediate situation — including that there is no powerful proletarian revolutionary movement yet to sweep masses of people in (in the U.S. or generally on the international plane). There *are*, however, crucial developments that hold this potential: above all the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement but other "shoots" as well, in particular the revolutionary war in Peru actually led by a communist vanguard participating in the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement and the existence of other steeled vanguard parties (also participating in the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement), including our party in the U.S., heading into the real "1999" — in the '80s.

Some Straight Talk on the Possibilities for Proletarian Revolution in the U.S.

It really is true that the whole world will be radically transformed in any case — one way or the other — in the next few years. You can't look at the question of proletarian revolution in static terms: as if there will be major upheavals in the world, in which the U.S. will be deeply enmeshed, but somehow things and people will stay basically the same throughout all this — *that* is totally unrealistic, impossible.

Yes, in one sense we are "playing a long shot" but it's "our best shot." And, from a world-historic standpoint — or even viewing things in terms of what the U.S. and other imperialists are confronted with — *their* position is more difficult, more desperate (keeping in mind what was said earlier about the future of imperialism as it exists today — that it is finished as such — versus the question of the future of humanity).

They are not invincible — they are not all that "bad," strategically (check out Vietnam, for example — a deep wound they have not recovered from completely, by any means). And once things get to the point where we can make an initial breakthrough strong enough and keep it going long enough to shatter

Continued on page 13

MURDER BY THE BOOK

Among other things, the release of the CIA manual for the U.S.'s puppet anti-Sandinista army, the Contras, once again demonstrates that U.S. official hypocrisy is bounded only by the number of words in the English language. Imagine what the response would be if the shoe were on the other foot, if Nicaragua had put out a similar manual like this for El Salvador, let alone for the U.S. The caterwauling of every U.S. official would be relentless, the media barrage would be overwhelming, the drum beat for at least a "pre-emptive strike" against the infamous "state-supported terrorism" would pound the U.S. version of public opinion into a juggernaut, backed up by all the latest polls. The expressed outrage against the "criminals" would achieve unprecedented feverishness.

But the criminal here is U.S. imperialism, and so it is the very different story indeed. Whatever the reasons for the manual's release, it has provided yet another look — if only just a glimpse — into the content of the "freedom and democracy" the U.S. is trying to bring to Nicaragua, and to the world at large. As if the U.S.-style "liberation" of Grenada wasn't clear enough, we now have a CIA document to dispell any lingering confusion. The primer may be called "Psychological Operations in Guerrilla Warfare," but its instructions for how to deal with anyone who doesn't exhibit the proper respect for U.S. authority are not mental.

For example, the manual tells the Contras' "armed propaganda teams": "It is possible to neutralize carefully selected and planned targets, such as court judges, police and state security officials, etc." In the U.S., such use of political assassination is usually attributed to fantasized "Libyan hit teams" and other "fanatical terrorists" supposedly in the employ of a state opposed to the U.S., and drastic measures are proposed to deal with this. Perhaps the reason U.S. officials are so adept at dreaming up these scenarios is because terror is *standard operating procedure* for U.S. operatives abroad — a fact which has been known throughout most of the world for some time.

U.S. "counterinsurgency" techniques are also well represented in the manual. The "armed propaganda teams" are told to take over a town — apparently they don't have, or expect, very much support from the population, and are therefore

OPERACIONES SICOLOGICAS EN GUERRA DE GUERRILLAS

instructed to chose a town "which is neutral or relatively passive in the conflict." At any rate, one of the first acts of the occupiers is to pay so-called "courtesy visits" to "prominent people" in the area — with the apparent aim of finding out what they know and letting them know the consequences of any objections; the Contras are also supposed to "mix in with the community" for the same reasons. But anyone caught "trying to leave town" is to be shot, and any hostility directed at the U.S.'s "freedom fighters" is no problem either; according to the manual, it "can be overcome by eliminating the enemy in a rapid and effective manner." Geraldine Ferraro commented that this manual represented the method of Stalin, not Thomas Jefferson. But she had her facts messed up all around — it is the method of John F. Kennedy.

The manual also reveals a little of the basic gangster operation that is a U.S. international hallmark. For example, in order to get certain individuals to cooperate with the Contras, it may be necessary to employ the standard Mafia technique of blackmail. The first step is to get the "target" to a meeting. Accord-

ing to the manual, "Meetings with guerrilla leaders can be arranged to seem casual. The meeting will be held so that other people know that the target is attending them. The target then is faced with his participation in the insurrectional struggle, and it will be indicated to him that if he fails to cooperate or carry out future orders, he will be exposed." If the "target" still fails to go along, the Contras are to adopt the pose of snitches (also known as "orejas," or ears in Central America), and denounce him to the police using "false statements from citizens."

Since they have so much in common, the Contras are also directed to hire "professional criminals" and to use them to "carry out selective jobs." An example of one of these "jobs" is provided — "taking the demonstrators to a confrontation with the authorities to bring about uprisings and shootings that will cause the death of one or more people to create a martyr for the cause." To make sure such confrontations occur, Contra "shock troops," armed with "knives, razors, chains, clubs and bludgeons," will "march slightly behind the innocent and gullible participants." It appears that some of the tactics of the Contras are modeled on fascist movements such as the Nazi "Brownshirts" — only, cut to order by the CIA and its employer.

The CIA informs the Contras, in one of the manual's knowing understatement, "A guerrilla armed force (U.S. variety, that is) always involves implicit terror because the population, without saying it aloud, fears that the weapons may be used against them." As is clear from the above, the terror here is made as *explicit* as is necessary to get the message across. All in all, the manual provides a perfect, if only partial, example of the freedom the U.S. is trying to bring to Nicaragua — the freedom for death squads to prosecute their reign of terror against the population.

Self-Exposure

In the week and a half since the manual's existence became widely reported, a number of interesting contradictions have surfaced. There have been conflicting statements by government officials, conflicting explanations of the manual's origin and breadth of distribution, conflicting press accounts in general. Another tiff over Central America policy among the nation's rulers was thrown into the public spotlight. As we've pointed out before, this infighting is essentially rooted in a basic dilemma the U.S. confronts. On the one hand, there are potentially disastrous consequences involved in any extended, direct U.S. military commitment in Central America: the U.S. doesn't want to get "bogged down" while it prepares for direct global war with the Soviet Union. On the other hand, and certainly tied to this interimperialist conflict, the U.S. needs to demonstrate and bring to bear its

absolute domination of its "own backyard," and there are differences over how to do this. And should it turn out that the U.S. does intervene directly in Central America — which is quite possible — the tiffs would undoubtedly grow more acute.

In the meantime, the controversy has yielded some illuminating exposure — or more aptly, *self-exposure*. At first, officials claimed that the manual was simply a product of a "low-level contract employee of the CIA," supposedly a Korean and Vietnam War veteran who was hired by the CIA to work with the Contras. This to bolster the story that leading officials "didn't know." But then *Newsweek* reported that "key aides" to the U.S. Ambassador to the UN (death-squad queen Jeane Kirkpatrick), CIA Director William Casey and Defense Department officials all met to discuss the "problem" of a U.S.-style "manual for revolution" in August 1983!

But this may have represented simply a codifying of what was CIA "practice" well before. Both ABC and the *New York Times* reported that a classified Defense Intelligence Agency summary from 1982 said Contra actions included "attacks by small guerrilla bands on individual Sandinista soldiers and the assassination of minor government officials and a Cuban advisor." Such reports are supposed to be regularly studied by the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense, the CIA director, the President's National Security Advisor and other White House aides, who are then expected to report to the President on the contents. And be assured that there is no "failure to communicate" within these channels.

Then we have the story that the manual was merely a first draft and subsequently edited and corrected by U.S. officials before the final copy was released. Indeed, Reagan stated during the debate that the manual had been edited once by a CIA agency head on the scene, and again by CIA headquarters in Washington, D.C., and that there were only 12 of the original copies that got out. However, according to Senator Sam Nunn of the Senate Intelligence Committee, CIA officials said that all copies of the manual "had some of what would be called questionable to some and to others offensive language, including language related to so-called 'neutralizations.'" And a leading Contra director, Fernando Chamorro, said that there had been only one draft of the manual, the only editing was done by his staff who tore out a couple of pages that "shocked" him, and that 2,000 copies, not 12, of the original had been distributed. Though a White House aide commented, "the fact is that it surfaced and it was caught before anything serious happened," Chamorro said, "it was used like an instruction manual" to train *Contra* forces for more than six months.

A distinct message came through all this, driven home by the fact that there were no official U.S. denials of either the CIA's version as brought out by Sam Nunn, nor any official denunciations of Contra Chamorro, who also declared, "... frankly, I admit we have killed people in cold blood when we have found them guilty of crimes. We do believe in the assassination of tyrants." The message was provided by none other than former CIA Deputy Director Ray Cline who was featured on a recent edition of ABC's *Nightline*. The program was devoted to a discussion of whether it was "moral" for the U.S. to employ former Nazi scientists in America's space program. Assisted by moderator Ted Koppel, the Cline "viewpoint" predominated: the Nazis worked for U.S. imperialism, and that's what counts. The topic was conveniently "updated" at the end of the show: what about the "morality" issue concerning the CIA manual? Again Cline predominated. A ridiculously (and intentionally) thin denial of CIA complicity was followed by a diatribe on the struggle for "freedom and democracy" in Nicaragua and an extolling of the agents of this "liberation" and their methods. The Contras, Cline essentially said, work for the U.S. and *that's* what counts!

Cline's reactionary frothing was matched by certain other people. Recall the uproar in various bourgeois quarters last week over the CIA manual. For example, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, of the Senate Intelligence Committee, went into public

Continued on page 14

Gender Gap

Continued from page 2

you have to be strong to succeed." Bush was only a little more upfront with his patronizing attitude in the debate as well as in his comment afterward that "I was talking facts. She was talking emotion." And then later, speaking to some long-shoremen, Bush accidentally-on-purpose let himself be quoted as saying, "We tried to kick a little ass last night." (Soon, signs appeared at Bush rallies saying, "Kick ass, George.")

All this touting of male superiority among the campaigners is reflective of the general ideological attacks on women that have been a fundamental part of this election campaign. Even while women like Ferraro are being brought into the big-time political arena, the message is being delivered to women in general — "look bitch, just remember not to step out of line" — and such a message is crucial for the bourgeoisie to get across in a time when they face the necessity to both increasingly draw women into (bourgeois) politics and at the same time establish the "superiority of men over women" more than ever.

In the first debate, which was supposed to be on domestic issues, one might think that at least a mention would be made about the problems and conditions women face, such as discrimination in employment, the phenomenon of the "feminization of poverty" or the rising incidence of rape. But *none* of this was even part of the terms of how the debate dealt with the issue of women. In fact the *only* way women were really addressed in the debate was first indirectly — in the

way religion was raised as part of further strengthening the whole atmosphere of "god, country and family" (i.e., women back to thy place).

Secondly, women were addressed — *confronted* is a better term — on the issue of abortion. Here the *right* to abortion for women was not even posed as an issue — it was simply: "do you consider abortion murder or sin?" To this loaded question Reagan then added a story of a woman who was beaten by a man so savagely that her unborn child was born dead with a fractured skull. The man was subsequently charged with murder; the lesson, Reagan explains, is not at all that there is something wrong with the beating of women in society. Not an ounce of sympathy is expressed, but only a thought aimed at all you women who uphold the right to abortion: a woman who has an abortion should also be charged with murder, same as this man.

In this way, the blatantly reactionary terms of this election have functioned to force women onto the defensive. Not only are women being given the message that it is no longer acceptable to have any of those "crazy notions of the '60s" that actually challenged male superiority, but even more, women are being told, "here's the standards, here's the definition of the American woman, here's your place... that's how it's gonna be, so now, how do you measure up to this?"

Ideological preparation for war has been an integral purpose of this whole election campaign, with the particular attack on women being a key component. Such an election does call for special attention to this question and for the open flaunting of imperialism's patriarchal identity. □



Election Poster From Peru

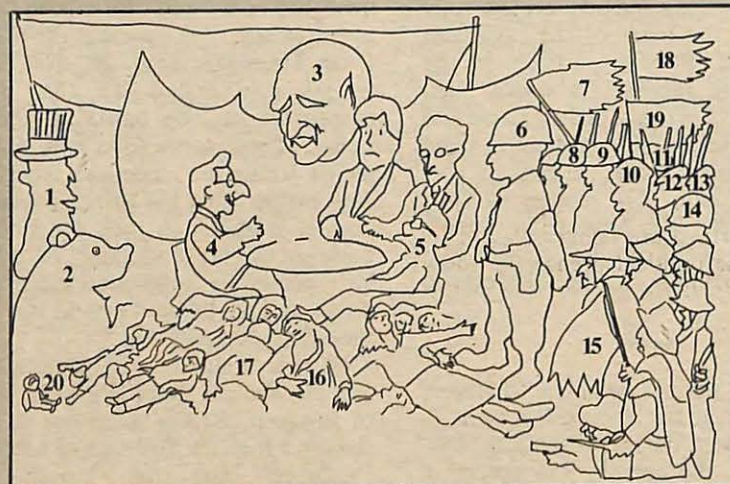


We have recently received this poster of the Communist Party of Peru, issued in August 1984. One side of the poster portrays the revolutionary armed struggle led by the Communist Party of Peru, which, as readers know, is a participating organization in the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement. The Quechua words "Qatarisun Lliu!" across the top mean "Let Us Rise Together!" At the bottom is a quotation by Mao Tsetung: "In a very short time... several hundred million peasants will rise like a mighty storm.... Every revolutionary party and every revolutionary comrade will be put to the test, to be accepted or rejected as they decide."

On the other side of the poster is a caricature of the "Electoral Circus 1985" — exposing the presidential and general elections to be held in Peru in April 1985. Uncle Sam (1) and the Soviet Bear (2) look on approvingly, along with the current bloodsucking president Belaúnde Terry (3), who will retire at the end of his term. From our reading of recent newspapers from Peru, we believe that the figures at the table include the new bourgeois candidates Alan García (4) of the Popular Revolutionary Alliance (APRA) and Alfonso Barrantes (5) the

"Marxist" mayor of Lima (elected in last November's municipal election as candidate of a coalition of various revisionist parties known as Izquierda Unida, the United Left.) While they play out the election game sitting amidst the bodies of those murdered by the regime, the official and unofficial armed terror stands ready. General Julián Juliá Freyre (6), head of the armed forces, stands at the head of this "criminal front" (7), with figures representing: the army (8); the marines (9); the air force (10); the political police (PIP), Policía de Investigación del Peru (11); the Guardia Civil, national police (12); the Republican Guard (13); the Sinchis, counterinsurgency detachments of the Guardia Civil (14); and armed reactionary gangs, "armed cannon fodder" (15).

At the foot of the table, amidst peasants tortured and massacred by the police, is the figure of Jesús Oropesa (16), head of the National Agrarian Confederation, who was tortured and burned alive by police. Next to him is the figure of Alcalde Muñoz, a mayor from Huanacayo of the Izquierda Unida who was assassinated July 24, 1984. While the government tried to blame the CPP for the assassination, Muñoz' own party has



accused the right-wing extremists of the murder. The flags in the upper right corner, "Bicolor Blanca" and "Nueva Bicolor," may be a sarcastic reference to the "Peace" and the "New Peace" which the Peruvian rulers are always claiming. Unfortunately, we were unable to find a reference to the "Children of Sachabam-

ba" (20), mentioned in the lower left corner of the poster.

Most fittingly, the poster concludes with the statement by Karl Marx: "The oppressed have the right to decide every so many years which members of the oppressor class will represent and repress them in Parliament." □



This fall, the annual NATO war rehearsal provoked a storm of resistance. Widespread demonstrations and disruptions broke out across Europe, with major actions in Britain and especially in West Germany. In West Germany, which was the major theater of army maneuvers, six months of planning by anti-imperialist and antiwar forces culminated in two weeks of outrageous "Störmaneuver" (disruptive counter-maneuvers). One major focus was the NATO actions near the Fulda Gap, a natural pass near the East German border through which tank armies would flood during World War 3 in invasions going either east or west. The second center of demonstrations was the area around Hildesheim, where largely British and West German troops were conducting "Spearpoint" maneuvers as part of the larger "Lion Heart" operation ferrying new armies from Britain to the slaughter on the Northern German Plain.

Near Hildesheim, an intense week of activity built up starting on September 15, which ended in an all-out day of political struggle and disruption on Saturday the 22. Near Fulda there were two full weeks of activities, starting September 15 and ending September 29 when a massive human chain was stretched across the Gap itself at the town of Fulda, and when a massive central rally came off in the heart of the projected combat zone. Previous articles in the *Revolutionary Worker* (in issues Nos. 274, 275, and 276) have mainly passed on snatches of information coming in from various sources. Now, thanks to correspondence from *RW* readers in West Germany itself, it is possible to make a fuller report of the detailed struggle that raged, specifically in the Hildesheim area.

Different politics produce different tactics. And in last month's actions in West Germany the long-standing divisions within the antiwar movement in West Germany manifested themselves as the tendency of activists to go to the two different sites of actions, Fulda and Hildesheim, depending on their orientation. The actions around the Fulda Gap were heavily weighted toward the peaceful gathering of large and moderate crowds for parades, speeches and human chains, and therefore emerged as an attraction for the supporters of the Greens, the liberal church pacifists, and the revisionists of the SPD-DKP spectrum. (The SPD is the Social Democratic Party, one

of the two largest imperialist parties in West Germany, and the DKP is the West German pro-Soviet revisionist party.) Such forces also supported the demonstration in Hildesheim, and many were involved in the actions that broke out there. But the concentration of reformist forces in Fulda helped produce a pronounced radical edge to the actions in Hildesheim, where the political impact of anti-imperialist and "autonomous" forces was much more sharply felt.

Overall there were 14 camps spread out around the Hildesheim area between Sept. 19 and 22, as staging ground for disruptive actions. Altogether, at least a thousand people (half from the camps and half from the area) took part in the actions which aimed at disrupting the maneuvers and clogging the machinery of war.

In the flood of propaganda the press produced during these maneuvers, there had been a special focus on the importance of the British ability to forge rivers. Part of the plans for British armies is to have them use this ability to come to the rescue of the Rhein army during WW3, as that army holds back the first waves of Soviet troops coming from the east. Quite understandably, therefore, the antiwar forces around Hildesheim decided to emphasize river landings themselves.

On Thursday, Sept. 20, over 500 activists converged on the British maneuvers on the banks of the river Leine. (These same Brits had just completed simulated chemical attacks two days earlier using the British military airport at Brüggen as their practice field, however the press accounts of this jolly little maneuver were consciously played down as just precautions in the era of "integrated battlefields.")

At 11 a.m. on Sept. 20, 200 demonstrators blocked the Leine Bridge at the town of Brüggen (20 km southwest of Hildesheim), which the British had supposedly "secured" for their crossing. The demonstrators used their own cars to blockade the bridge and managed to do so for about half an hour. About 100 pigs then moved in and began to bash in windshields and pull cars out of the street. The demonstration then dispersed.

A bigger demonstration (blockade) then took place around noon at the river crossing in Burgstemmen (about 10 to 20 kms west of Hildesheim). Tanks were prevented from crossing the river for two hours. Police moved in again and dispersed the blockade after threatening to let air

out of the tires of the cars and push them off the road. During the blockade one tank was sprayed with the letters IRA and a number of munitions cases were thrown into the river by the demonstrators.

That same day attempts were also made to prevent troops from crossing the Leine at Nortstemmen (10 kms from Hildesheim). Here the police applied more brutal prevention methods — in one case dragging people out of a car and mishandling them. At one point a pig pulled his gun on some demonstrators and told them to get out.

Around 5 p.m. about 20 automobiles again blocked the river crossing at Brüggen right in the middle of a simulated air attack with machine-gun and antiaircraft respond fire. *Bundesgrenzschutz* troops (elite border troops specially trained for suppression of political events) were flown in by helicopter. Civilian police who had mixed in with the blockade prevented it from dispersing until the crack police forces arrived. They then came in bashing windshields, letting air out of people's tires — even ripping the air valves out of the tires and throwing them into the river — then checking people's IDs. Here too a civilian pig drew his

weapon on a protesting woman who was yelling at him after he had arrested a demonstrator.

Friday, Sept. 21. It had been reported earlier that Wörner, the West German Defense Minister, and his British colleague Hesselstine were going to hold a press conference in a village called Herkensen about 15 kms out of Hildesheim. (It should be noted that the press center and headquarters were not in the city of Hildesheim this year like in 1980 — clearly to make it more difficult for the demonstrators to use it as a target.)

The demonstrators (300 in all) reached the village at around 1:30 p.m. — finding no military vehicles or soldiers, just a small makeshift table put up in an old barn. Then came the first British troops accompanied by police. They rolled out barbed wire clear across the whole village square. The demonstrators merged at the square on the opposite side of the barbed wire — 200 were here while about 100 went out to the helicopter pads where the defense ministers were expected to land.

Around 3:30 p.m., just as the press bus was arriving, a British tank zoomed into the village towards the demonstrators



Report From Hildesheim

who had gathered around the entrance of the barn where the table was located. Much to the surprise of the tank occupants the demonstrators did not get out of its way and the tank was forced to stop. A small demo started around the tank, a banner was raised and slogans like "BRD out of NATO" could be heard echoing through the village square. The tank quickly shifted into reverse and disappeared. As the reporters moved from their bus to the place where the press conference was to be held, the demonstrators blocked the entrance to the press "barn." Police then moved against them, kicking, pushing and clubbing people out of the way — this was gentle treatment seeing how the international press was at hand.

At the same time Wörner had been snuck through a back door into the press barn. Shouts went up "Wörner — Murderer." The pigs then pushed the demonstrators out of hearing and yelling distance from the conference. Wörner asked the press during the conference not to report about these disrupters, saying "What you see over there is not the population. These people have rather been organized and unleashed out of perspicuous motives."

The armed forces of the state went on to the offensive, undoubtedly as both a revenge for the day's activities on Thursday and in order to intimidate the demonstrators for the coming days. In a camp at Brüggen the police arrived in the early morning hours, entered the camp without a warrant and checked people's ID's. They threatened to close the camp if there were other disturbances against the maneuver. The night before, burning automobile tires had been thrown out into the roads near the camp while British troops were relocating their positions.

In a camp at Eddinghausen over 300 police appeared with a list of automobiles that had been noted down participating in blockade actions. Twenty-five to thirty cars were picked out and the air valves were officially confiscated. However, when it came to checking IDs the whole camp refused to show them and the police were forced to beat a fast retreat.

During the day small disturbances occurred around the maneuver area.

Saturday, Sept. 22. At 6 in the morning a large conference with representatives from all camps was held at the info-tent in Hildesheim. Plans were made to incorporate the thousands of other demonstrators, who were expected to arrive that morning for actions against the maneuvers and for the afternoon demonstration, into convoys together with the demonstrators who were already at the camps. Between Elze and Hannover along the National Route 3 leading



to Hildesheim, a large battle had occurred the day before between the blue and orange forces, as NATO armies were designated. Today there was supposed to be a massive troop relocation movement towards the northeast. Large convoys of demonstrators were to enter into the middle of this area and disrupt the maneuver.

However, during the night before, the orange troops had been ordered to disappear from the scene — retreating back east as far as the river Peine. The British troops were pulled back into forest enclaves which could be well protected by the *Bundesgrenzschutz*. In other words, a decision had been made very high up to stop the whole maneuvers for the day so that the demonstrators could not get to the troops.

Many attempts were made however by various convoys to get to these enclaves. Most attempts were thwarted since the state had amassed thousands of police troops which attacked the convoys, letting air out of the car tires to demobilize them for the time it took to pump the tires back up again. In some cases the pigs even took spark-plug wires out of the motors. Any time demonstrators would try to reach troop areas the police would

descend upon them, often with Puma helicopters that hold up to 20. Despite this, autonomen groups were able to block reconnaissance jeeps and armored cars at different areas, especially in the narrow streets of villages. The police and MPs would respond very brutally in such cases. For the most part, any military convoy was accompanied by at least one or two police vans, if not with a whole convoy of them.

Naturally the military authorities tried to play the whole "day of rest" off as something that they were planning to do anyway, but the fact of the matter is that the "attackers" (the orange forces, i.e., those playing the part of the Warsaw Pact) were supposed to have been thrown back by a major counteroffensive to the Peine River. Instead they pulled back in a massive retreat the night before Saturday. One maneuver observer counted 2,500 vehicles that passed through the area he was observing in the night between Friday and Saturday.

The demonstration in Hildesheim took the form of a "Sternmarsch" from different sections of the city by different forces. These "Sternmarsche" (or "Star marches" in English) are a tactic in which

columns of demonstrators, starting from widely different locations (and often representing different political tendencies), converge on a single center for a massive common rally. The DKP forces filed in behind the more Christian/pacifist bloc which was led by 500 women who had marched from Hannover to Hildesheim using the whole week beforehand to pass through the maneuver area. Stopping at various villages and towns along the way, various acts of protest were made, which included small blockades against military vehicles. They were led by about 10-20 women dressed in black gowns, faces painted white, who pounded long sticks on the pavement as they led the "death procession."

This bloc reached the rallying point ahead of others and began the rally before others arrived. Undoubtedly the DKP/church/SPD spectrum, which had clearly usurped organizational control here, did not want to be themselves "disrupted" in turn by the "unruly chaoten." But these appeared on the scene just the same. First came a small group of a couple of hundred in leathers, running and howling from one direction. They came with a large banner with the forbidden Hessen symbol (a lion holding a police club and wearing a police helmet) — a symbol of resistance against the Startbahn West. This group occupied the street intersection in front of the square of the rally, despite pleas from the others to get off the street and into the square. Police forces moved in to try to "politely" push them out of the intersection so traffic could flow through. Suddenly, coming up a street from another direction, a large bloc of demonstrators appeared. Leading the bloc was a small contingent of Young Socialists (JUSOS) with a marching band, but behind them were about 2,000 autonomen — many wearing masks in direct opposition to a court order that had banned such disguises. The police made a hasty retreat into a park on the other side of the intersection and the streets now belonged to the autonomen. Once reaching the intersection the first thing that went up in flames was a British flag. British imperialism was hit with chants: "Britain out of Ireland" and "Victory to the IRA." Then a German flag was burned partly; what was left of it was thrown down on the ground, spit on and stepped on to the calls of "Deutschland Verrecke" ("Germany, may you rot in your grave") and "Aufstand, Widerstand, es bleibt kein ruhiges deutsches Hinterland!" (Uprising, resistance, there will be no quiet German homefront!). □



A Vote In '84 Is A Vote For Nuclear War Create Great Disorder Everywhere!

Continued from page 1

In one sense, all bourgeois elections are the same. And not one has ever been about "the people making their voice count in the voting booth." Think about it for a minute: is a Presidential election campaign about you choosing a President, or them telling you what issues to think about and what to think about them? But it is also true that this year's election is extraordinary. It is an extreme example of the molding of public opinion around highly reactionary and foreboding terms of debate. The stakes and consequences are very high, precisely because of the questions that are up in the world, especially world war. They tell us that voting is the great equalizer, that your vote and Rockefeller's count for the same thing. And it's true. They both count for nothing. But your vote does count you as being pulled into these imperialists' plans and their terms of debate. Voting is no neutral act. Especially this year, a vote for any candidate is far worse than useless; it is your very own little push behind the U.S. war wagon.

"Reaganism" and "Reaganism" with Mondale

Another, related, particular feature of this year's elections is the degree to which the terms have been set by Ronald Reagan and "Reaganism" generally. "Reaganism" has framed the boundaries of the "two sides" of the so-called debate. Those two sides are war mongering and war mongering — Reagan, and "Reaganism" with Mondale. The themes of Ronald Reagan's four years (so far) in office have become the themes of the campaign. Those Reagan themes of home, hearth, halos, and nukes have been the altar at which Mondale has constantly bowed — and the issues over which he and Reagan have fought their little "it's mine," "no, it's mine" tug-of-war.

Of course, there is nothing all that "personal" about Reaganism. It is not the creation of an individual, but of a system — U.S. imperialism — in the grips of a serious international crisis and faced with the need to prepare for world war. "Reaganism" is simply what some of the features of this preparation have come to be called, since dramatic escalations in these preparations have taken place in Reagan's term of office. "Reaganism" is not a man... it's nothing but imperialism. If one President becomes less suitable, another can easily take his place and carry out the program.

The election became more of a "horse race" in October, with Mondale climbing a little bit closer to Reagan in the polls. But this by no means diminished these themes of "Reaganism." In fact, quite the opposite was true. With each candidate clutching hard for these reactionary issues to be his very own, and with the heightened interest in a "newly invigorated contest" these themes were stamped all the more firmly onto the public consciousness. The back-and-forth debate, if you can call it that, has served to create public opinion around what the legitimate questions and positions are. But now it seems that, once again, it is generally being declared in the bourgeois press that the re-election of Ronald Reagan is a foregone conclusion. It seems that (for now at least) there is consensus that Reagan, not Mondale, is the most effective man to preside over Reaganism.

So now, once again, we have Reagan well out front with Mondale and Ferraro chasing in his dust with their 31 flavors of the same basic garbage — from patriotism to "family values" to "austerity" to military readiness to the "willingness to use force when necessary," ad nauseam. What has been accomplished through this is another milestone in war preparation in the realm of public opinion — with Reagan the cutting edge and with the broadest possible pro-American consensus.

Fascist Theme of "National Redemptionism"

The central theme of Reaganism is national redemptionism, specifically the no-

tion of a "resurgent America" as the undisputed political, economic and military power in the world, able to impose its Pax Americana. Mondale completely accepts this program, while offering a few petty amendments on the best way to achieve it. In this form, national redemptionism is also the central theme of the Mondale/Ferraro campaign. Is it any accident that in about 40 minutes of speaking during the foreign-policy debate with Reagan, Mondale used the words "strength" and "strong" 39 times? Mondale recently asked an audience of Stanford students, "Has Reagan really made America stronger?" When you think about that question from the standpoint of the majority of the people around the world — including here in the United States — for whom America is their number one oppressor and murderer, why the hell *should* America be stronger? But this question, of course, is never asked. It's not on the agenda. What *is* on the agenda is precisely the rallying of America's remaining reserves to redeem imperialist America in the only way possible, with a world war to vanquish their Soviet rivals for world domination.

It is for this basic reason that it is quite accurate to call Reagan an American Hitler; it is also for this same reason that there are plenty of other aspiring American Hitlers waiting in the wings if somehow the ruling class deems it necessary to have another representative. Now Hitler, it is true, has been made into some kind of mystery figure — as if he came out of nowhere, as if fascism is something qualitatively different than imperialism, and as if the basic dividing line in World War 2 was that between democracy and fascism. No, Hitler was a man of his times and specifically of the needs of German imperialism at that time. But that only underlines the point that certain times do call for and bring forth leaders of the general Hitler-type, and Reagan is a fitting standard bearer for the U.S. imperialists and the monstrous crimes they are now openly boasting of having committed and the world war they are preparing for — which would dwarf the atrocities committed by Hitler and would truly be the greatest crime ever committed in human history.

The point, then, is not that Reagan is the only possible Hitler for U.S. imperialism now — nor that the U.S. imperialists will definitely install a fascist (open terroristic) form of their dictatorship in the U.S. itself before they are all through in the coming period — but that they will without a doubt attempt to carry out destruction and carnage on a massive scale, devastating the human race in a way unknown before — crimes for which a whole new vocabulary would have to be invented.

Part of the "mystification" of Hitler is omitting the essential fact that his central purpose and overall role was to serve the interests of German expansionism — to promote precisely the program and ideology of *German* national redemptionism. This was also his domestic political wrapping within Germany in the '30s. (And Hitler was, after all, brought into office through elections.) While some specifics of the position of German imperialism in the '30s and U.S. imperialism of the '80s are different, both share the common position (together with all of today's imperialists) of having to get it together to fight a war to redivide the world in a way favorable to them. All this is useful historical background for examining and understanding the perverse script of Election '84.

An Ideological Offensive

When Reagan came into office in 1980, some of the key ideologues associated with him (Richard Pipes, Robert Tucker, and the Committee on the Present Danger, for example), were already pointing out that a specific missing element in the scenario for a "resurgent America" was a campaign for popular support for new, aggressive international initiatives by the U.S. This "new patriotism" paralleled and was necessary to reinforce the massive arms buildup

already underway. Simply put, the argument is "what good are all those weapons, if you don't have people mentally ready to use them." A massive new arms buildup (especially in nuclear arms) had already begun, especially in the second half of the Carter regime. And to give Carter the imperialist credit he is due, we shouldn't fail to point out that he, too, recognized the need for the "ideological component." In fact, that was what his much talked about "malaise speech" was all about — identifying a problem of a spirit of malaise among the American people and saying something had to be done about it. Carter had also called for the "moral equivalent of war," as a response to the oil crisis. He also advertised that he had undergone an eye-opening experience about the evil of the Soviet Union when they invaded Afghanistan. They also played around with unleashing a "nuke 'em till they glow" social base during the Iran hostage crisis, but the end result of that dragged-out debacle was rather deflating. So, despite Jimmy Carter's Herculean efforts as a pimp for imperialist ideology, it really did take Ronald Reagan to "make it all come together," as he says. It took

Reaganism to make born-again neanderthalism more than just a Presidential pastime, and into a true national religion. No wonder he is so loved and respected by the U.S. imperialists!

Reagan began with a bang with his talk of a Soviet "evil empire" and when he managed to milk a crudely bullying invasion of Grenada and a luke warm temporary economic recovery into a hyped-up mood of "America's back" among a section of the population... well, the imperialist fans went wild!

The imperialist program of resurgent America has involved a two-pronged ideological offensive to prepare for global military action. The first prong has been the insistence that the Soviet Union is a ruthless and untrustworthy world power, indeed the repository and source of evil in the world. The 007 airliner incident has been Reagan's crowning achievement so far in this regard (never mind the obvious and ever-growing evidence that it was consciously provoked by the U.S., it just shows how the *Soviets* are evil!!). The second prong has been the campaign to overcome the "Vietnam syndrome" and win approval for the so-called "legitimate use" of American military power, with Grenada being Reagan's big victory on this front. And while Reagan tries to dress up in the imagery of "strong but restrained," his words and actions have set the stage for a whole chorus of truly insane reactionary fools of the Falwell- and Schlafly-type



In the face of so urgent a situation, we revolutionary communists cannot mince words: Voting makes you complicit in this criminality.

who howl at the moon with their message that, with American technology and God on our side, why nuclear war won't hurt us at all!

It is only by grasping this program that we can begin to understand the question of religion, which has been such a vital and vicious part of the political landscape during the last four years. No, this is not a matter of Reagan's excesses, his vote-getting among the Bible thumpers, or the cyclical swinging of the pendulum from the state to the church. On the one hand, the religious themes being struck involve submission to authority, unreason, and the subordination of women — all essential to national unity. On the other hand, God has entrusted America with a mission — to protect the world from infidels and to safeguard Judeo-Christian civilization. God has blessed America and America will conduct its crusade with the fire and brimstone loaded on an MX missile.

Quite a bit of intermediate sentiment



(particularly among middle-class sections of society) has been swung Reagan's way because, while the decibel level of antagonistic rhetoric between West and East has gone way up, this has happened in a time when so far there has been no major direct military confrontation to go with it. This "peace through strength" illusion has swung many of these middle elements toward a position of being comfortable with Reagan's program for now, especially when sugared with an economic recovery. What is really being prepared — which has absolutely nothing to do with peace — will come as a rude awakening to such types.

Reagan Mystique

Just what is the Reagan mystique? We have an attempted "personality cult" these days around this rotting corpse of a President. What is the content of that Reagan image that is so great, so above reproach these days that even as Mondale mounts his petty criticisms of tone, timing and style he must pay homage to the "inherent decency" of a man who makes jokes about bombing the Soviet Union? Reagan's banal, folksy themes have nothing to do with his own stupidity or simple-mindedness. Reagan conjures up images of simple, good days gone by — glory days with basic virtues like "self, family, country" which can ride again if only we accompany him into a happy future that lies ahead. Mondale and Ferraro, of course, strike their own versions of these exact same themes and try to sell their versions of these basic so-called virtues of a dog-eat-dog, killer society. There is a lot of looking backward these days, itself a testimony to the reactionary, death-bound character of this society. There is an attempt to recapture a glorified past in a visionary future. Idyllic pastoral pipe dreams are created about the time when "everyone had a chance to make it through hard work." This is, of course, a past that never was. It never existed for the majority within the U.S., let alone for the hundreds of millions dominated by it worldwide. Against this idealized past, the realities of the present (especially the pre-Reagan present) stand out as sharply inadequate. So we are invited to ride the "freedom tide" into a future which is a vague mixture of Armageddon and "U.S.A. Number 1." And the content of this vague mixture is not accidental, for the two themes are in real life inseparably bound together. For this envisioned future is as unreal as the past which is painted to serve it. All of this, needless to say, is a page torn from the Nazi manual. A moral and spiritual renewal of the German nation was precisely the banner of Nazi-ism. (It is also said that the Nazis were enamored of the German peasantry because of its submissiveness; can anyone think of any other reason than such submissiveness why Reagan is so enamored of that fairly sizeable and vocal section of American college students these days who have "designer brains," don't know shit about what's really going on and are in a daze of love for themselves, money and nukes?)

The German liberal Thomas Mann once described Nazi-ism as characterized by a kind of "sentimental brutality." This, too, is an apt description of the atmosphere being created in the U.S. today, as concentrated by Reagan and echoed by the likes of Mondale. How else can such a "national consensus" emerge around the myth that the crude and brutal invasion of Grenada was a glorious "rescue mission"? As with the Nazis, the dominant bourgeois ideology of the '80s in the U.S. seeks solace in an aggressive nationalism and an exalted heroism (and when they have to manufacture it out of such heroic events as beating up on Grenada, this is hardly a sign of durable strength!!). All kinds of brutalities are committed and planned under the ideological cover of the "intrinsic goodness," even "innocence," of America — qualities which have been

personified in the public image created for Reagan. And, yes, this is the very same intrinsic goodness of an America which was founded on slavery and the massacre of the Indians, which still makes a children's game out of this genocide of Native Americans and whose (somewhat short) "American century" dawned in the rosy glow of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Mondale is certainly trying, in his own way, to be the standard bearer (or at least helpful assistant) in all this. In a way, Mondale's very limpness and lackluster qualities do an admirable job at capturing that basic blandness of America. But Reagan's particular mystique seems to lie in his capacity for mystification, in his banality and folksy-isms which say that America can conquer the complexities of the modern world by falling back on those simple American "virtues" and by overcoming a self-imposed period of "weakness." Good, simple, God-fearing Americans can do it, Reagan says, and a "decent man" will lead them right on into the firestorm.

The "Mandate/No Opposition" Game

It is quite clear that what the U.S. bourgeoisie is doing — or wants to do — with this election is to say, when it is over, that it was a mandate in favor of Reaganism (almost certainly with Reagan himself being elected). But at the same time they do not want the election campaign to involve any real opposition to the direction that they (unified as a class) are heading. Hence two things: the Reagan popularity cult and the choice of Mondale as the so-called opponent. Mondale is perfect for the "no opposition" role with his boring, valium-like qualities (and even if this has been spiced up a little of late with the "Fighting Fritz" imagery, the basic fact remains that this guy inspires *no one*). Even more important, however, Mondale is the perfect "no opposition" candidate because the nature of his campaign, his program, etc., is nothing but rerun Reaganism. (And this is true of Ferraro, as well. Although we cannot treat the Ferraro phenomenon in depth in this article, while her image is somewhat different, her program is identical to Mondale's.)

This Reagan/Mondale unity is true on the essentials of every single question: the economy (with Mondale's "new realism" about government spending and his calling attention to the deficit); military spending (with Mondale's promise to keep raising this budget, only with more emphasis on battle-ready hardware); security (how best to protect U.S. troops when — not if — they are abroad); religion (with Mondale's statements that "America is the most religious country in the world"); Black people (you haven't heard Mondale saying hardly *anything* about this subject, have you?); immigrants (both men urgently want to "control our borders" with some slight differences on how; Central America (with Mondale's statement that he would impose a "quarantine" on Nicaragua if they didn't cooperate); the Soviet Union (both candidates are "tough and realistic"); and the list goes on and on, with the leading edge being "Reaganism," "America first" and its juggernaut roll toward world war. You can tell how serious Mondale's opposition is when, faced with the truly life-and-death question of nuclear war, the man zeroes in on the federal deficit as "the central problem of our times"!

Just in time for the '80s, American liberalism has gone back to school for "re-education." Always a good defender and prettifier of imperialism, liberalism is now ready for the even greater crimes ahead. It's even been renamed. Now liberals call themselves "progressives." Being a progressive means you, too, hate "softness" and "weakness" and you are more open and shameless in your belief that the oppressed belong behind bars. Of course this "new" liberalism draws sustenance from old-style get-tough liberalism à la Cuban Missile Crisis JFK, World War 2 FDR and Hiroshima Harry Truman. This "aggressive" liberalism — as exemplified by Ferraro and the "new" Mondale — has "no illusions" that "throwing money at problems solves them" and is tired of the "poor, pitiful" U.S. bully "being kicked around" in the world. '80s liberalism openly recognizes the realities of power politics and accepts that the bottom line is U.S. military

power and the willingness to use it.

It is always true that in bourgeois elections there is no "alternative" to the rule of the imperialists and to the basic policies that the ruling class has united on and around which it presents a united front to the public. Elections are never where decisions are made on the questions touching on the ruling class's basic interests, more long-term and more specific and immediate as well. But in 1984 there is a particular edge and importance to this "mandate for" and "no opposition to" Reagan's policies.

And what about the "surge" that the Mondale campaign received after the first debate? This, too, seems mainly engineered to help this election succeed as the "mandate" the imperialists want it to be. If there is no "horse race" at all in this election, nothing that draws voters into the excitement, it will be more difficult for the election to serve its real function. Where is the mandate if a lot of voters are bored into apathy and only a very small percentage turn out? If Reagan won by "a landslide," but with a very low total turnout, the mandate for Reagan's policies would be far less easy to claim.

Mondale, Ferraro and the whole batch of Democrats, including the "loyal opposition" grouped around Jesse Jackson and others, are nothing but the conscious complement to "Reaganism." The basic purpose of the whole Jackson campaign, for example, has been to pressgang larger numbers of Black people into voting and feeling that they have some stake in this system, something worth fighting and dying for. Jackson himself underlined this function when, just to take one example back toward the beginning of his campaign, he toured army bases in Europe courtesy of the generals and, speaking to the troops, told them that the East/West border in Germany was where "freedom ends and tyranny begins." One may also ask, was there a storm of protest from Jackson when, in the first Reagan/Mondale debate, supposedly on domestic issues, the fact that Black people even *existed* (let alone that their problems are increasing) wasn't even deemed worthy of mention by either candidate? Not a word of protest from Jackson — only praise for Mondale's exciting performance.

Here, too, in this "no opposition" camp we have the pathetic spectacle of the great majority of the "left" in this country. Most have crawled right down to the subterranean level of supporting Mondale — in some form at least — against Reagan. This has produced the sorry sight of the "left" trying to find some big difference between Reagan and Mondale, while the *New York Times*, for example, after the Conventions wrote that the differences between the two candidates were minimal. We are told by some half-hearted Mondale boosters that "we survive in the inch between Reagan and Mondale." Unfortunately, nothing survives in that so-called inch but illusions, self-imposed paralysis, and faith that somehow the imperialist system (with some reforming pressure from below) will make it okay. It's a lie, and a dangerous one. In the 1960s (especially the early '60s) much of the new left went for a line like this out of naiveté. In 1964, SDS even coined the slogan "part of the way with LBJ" and critically supported him against Goldwater. But LBJ's term was marked by immediate escalation in Vietnam and his "Great Society" was, fortunately, hit hard by ghetto rebellions at home. That was a rude awakening to many that there is no such thing as "part of the way" with imperialism. And now the stakes are higher. Seen in this light, "anti-Reaganism" is all the more clearly a pitiful and — as a conscious political position and program — a criminal attempt to narrow and blunt the focus of what the stakes are and what solution is, all the more urgently, demanded.

Voting is Part of the Problem, Not Part of the Solution

An electoral mandate is being manufactured for the basic policies of the ruling class. Reagan is their most likely standard bearer, it seems, but if something really odd happens and Mondale wins, the mandate for the same policies will be claimed — and accurately so, since this is what Mondale represents, too. In the face of so urgent a situation, we revolutionary communists cannot mince

Continued on page 15

Atomic Visions And The Great Debate

Only a few days before the candidates' second and last TV debate came the talks between the Duarte government and the armed opposition in La Palma, El Salvador. Seeing as how these talks were touted as a triumph of Reagan's Central American policy and a giant stride toward peace, one might have expected Reagan to brag a bit in the debate about this supposed diplomatic success. But Reagan did not brag. In fact he didn't even mention it. Reagan's other recent diplomatic peace ploy, his talks with Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko, got only a passing mention.

As a whole, what the candidates did not say in their debate was every bit as revealing as what was said. Mondale, for his part, was expected to hammer away at the story of the CIA how-to booklet on assassination for the Nicaraguan Contras. The question was raised at the very beginning of the debate by a panelist, was quickly disposed of, and fizzled away, never to mar the debate again. Hammering away on this point was obviously the last thing on Fritz's mind. Neither did Mondale mention his own talks with Gromyko.

Indeed, as many a newspaper column noted, Mondale did not at all "go for the openings" against Reagan, any more than Reagan touted his recent "steps toward peace." Instead each made it clear that, more than anything, the aim was to bring the Soviets to their knees, and that meant being ready for war, nuclear war. If any question separated the two it was: whose finger do you want on the nuclear trigger... and who's best qualified to pull it.

It has been said that both candidates moved toward the center in this debate, Mondale striving to look tougher on the Soviets, Reagan making efforts to seem more reasonable. If this is true, it is nothing other than a telling indictment of what exactly is the center of American politics today. It is much talk about strength, the need to use force, and the arming and preparation for war, salted with a few — a very few — phrases about how much, at heart, one desires world peace.

War Talk

Reagan refused to back off of a single expletive in his tirades against the Soviet Union. Asked about his comment that the Soviets were an "evil empire," a 1983 statement addressed to a group of evangelicals of the Falwell type who say they believe that nuclear war against the Soviets is the way to salvation, Reagan said, "I retract nothing I have said. I believe that many of the things they have done are evil in any concept of morality that we have." A bit later he accused Mondale of having made "statements as if they (the Soviets) were just people like ourselves." (Mondale's counter was not exactly a staunch defense of people-to-people understanding: "the Soviets are a tough and ruthless adversary and we must be prepared to meet them. And I will," said he.)

A while later, Reagan addressed directly the prospect of nuclear Armageddon. In a comment which has amazingly been billed as a retreat from Reagan's numerous statements welcoming the nuclear holocaust, Reagan pronounced: "No one knows whether Armageddon — those prophecies — mean that Armageddon is a thousand years away or a day after tomorrow." If this is just some philosophical question then apparently it's one that could get answered right quick!

(In New York two days after the debate an incident occurred which served to highlight the fact that nuclear holocaust has been put front and center on the electoral stage. A group of liberal Christian and Jewish religious figures held a forum denouncing the nuclear warmongering of the evangelicals and of Reagan. The group produced a list of eleven statements by Reagan predicting Armageddon "in our generation." The forum was disrupted by the Moral Majority evangel-

icals defending Reagan.)

In the same breath as his comments on Armageddon, Reagan moved on to a discourse on his Star Wars weaponry, which is of course aimed at gaining nuclear superiority over the Soviets, the very prospect of which would move things rapidly toward war. Reagan at one point announced that once some Star Wars weaponry was in operation, "We'll give 'em a demonstration" — a bald threat of a demonstration shot in space. (Neither should this be taken as a "gaffe," or impromptu thought. According to *Time* magazine's Strobe Talbott, "military men on the National Security Council's staff are already maneuvering to bring about a presidential commitment within weeks after the election to prepare for a space-weapon demonstration in a second term." This is something already on the drawing boards!)

Reagan's closing statement, made in the form of a slightly zoned-out musing about the future, also played the same basic theme. Reagan recalled driving down the California coastal highway, taking in the scenery and wondering whether a person a hundred years in the future "would see the same thing" (if not, what?!). He says, "they will know whether we used those (nuclear) weapons or not"... leading us to the moral of this tale: "Will we do the things that we know must be done, and know that one day down in history 100 years, or perhaps before, someone will say, thank God for those people back in the 1980s, for preserving our freedom."

Mondale — Not Outdone

Mondale's response to all this rapturous warmongering is well captured in his own closing statement. After summing up quite correctly indeed that "tonight we talked about national strength," he spun out this cold little anecdote:

"I remember the night before I became

Vice-President. I was given the briefing and told that any time, night or day, I might be called upon to make the most fateful decision on earth — whether to fire these atomic weapons that could destroy the human species.

"That lesson tells us two things. One, pick a president that you know will know, if that tragic moment ever comes, what he must know."

Mondale's second point was that he would "fight to avoid that God-awful decision," but the general idea was: if the job needs to be done, I'm your man.

To make things crystal clear, just as Reagan had his Star Wars weaponry to flaunt about, Mondale reeled off his own litany of doomsday machines: "I support the air-launched cruise missile, Pershing missile, the Trident submarine, the D-5 submarine, the stealth technology, the Midgetman (ICBM) — we have a whole range of technology."

Taken as a whole, this was a debate which placed nuclear war against the Soviet Union front-row center like never before in American politics. The subject which was once unthinkable and unmentionable, now became a grotesque point of pride, arising over and over again, even in answers to questions which had nothing to do with the subject.

This was one point, at least, which the candidates did make clear: the job these two bloodthirsty ghouls are crawling over each other to obtain, is that of pressing the button that could wipe out humanity. They present different images: there is Reagan the nuclear visionary... there is Mondale, a little like the manager of a New England shoe factory, the tough administrator who knows the facts and knows the score, and the guy who can darn well tell which missile does what. The styles differ, but there is firm and basic agreement on the deadly job at hand.

This is precisely why Mondale failed to

"pose the tough questions," why he "missed," in *Newsweek's* phrase, "chances to go for the jugular." Take the Reagan comment on Armageddon, cited above. To a president who had just stated that for all he knows the world could be obliterated by nuclear weapons the day after tomorrow, Mondale had nothing to say, no accusation of Reagan as a madman intent on war, no list of further Reagan statements predicting Armageddon... on this there is agreement!

When Mondale did speak sharply it was to picture himself as a better warmonger. For example, after Reagan's threats of a space-weapons demonstration shot, Reagan stated (as he has in the past) that he would "share the technology" for space wars with the Soviet Union. We needn't dwell on this: it can safely be called the purest bullshit. Yet, instead of jumping on Reagan's threats of a demonstration shot, Mondale chose to attack the supposed plan to share space-war technology with the Soviets — as weakening the U.S. by giving away its "most important technology"! How to render Reagan more disgusting!

Mondale also found a way to skip over any mention of the Persian Gulf, and nearly every other part of the Middle East, the object of a frantic U.S. military buildup, and instead concentrated on calling for more blood in Lebanon: "The president told the terrorists he was going to retaliate. He didn't. They called their bluff. And the bottom line is the United States left in humiliation and our enemies are stronger."

On Nicaragua, Mondale let us know exactly what he has meant all week by his comment that, in publishing the CIA Contras' pamphlet, the U.S. had "given up the high ground." This is a specifically military term, and by it, Mondale and the Democrats mean to get across that their policies will better position the U.S. to

Continued on page 12

ELECTION DEBATE New York City, November 3 *In the Face of Nuclear War — Is Voting For Mondale A Real Alternative?*

YES: David McReynolds

The 1980 Socialist Party presidential candidate and a staff member of the War Resisters League

NO: C. Clark Kissinger

Organizer of the first march on Washington against the Vietnam War in 1965 and contributing writer to the *Revolutionary Worker*

Saturday night, November 3, 1984
7:30 p.m.

P.S. 41 on West 11th Street (between 6th and 7th Avenues)
Donation at the door



They Died In Shame

Predictably enough, the Wednesday celebration at the White House was a time for Standing Tall, surrounded by a coterie of fawning medical students "rescued" by last year's invasion of Grenada, the president saluted the occasion as an "anniversary of honor." The Grenada operation, which more resembled a back-alley mugging, was hailed by the Commander in Chief as "one of the turning points" in American history, as having ended a period of national "self-doubt." Many of the assembled students flown in from around the country for the event — designated Student Liberation Day by its organizers — had distinguished themselves last fall by kissing American soil upon their return. Wednesday, they were kissing just about everything else. Asked if their fulsome praise for Reagan's "decisive leadership" amounted to a political endorsement, what with the elections just two weeks away, one student replied, "If we're being exploited, we're going along with it willingly." Certainly he showed, if nothing else, a good grasp of the meaning of American democracy, at least as it applies to its more privileged sections.

The yahoo good cheer overflowing at the White House stood in some contrast to the previous day's ceremonies, marking the first anniversary of the truck bombing of the Marine compound in Lebanon. While Reagan declared the day one of national "remembrance," he was nowhere near Tuesday's major ceremony, held at Camp Lejeune, North Carolina. There, relatives and others

gathered in rather somber fashion; the unveiling of a new monument inscribed with the names of the dead Marines provided the focus for tear-jerking ritual, all duly recorded by network cameras for the evening news. The memory of those who answered the Call to Glory was properly embraced and sanctified, the point being, as *Newsweek* magazine noted, to show that "most Americans" will recall Lebanon "as an honorable sacrifice."

Honor, indeed. For if, today, Lebanon as a memory stands in somewhat awkward, ill-fitting relation to the dominant theme of a Resurgent America, it nonetheless is a memory to be selectively drawn upon and nurtured. (Compare this to the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon, for instance; however little of the true horror of this savage campaign was conveyed in the U.S. press at that time, even that by now has been all but expunged from the record, insofar as the state and media are concerned.) Today, if Lebanon cannot be pointed to as a great success story, at least it can serve reactionaries as a reminder of American moral superiority in the world. As such it, no less than the Grenada invasion, serves as a "turning point" in American history — specifically in the reversal of the "Vietnam Syndrome," that political, military, even moral "self-doubt" felt at home in the wake of America's defeat in Vietnam.

So it is that Tuesday's anniversary served to commemorate the myth of American "good intentions" in Lebanon, as exemplified by its Marine "peacekeepers" who, as CBS News put

it, represented "the one hope for all of Lebanon." All of this, in pointed contrast to the unruly hordes "out there," from whence spring terrorist fanatics who "don't play by the rules." A *Wall Street Journal* reporter, reflecting on the events of a year ago, spoke of the U.S.'s "misplaced idealism" in Lebanon, which seemed "even poignant" in its naiveté. And if the Marines were almost universally despised by the Lebanese majority in the end, if Marine commanders, just prior to their February withdrawal, were observed combing Beirut's beaches in a futile search for just one Lebanese child to say "Gee, thanks, G.I. Joe" for the cameras back home, it was all because the Lebanese, consumed by their own hatreds, were incapable of the civility America sought to bestow upon them. No matter how many shells the 16-inch guns of the USS *New Jersey* fired into their midst, the ingrates still refused to acknowledge a helping hand.

It was not always so, of course. When the Marines were reintroduced into Lebanon following the massacres at Sabra and Shatila in Sept. 1982, their "peacekeeping" mission seemed full of reactionary promise. It was the Israeli invasion which, after all, had already done the bulk of the dirty work. Long funded and covertly backed by Israel, the Phalangist Party and its even more right-wing, swaggering "Lebanese Forces" militia had been catapulted by the invasion into the driver's seat of an uprooted, fragmented Lebanese polity. The PLO, having accepted U.S. guarantees for the

safety of the remaining 500,000 Palestinian refugees in Lebanon, had departed; the Sabra and Shatila massacres which followed ushered in a reign of Phalangist-Israeli terror against these Palestinians which continues to this day. Syria was, by mutual U.S.-Israeli reckoning, out of the picture, incapable of mounting a challenge to U.S.-Israeli designs. The remnants of the Lebanese National Movement, which had since 1975 challenged Lebanon's antiquated confessional system, were in disarray and demoralized. With the Phalangist militia about to be unleashed in the Shuf mountains, securing Maronite domination over the Druse inhabitants there; with Saad Haddad's Israeli-sponsored lumpen militia riding roughshod over the Palestinian refugees and Shi'ite villagers in Lebanon's south, all augured well for a Lebanese New Order. And in Lebanon, traumatized by the Israeli invasion and chafing under the onerous terms of its occupation in the south, America offered its ill-disguised services as a "neutral third party," around which a new Lebanese political center and government could coalesce. Posing as a guarantor of Lebanese "sovereignty," the U.S. was uniquely situated to consummate what Israel had begun.

Such were the terms of U.S. "misplaced idealism" in Lebanon; such was the "peace" the Marines were sent to keep. And such, as well, were the "positive factors" which suggested that the "peacekeepers" represented a fairly low-risk investment. With U.S./Israeli-sponsored reaction on the rampage throughout Lebanon, the "peacekeepers'" mission at the Beirut airport seemed, like the eye of a hurricane, to be a relatively tranquil proposition. So it was for a spell.

But, having broken Lebanon into bloody fragments, the U.S. and Israel simply could not piece them back together. The Phalangist militia, having endeared itself to Israel in the first place by its fanatical hatred for the Palestinians and proven expertise in provocation, atrocity, and civilian massacre, soon proved itself incapable of much else. Its depredations only fueled a growing popular resentment and resistance. And Syria, backed by an unprecedented Soviet rearmament effort, showed itself far more tenacious than anticipated in staking its own claim in Lebanon. By Sept. 1983, the government of Amin Gemayel was on the run, Israel was retreating to presumably more defensible lines in the south, and there was little recognizable "peace" left to keep. The U.S. Marines openly entered the fighting in support of an increasingly besieged Gemayel government; an enormous U.S. warship fleet quickly gathered off the Lebanese shoreline; and signs went up outside Marine bunkers reading "Kill all the Ragheads."

The dramatic reversal of its fortunes in Lebanon opened up a dilemma for U.S. imperialism. In a decidedly prewar atmosphere of growing confrontation with the Soviet Union, Lebanon had been a major contest and testing grounds. By defeating the PLO and humiliating Syria, the U.S. and Israel saw themselves as having cut off two of the Soviet's few remaining fingers in the Middle East. In the Arab world, the Israeli invasion had served as an object lesson in the terrible ferocity of U.S.-Israeli military power — and the savage administration of this lesson was at the center of all subsequent U.S. efforts to resurrect its corpse-like "peace process." Now, with the unraveling of its position in Lebanon, with Syria — more tightly allied with the Soviets than before — poised to reap the major benefit, the U.S. saw these gains in danger.

At the same time, precisely because this is a prewar period, with the U.S. in an accelerated drive towards *global* confrontation with the Soviet Union, U.S. imperialism could scarcely afford to be slowly bled through growing entanglement in a conflict which more and more resembled a quagmire. If an end to the "Vietnam Syndrome" was required, the point was not to be drawn into another Vietnam. Numerous U.S. establishment analysts, reportedly the Pentagon itself, began to argue against a continued escalation of U.S. forces in Lebanon — pointing to the danger of overextension, to other pressing "vital interests" (the

Continued on page 15

Invasion of the Black Townships

The South African government has taken yet another unprecedented step in its attempt to smash the two months of rebellion among the Azanian people. On October 23, 7,000 troops from the South African Defense Force and the police surrounded and raided three of the black townships that have been the center of much of the rebellions. The 17-hour operation involved a force so large that one BBC commentator said that in all of the time he had spent in South Africa he had never seen troop movements that size anywhere else except along the Namibia-Angola border. According to Lewis LeGrange, the Minister of Law and Order, these raids were carried out to rid the townships of "agitators," "criminals and revolutionary elements." A spokesman for the South African police also declared that these forces had created a "state of lawlessness that will be curbed by all available means." By the end of the day, 20,000 houses had been searched and the raids had resulted in 358 Azanians officially listed as arrested.

Political analysts in the U.S. and South Africa tend to agree that the South African government pulled the raid to "demonstrate their strength" and make a show of force to intimidate the Azanian people on one side and to reassure the supporters of the apartheid regime on the other. What these massive and brutal

raids have actually indicated, however, is just how shaky the regime's ground is and the deep and powerful effects of the last two months of rebellions.

The focal point of the raid was Sebokeng — the township which has been the center of some of the heaviest fighting since the latest wave of uprisings began. The raid was not begun until 2 a.m., when most of the township was sound asleep. After tightly cordoning off the township — one soldier every 30 feet with an automatic rifle and backed up by scores of heavy-armored troop carriers — a battery of searchlights was suddenly snapped on in order to illuminate the entire township. The police moved in, pulling off house-to-house searches and arresting anyone in whose house they found something to indicate "support for subversion."

Then, in a move designed to highlight the government's claim that it is only a "handful of troublemakers" causing the upheaval while the "majority" of blacks support the government, after each house was searched a red label was stuck on the door and each individual was forced to display another red label on their clothing. These labels read "trust me, I am your friend" and "cooperation for peace and security." Stunning proof of support for the government! As people left the township for work and, again,

when they returned at night they had to display these labels and a red slash painted on their hands in order to get in and out of the township.

Following the raid on Sebokeng the troops carried out the same procedure in two other townships, Sharpeville and Boitaton. According to the government, this was done simply because "the manpower was available." What has been very conspicuously underreported here is the fact that even as the South African army and police occupied Sebokeng there were fresh outbreaks of rebellion in Sharpeville.

Finally, it is definitely worth noting the response of the U.S. and other Western imperialists to this latest outrage by the apartheid regime. Just a week after everyone oohed and aahed over the significance of awarding the Nobel Peace Prize to Bishop Desmond Tutu, a collaborationist element in South Africa, these same imperialists have been quite restrained in their comments concerning the raids. The British have even recently moved to tighten the restrictions on the three members of the Durban 6 who remain holed up in the British Consulate — a move which lawyers for the three regard as preparations for allowing the South African police to enter the Consulate and arrest the three. The U.S., for its part, has typically announced its "deep regrets"

about the raids. How deep are these regrets? When the United Nations Security Council passed a motion denouncing apartheid and calling for its "immediate eradication," the U.S. abstained from voting on it. According to U.N. Ambassador Kirkpatrick, the language of the motion was just "too strong." Why, after all, would one "eradicate" its own offspring?

Of course, the U.S. still tries to maintain some distance between itself and the South African government (as, in fact, do its allies, which partially explains the UN resolution). An official State Department release on the raids declared that "These repressive measures are bound to obscure and put into question the [South African government's] professed intentions in dealing with the problems of the country by reform and concession." What *this* is intended to obscure is the fundamental relationship between the imperialist West, the U.S. in particular, and one of the key links in its bloody international set-up: South Africa. This relationship was underlined recently by studies carried for the U.S. Naval War College which advocate not more distant but *closer* military and political cooperation between the U.S. and the apartheid regime in order to best serve U.S. global interests. □

Debate

Continued from page 10

literally mow down the Sandinistas. If anyone doubted this, Mondale cleared matters up in the debate by further spelling out his proposal for a quarantine, a military plan that openly threatens Nicaragua and her Soviet supporters in a more open way than even Reagan has ever done.

Careful Sparring

The two candidates did do a little careful sparring on the Philippines and on Nicaragua. Reagan made a point of raising up some ominous points about the Philippines, supporting Marcos as a friendly dictator, saying the alternative was "a Communist movement to take over the Philippines." Asked what he would do if such a movement threatened U.S. bases there, Reagan evaded any direct answer, and when the panelist

asked again, the whole subject was cut off by moderator Edwin Newman. Still, the threat of intervention was not denied.

Mondale followed by implying that as Vice-President he had supported Aquino more strongly and had pressed for human rights. But he did not challenge the basics of U.S. policy there (which, incidentally, does keep close contact with Aquino forces as part of its strategy). Mondale agreed with Reagan on the all-important nature of U.S. airbases there... and moved on to other subjects.

The same was true even more starkly in the case of Central America. Mondale took a couple of quick jabs at the CIA Contras' pamphlet, and at support of the Contras themselves. But, again, the fundamentals of the bloody U.S. vise now being tightened on the region went unmentioned and unchallenged; one would think that the report of the Kissinger Commission might arise in some way, for example, but this was not to be. Here, as elsewhere, the basic Reagan message stood: the U.S. *will* use force in the world, the CIA *will* operate, the Soviets

will be confronted, and U.S. "vital interests" will be advanced — or else.

The gentle jabs by Mondale on some issues do not reflect any basic differences between Republicans and Democrats. Rather they are signs that the U.S. imperialists as a whole are on the horns of a dilemma in Central America and other places, a dilemma which will not surface in this sort of debate. The U.S. does need to and strives to stop Soviet advances in this region. But it does not want to become bogged down and entangled in a conflict there in such a way that its preparations for global conflict would be harmed. Its plans for world war give rise to this conundrum, but just because of this it is a conundrum which will *not* be debated on TV.

Instead, what we were shown was less a debate than a stage-managed precoronation of the new chieftain. In the days before the debate the press had set some less-than-Herculean tests for Reagan to meet: in order to be pronounced the winner the incumbent would have to speak

more or less coherently and remain fully awake during all ninety minutes. Having done so, Reagan has now by all accounts sewn up the election.

There were other exposures of American democracy, too, some of them bizarre. One is contained in the true story of the so-called "focus group" assembled by the Republicans for the debate. This was a group of "average people" who were gathered in a hotel room in Kansas City, planted in front of a TV to watch the debate and wired to electronic devices that measured their feelings as they responded to the candidates! Here we truly have bourgeois democracy in action, high-tech demagogues determining electronically the best way to manipulate people's emotions and herd them behind a program and leader already determined and enshrined by the ruling class. Cannot mankind do better than this? □

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RCP

Correspondence On Fela Kuti Vs. The VIPs

Dear RW:

A couple weeks ago a reader wrote a letter about the harassment of Nigerian musician Fela Anikulopo Kuti. Since then things have escalated and on October 22 he was put on trial, charged with "failing to declare foreign currency" at the airport in Nigeria when leaving for his U.S. concert tour. There's no word yet on the outcome of this. As was indicated by the letter, this man, who is known worldwide as one of the major figures in modern African music, has been arrested literally hundreds of times for his relentless stand against the government and imperialism. But until now he's never been convicted of anything, and rarely tried. So these recent events are quite serious — if convicted, he faces five to twenty-one years imprisonment.

Last August, Fela and his thirty-six-member band, Egypt 80, had scheduled their first U.S. concert date in 15 years. The U.S. embassy in Nigeria put up the first roadblock to this tour, claiming a few days before they left that the band's visas were forgeries, even though they'd been sent by diplomatic courier from the U.S.! After the "authenticity" of the papers had been cleared, the embassy declared that several band members had to submit to interviews before anyone could receive their visas. They refused to set the interviews until after the opening dates of the tour and when the individuals showed up for the questioning they were told that it wasn't necessary after all and the visas were handed over. These maneuvers forced two postponements of the tour dates, sowing much confusion among fans and club owners as to when, and if, Fela and Egypt 80 would ever show up.

Despite the harassment from the U.S. embassy, it seemed that the band would finally be able to salvage at least part of the tour. However, when they arrived at the Lagos airport, Nigerian customs police strip-searched and individually escorted each member onto the plane, and when the doors closed Fela was not on board. Though the pilot, a big Fela fan, held the flight for three hours waiting for the government to release him, they finally had to take off and the band made their scheduled tour without Fela.

Fela had been detained for carrying 1,600 British pounds (approximately \$2,000) for the band's touring expenses in his pocket. (A recent Nigerian law limits travelers to \$150.) The police seized his passport and held him for three days; upon his release he requested his passport

so that he could join the band. When this was refused he called a press conference — which is illegal in Nigeria unless approved in advance by the government. He barely got through one sentence when officers of the NSA (the Nigerian equivalent of the FBI) rearrested him, this time for "defamation of the government." He has been imprisoned ever since this incident, now totaling over two months. The original currency charges have been reinstated and the trial is underway.

Besides using this specific charge to lock up Fela and his music, it also appears to be a cynical attack on the part of the Burhari government to bolster, or perhaps redefine, their so-called "War on Corruption." When this military junta seized power ten months ago with the tacit approval of the U.S., they announced a campaign against "corruption" — which mainly involved putting some of their bourgeois political rivals in jail for being linked with a massive scandal (taking huge amounts of the country's oil wealth and depositing them in foreign banks). Many of these former officials and businessmen were released at just about the same time Fela was imprisoned. It is more than ironic that Fela has always been notorious for exposing these intrigues and the whole imperialist stranglehold in Africa, through his music and pronouncements, including naming names.

The actual reason Fela had to take the money out of the country reveals yet another dimension to the suppression of the man and his music. For years, Fela has been unable to get a contract with a major American record company, even though his records have sold in the hundreds of thousands in Africa and Europe — and this, under the most difficult conditions: his records frequently banned and his performances outlawed in many African countries. Just recently, he'd finally gotten a deal with EMI/Capitol for the release of several of his records here — at long last, and after other African musicians have enjoyed significant U.S. promotion and gathered larger audiences and critical acclaim in the last couple of years. But when it came to putting up money for Fela's tour, EMI/Capitol balked, claiming poor organization of the tour, and refused to help set up what was clearly no minor undertaking, even without harassment from two governments. A few weeks ago, right after the band played the U.S. dates without Fela, EMI/Capitol dropped him



altogether. When asked why, their publicist replied: "With all the political problems trying to play in the U.S. last month, and since it looks like he'll never be able to play here, he was dropped, since touring is a major way of promoting albums."

What's involved here is further indicated by the fact that the outrageous attacks on this world-class artist went practically unmentioned in the U.S. press, with the exception of a few articles, including one by the *Los Angeles Times* headlined, "Nigerian Arrested For Smuggling." And several reporters from major newspapers apparently submitted stories but had them axed by their editors. Even the arts and music media have largely ignored the events, only announcing concert cancellations and leaving the impression that the problem lay with technical complications or Fela's "unmanageable" entourage.

(It is perhaps also not just coincidental that in the last few days another progressive Nigerian musician, Sonny Okusun, had to cancel his New York concert dates because of problems with U.S. Immigration & Naturalization.)

In predictable fashion, no one at the Nigerian Desk of the U.S. State Department or at the Nigerian Consulate had any explanation for this entire debacle ("How do you spell his name?"). And while it is beyond the scope of this letter to analyze in its complexity the challenge which Fela's music and his political activities as a revolutionary Pan-Africanist presents to the imperialists and the Nigerian bourgeoisie, it is clearly a major problem for them, and one they have

been trying to deal with for years. They have burned down his home, nightclub and recording studio; murdered his mother; raped his women dancers and companions; jailed him regularly; stolen his royalties and banned his music. And yet, by many accounts he is today the most popular human being among the masses, particularly the youth, in all of Nigeria. Beyond that, in Europe the man has raised an audience of 15,000 people on two days notice.

What has sent the various authorities over the edge this time in their campaign against Fela is difficult to pin down presently, but it could well involve the prospect of Fela's music breaking in the U.S. For the Nigerian government in particular his international popularity represents a supreme embarrassment to them and makes it all the more politically costly for them to silence him at home.

Fela is rather clear on what keeps him and his music alive and thriving: a few months ago while in Britain he commented, "I have lost everything fighting the vagabonds in power (V.I.P.'s), but I can never be destroyed. . . . I have nothing now except the things I have been fighting for all these years, the love of my people and my Afrikan identity."

For those people who consider this artist one of their own, the gauntlet has been laid down. Like the lines in his song "I.T.T.":

International Thief Thief
We go fight dem well — well
We don tire to carry any more of dem
shit

A correspondent in New York

Atlanta Telegram Demands Release of Fela Kuti

Readers from Atlanta sent us the text of the following telegram which was written by a punk rock musician in Atlanta, circulated for signatures in Atlanta and sent to the Nigerian ambassador to the United States, I.C. Olesimeka, at the Nigerian Embassy, 22011 M Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037:

To the Government of Nigeria:

We would like you to know that we strongly oppose your not letting the brilliant Fela Anikulapo Kuti out of your country so that we can hear his music performed live. There are many here who want him to come to this country, and we know why you have not let him through. We also know that you have oppressed him continuously over a long period of time, and that he is now on trial in an attempt to silence his living musical voice permanently. Take heed, we are not prepared to let your tactics go unnoticed, and if Fela is made a victim of them, his oppressors will have no rest.

Signed by:

14 musicians including
Members of DSC (Destructive School Children)
Members of T.A.P.S.
Members of Neon Christ
Vic Varney, Athens Georgia

12 DJs including:
Arthur Davis, Music Director WREK
Abdul Rasheed Mannan, Station Manager WRFG
Miller Francis, Revolution Rock DJ, WRFG
Ernest Gregory, jazz DJ, WRFG
Michael Gandy, reggae DJ, WRFG
Quinton Goodman, DJ, WREK

Danny Beard, President DG Records
Michael Perri, arts writer, Atlanta
Mitchell E. Feldman, music journalist
Doug DeLoach, art critic

9 artists and art students
and other concerned fans.

This telegram is being sent to several other publications: Maximum Rock and Roll; The Village Voice; and a local Atlanta paper, Creative Loafing. Our readers might also be interested to know that in the course of taking the telegram out to get it signed, one person who signed it approached Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young about signing the telegram. The Mayor declined. □

A Horrible End, or An End To The Horror?

Continued from page 3

their traditional methods of suppression by force, then it's a whole new deal. (That, "quiet as it's kept," is not totally unrealistic, impossible — which I'll come back to shortly.)

We do after all have a party that actually is undertaking all its work to prepare itself and especially the advanced among the masses now for exactly this situation, a party that has the ability to seriously approach such an armed struggle — first of all the understanding and the correct outlook and methodology, and therefore also the basis to develop the appropriate organizational expression given the circumstances (this is not jive or selling wolf-tickets but a matter of serious all-around preparation).

The Positive and Negative of Impatience

It is right to be impatient — impatient for revolution. But to the degree that this is an expression of and means political paralysis, it is not good — and works against revolution.

The fact that our party, with our clear, firm orientation of undertaking everything we do as part of the overall preparation for the armed struggle to overthrow imperialism — the fact that we are not right now attempting to launch that armed struggle shows (perhaps ironically) how serious we really are: serious about winning! When things ripen more, when we can make a real go at it, then we must do so — and we must have prepared to do so — all-out and with the orientation, plans, strategy, and tactics to make it real: with the real intent to fight through and win.

MURDER BY THE BOOK

Continued from page 4
convulsions, demanded CIA Director Casey's resignation and declared, "It's got to mean killing people. It's what we said we would never do." Yet only days later, this same Moynihan was remarkably cooperative. A CIA plane crashed in El Salvador. Salvadoran guerrillas say they shot it down as it was calling in locations for the Salvadoran air force to bomb guerrilla-controlled territories. U.S.-piloted aircraft routinely serve this function. And what did Moynihan have to say about all this? He described the crash as "just bad luck" and assured the press that in this case "the CIA has played it straight with us."

This proves that while there may be disagreement in U.S. ruling circles, it certainly isn't over "killing people"! As for the Contras, there has been a new round of demands from similar liberal quarters that the U.S. sever all public ties. The operative word here is "public." Interestingly, a less "open" relationship could work in the U.S.'s interest as well. There may be a notion that the Contras can gain some "legitimacy" if they begin to be perceived as something more than a mere U.S. tool. To that end, calls for cutting off any future funding and CIA involvement can be quite useful in U.S. plans for Nicaragua. There is already ample evidence that the Contras

have lots of help from "private" organizations and U.S. allies — and it is conceivable that a less public direct link with U.S. agencies could be adopted. But the U.S. is not about to "disappear" its 12-16,000 Somocistas, mercenaries and all-around minions; such a fate is reserved for the U.S.'s opponents in any case, and in the current Central American situation this death-squad army is vitally important to U.S. plans. Certainly, any future military moves in Nicaragua will include the Contra forces as part of the operations. Clearly, the political preparation for such actions is proceeding apace. Every day sees a new series of U.S. press reports attacking the upcoming November 4 elections for the lack of participation of pro-U.S. forces (even though it has been admitted by some U.S. officials that they

deliberately sabotaged any possible participation by these forces). The Catholic Church hierarchy is also upping the ante with its own public assaults on Sandinista rule. As we go to press, ABC News has announced that U.S. intelligence officials may "suspect" that Bulgarian MIG jet fighters are being unloaded at a Nicaraguan port on the Atlantic coast. No other news agency has yet picked up on the "story," but it should be remembered that U.S. officials have declared, with typical imperialist arrogance, that they would not permit Nicaragua to deploy MIGs — even as the U.S. has fortified Honduras, intensified practice-invasion maneuvers and, of course, directed Contra assaults. Heightened vigilance by all who oppose imperialist domination of Central America is definitely required. □

State-Sponsored Terrorism: An Accounting

U.S. Military, Police and Economic Aid to Countries Using Torture on an Administrative Basis in the 1970s* (Figures in Millions of Dollars)

	Military Assistance ¹ (1946-1979)	Commercial Arms Exports ² (1950-1980)	No. of Military Personnel Trained by U.S. ³ (1950-1980)	Police Aid ⁴ (1973-1981)	Bilateral U.S. Economic Aid ⁵ (1946-1979)	International Aid ⁶ (1946-1980)
Argentina*	263.6	90.4	4,017	.45	199.1	2,946.7
Bolivia	80.7	4.28	4,896	15.78	801.8	1,027.2
Brazil	640.0	83.31	8,659	.77	2,424.1	9,080.6
Chile	217.0	8.76	6,883	.14	1,163.1	1,046.6
Colombia	240.9	19.40	8,349	34.17	1,340.7	4,095.6
Dominican Republic	43.0	2.59	4,269	—	589.4	733.9
Guatemala	41.5	5.09	3,334	—	417.4	703.5
Haiti	5.9	1.87	643	—	251.8	305.0
Mexico	.1	12.97	1,003	95.1	2,691.9	5,807.3
Nicaragua	32.4	4.24	5,673	—	298.9	537.1
Peru	239.7	25.63	8,160	8.4	609.3	1,434.1
Paraguay	30.3	2.45	2,018	.09	177.8	629.1
Uruguay	89.2	1.67	2,806	—	159.5	632.3
Venezuela*	152.3	60.33	5,540	—	201.1	657.0

*For the concept and criteria of torture on an administrative basis, see Chomsky and Herman, *The Washington Connection and Third World Fascism*, frontispiece and explanatory footnotes.
¹Agency for International Development, *Congressional Presentation, Fiscal Year 1982, Annex III (3)*, Latin America and the Caribbean.
²U.S. Department of Defense, *Congressional Presentation, Security Assistance Programs, Fiscal Year 1982*.
³*Ibid.*
⁴Michael Klare and Cynthia Arnson, *Supplying Repression*, IPS, 1981, p. 3. This column refers to police aid provided for a brief period under the International Narcotics Control Program. The much larger Public Safety Program supplied \$324 million of arms and training to Third World police between 1961 and 1973 (*ibid.*, p. 21).
⁵See footnote 2.
⁶*Ibid.*
^{*}The data source for both Argentina and Venezuela, for military assistance, bilateral, and international economic aid categories was: US A.I.D., US Overseas Loans and Grants, July 1, 1945-Sept. 30, 1979.

The Origin and Spread of the Death Squad in Latin America*

Country	Death Squad Organization	U.S. Role in Introduction of Responsible Government	U.S. Police Training	Numbers of U.S.-Trained Military Personnel 1950-1980	U.S. Military Aid 1946-1979 (\$ million)
Argentina	1973 ¹	Acquiescent	Extensive	4,017	263.6
Bolivia	Late 1970's	"	"	4,896	80.7
Brazil	1964	Major	"	8,659	640.0
Chile	1973	"	"	6,883	217.0
Dominican Republic	1965	"	"	4,269	43.0
El Salvador	1963-66 ²	Acquiescent ³	"	2,097	5.0
Guatemala	1966-67	Major	"	3,334	41.5
Mexico	Early 1970's	Not applicable (government of long standing)	"	1,003	0.1
Nicaragua	Early 1970's	Major	"	5,673	32.4
Uruguay	1968-70	Acquiescent	"	2,806	89.2

*This table is confined to countries in which semi-official death squads are well established—in still others there are unexplained political murders and disappearances of dissenters, and systematic torture. Sources for this compilation are: Amnesty International, *Report on Torture* (1974), *Disappearances* (1980), *Testimony on Secret Detention Camps in Argentina* (1980); Guatemala, *A Government Program of Political Murder* (1981), and other AI country reports on the relevant states; the books by Black, Langguth and Lernoux cited in the text and footnotes; Norman Gall "Slaughter in Guatemala" and "Santo Domingo: The Politics of Terror," *New York Review of Books*, May 20, 1971 and July 22, 1971; Argentine Information Service Committee, *Argentina Today, A Dossier on Repression and the Violation of Human Rights* (1976); Nacía, *El Salvador* (2 parts, March-April and July-August 1980); on Mexico, see releases of the Council on Hemispheric Affairs on Human Rights dated February 3, 1979 and June 8, 1981; AID, *Congressional Presentation, Fiscal Year 1982, Annex III (3)*, Latin America and the Caribbean; Nacía, "The Pentagon's Proteges, U.S. Training Programs for Foreign Military Personnel," (Jan. 1976); Michael T. Klare and Cynthia Arnson, *Supplying Repression*, Institute for Policy Studies, 1981, p. 5.
¹Death squads and systematic torture originated in the Eva Peron era of declining constitutional government—they increased sharply in importance after the military coup of March 1976.
²Orden, a para-military network of spies, informers and enforcers was founded by General Medana in the mid-1960s to combat "subversion." One of its functions is to "handle 'disappearances' of community leaders." Lernoux, *Cry of the People*, p. 72.
³On the Kennedy administration's support of the military government of Col. Rivera, and the 1972 U.S. support of massive election fraud and a still more repressive military regime (helped along by Nicaragua and Guatemala), see Nacía, "El Salvador—Why Revolution?," *Report on the Americas*, March-April 1980, pp. 13-17.

The following tables are reproduced from the *The Real Terror Network*, by Edward S. Herman (Boston: South End Press, 1982). The book is an impressive exposure of U.S.-backed terror internationally, especially in Latin America. Herman writes, "The broad purpose of this book is to show the nature, roots and vast scope of the real terror network — U.S.-sponsored 'authoritarian' states — and to examine the ways in which the magnificent propaganda machine of the west has covered this over. . . ." Table footnotes are from the text.

Terrorist Attacks Against Cuba Attributable To Cuban Refugee Groups in the United States, 1973-1979

	Number of Bombings	Numbers Injured	Numbers Killed
Attacks on Cuban Embassies and Missions	28	3	6
Attacks on Cuban Economic Facilities (Airlines, Power Lines, Sugar Refineries...)	14	0	80
Attacks on Individuals	40	1	8
Totals	82	4	94

Press Coverage of Abused Persons¹ in the Soviet Sphere and in Eight U.S. Client States

Abused Individuals by Profession and Country	Frequency of Mention in the New York Times 1/1/76-6/30/81	Frequency of Intensive Coverage ² in the New York Times 1/1/76-6/30/81	Maximum Times Mentioned Where Subject to Intense Coverage
Herl Akhmadli, student leader, Indonesia	0	0	—
Archbishop Dom Helder Camara, Church leader, Brazil	4	0	—
Bishop Dom Pedro Casaldáliga, Church leader, Brazil	0	0	—
Enrique Alvarez Cordova, political leader, El Salvador	2	0	0
Father Luis Espinel, Church leader, Bolivia	0	0	—
Father Carlos Galvez, Church leader, Guatemala	1	0	—
Alexander Ginzburg, writer, Soviet Union	68	2	20
Kim Chi Ha, poet, South Korea		0	—
Muhammed Heikal, journalist, Egypt	8	0	—
Father Francesco Jentel, Church leader, Brazil	0	0	—
José Luis Massera, mathematician, Uruguay	5	0	—
Zelmar Michelini, politician, Uruguay	5	0	—
Yury Orlov, scientist, Soviet Union	70	2	15
Ananta Toer Pramodya, writer, Indonesia	0	0	—
Archbishop Oscar Romero, Church leader, El Salvador	36	1	8
Father Stanley Rother, Church leader, Guatemala	0	0	—
Andrei Sakharov, scientist, Soviet Union	223	8	19
Anatoly Shcharansky, writer, Soviet Union	138	5	22
Luis Silva, trade union leader, Brazil	3	0	—
Lech Walesa, trade union leader, Poland	81	4	15

¹Many of these individuals are discussed in the text of this book; most are or were important within their own countries for achievement in substantive fields (Massera, Pramodya, Sakharov), for leadership in struggles of workers and the poor for social justice (Walesa, Silva, Camara, Casaldáliga, Espinel, Jentel) and for human rights causes within their states (Akhmedli, Ginzburg, Orlov, Romero, Shcharansky). Six names included are of ultimate victims—Michelini tortured and murdered, his daughter "disappeared;" Galvez and Espinel tortured and murdered; Cordova, one of the top leaders of the broadly based FDR party in El Salvador, tortured, murdered and mutilated by government forces, along with five other top FDR leaders; Romero and Rother murdered. Heikal, a longtime distinguished journalist, confidant of Nasser, and member of the Egyptian elite, fell afoul of Sadat for opposition to a number of his policies, including repression, and was himself imprisoned. Kim, a distinguished Korean poet, has been imprisoned, tortured, and threatened with death off and on for some years.
²Based on a simple count of number of times mentioned in the *New York Times Index*.
³Intense coverage is defined here, necessarily arbitrarily, as cases where the subject is mentioned six or more times in the *Index* during any consecutive 30-day period.

Great Disorder

Continued from page 9

words: *Voting makes you complicit in this criminality.* Too often, revolutionary-minded and advanced people have willingly suspended disbelief around election time, have put principles and high aspirations off to the side, have found themselves unable to resist Dracula's temptings. They think they've found something safe to do. Pulled, lured, cajoled, and sometimes acting out of frustration, not a few people who should know better say, "what can it hurt?" We repeat, there is no point in being complicit in this crime. No point at all in voting. These are not ordinary times or ordinary elections. What they are attempting to get the public to endorse and approve is gigantic criminality. In this sense, you really are part of the problem or part of the solution. A vote in '84 is a vote for imperialism and the world war it is preparing.

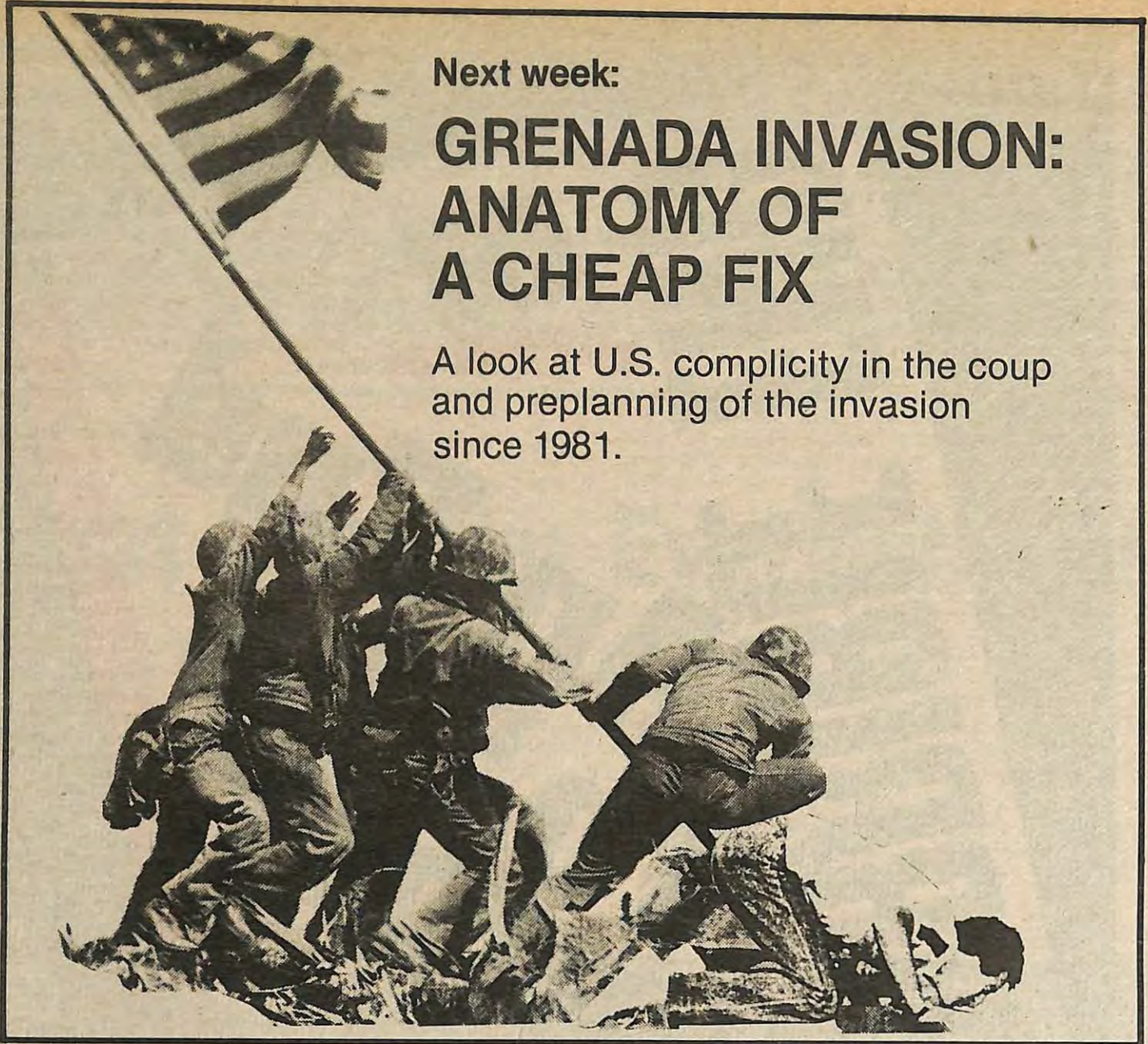
Election '84 is another sharp indication of what time it is in the world. Last fall the world witnessed the 007 incident, the invasion of Grenada, the aggressive "hailing" of Soviet ships by the U.S. navy near Nicaragua, the stationing of missiles in Europe, the events in Beirut, and a political and ideological offensive to go along with this. This fall, while carrying forward active military preparations in the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea, and Central America (among other places), they are also waging a major offensive in the realm of public opinion, one with a more pronounced fascist element, complete with God, family and America, feeling good again about being imperialist "Number One," and back with a vengeance — ecstatically united and marching to Armageddon, with a mandate from the Almighty and the overwhelming confidence of the public. Such extremes in the realm of ideology and politics are both signals and preparations for the even more extreme things they will unleash in the military sphere; and it is likely that the U.S. imperialists will actually undertake some serious provocative actions not long after the election, if not before it.

Create Great Disorder Everywhere!

All this ideological work and "consensus building" spearheaded by Reaganism has a desperate function. It aims at signaling to American know-nothingism and its disciples that now is the time to rant and rave. Coupled with outright repression, it aims to intimidate those who won't go along into silence, demoralization, and awe-struck submission and (as a form of this) to drive them into the waiting arms of the "loyal opposition" where they will be smothered to death. In sum, it aims at preparing for war.

But things are not "all sewn up," as pretended. These are not signs of strength, but of desperation and underlying weakness. It is frustrating, perhaps, that things have not yet come to a head, but this wild imperialist behavior is a sign that they will. This ideological offensive, taking concentrated form in Reaganism, is a desperate theater of the criminally insane. When *this* is what passes for sanity in the present-day, imperialist-dominated world, well then, let's go revolutionary crazy! When a bunch of moonie-eyed, designer-brained youth cheering for nukes and for jokes about bombing Russia are declared "normal," then why be normal? When this is "law and order" then we should have an "outlaw spirit" — now more than ever it is necessary (even to be honest) to live outside their whole framework and order, to be, at least ideologically, an outlaw.

In an overall sense our orientation in this country now should be one of seeking politically to "create great disorder everywhere." In other words, there is no reason to be cowed by — much less drawn into — their offensive; there is every reason to go right up into the face of it, ideologically and politically. This "creating great disorder everywhere" has important application not only to things like the No Business As Usual Day now being planned by a broad array of forces for next Spring against the preparations for World War 3, but also applies more generally. What's involved here is not just some question of "The imperialists are going insane, so, what the hell, we



Next week:

GRENADA INVASION: ANATOMY OF A CHEAP FIX

A look at U.S. complicity in the coup and preplanning of the invasion since 1981.

Shame

Continued from page 10

Persian Gulf, for example) which awaited.

The growing morass did spark some domestic criticism, though none of the congressional critics or presidential aspirants were really doing anything other than raising the obvious nor would they have done anything fundamentally different. When Jesse Jackson declared, in a statement echoed by other Democrats, that as regards the "peacekeepers," there "were too few there to keep the peace, and too many there to die," he was expressing sentiments the Joint Chiefs of Staff themselves could hardly disagree with.

But in the broader scheme of things, Jackson was just as surely wrong on both counts. The Marines were not sent to "keep the peace." And they were, in a

most fundamental sense, sent to die. The introduction of U.S. forces into Lebanon was at once a pivot in U.S. imperialism's plans for that country and a most purposeful portent of bigger things to come. Peacekeeping fig leaves notwithstanding, the underlying message of the U.S. force, from the day it first hit Beirut's beaches, was clear. The U.S., engaged in a spiraling array of rapid deployment force exercises and NATO maneuvers all across the globe, was back in the business of power projection for real. Not as a limited exercise unto itself, but as a necessary preliminary for still greater, more destructive confrontations to come — all the way to World War 3.

It is in this scheme of things that Lebanon was a necessary "trial by fire"; that the inevitable U.S. setback there could be taken in stride, that the Marine deaths would be faced without flinching — even more, without much question —

is a sure mark of "progress" in the ideological and political preparations required as imperialism gears up for global showdown. And it is this cause, more than anything else, for which the Marines truly died.

Recently, George Bush — exorcising hidden demons embedded somewhere in the American psyche, no doubt — charged Mondale-Ferraro with having implied that the Marines "died in shame." It was a scurrilous charge, as Bush undoubtedly knew — no imperialist representative, certainly not Mondale-Ferraro, would dream of saying such a thing.

They won't, but we will. Whether viewed in light of imperialism's monstrous crimes in Lebanon, or in light of its more monstrous plans for the future, the Marines answered a despicable Call to Glory that belongs on the garbage heap of history, and should be put there as soon as possible. □

might as well, too." First, their craziness — and the ultimate insanity of nuclear war — is being prepared by the grinding logic of their system, its anarchistic chase after the god of profit. Our actions come from an entirely different logic. We should act with the orientation that such creating of political disorder is not only the necessary response to the crimes being committed and planned right now by the imperialists, but is a crucial ingredient in creating the kind of situation in which a new, revolutionary order can be directly strived for — that is, the actual organized, coordinated mass uprising, the armed struggle for power. We should not fear and avoid, but rather should do all we can to help along politically the deepening cracks and divisions in society necessary for this situation to emerge.

While the imperialists are on a rampage and preparing for more, there is plenty of basis for optimism — and action — in today's world. They do not have it all sewn up. Far from it. To the extent that there is still basically a lull in this country, it is precisely the lull before the storm. First of all, the imperialists' own deeds and gruesome threats against humanity create an ever stronger basis for uniting lots of people against them. And there are right now plenty of "revolutionary termites" (and potentially revolutionary ones) at work in the world gnawing at the rotten foundations of this system.

The revolutionary armed struggle taking place now in Peru gives to the call to urgently advance the world revolution the "dignity... of immediate actuality"

(Lenin, cited by Mao in *On Practice*). It lends this "dignity" — the material force of practice — to the path forward in the present world situation; the advances of the Communist Party of Peru and the stated purpose of the revolutionary war it is leading — to be "a part of the world revolution which it serves and for whose sake it develops" — are cause for optimism and offer an inspiring glimpse of the potential for revolution in all parts of the world to attain new heights. There are new stirrings as well in this country, including as demonstrated by youth this summer who raised hell especially outside both the Democratic and Republican Conventions.

The Revolutionary Communist Youth

Brigade, as well as others, have called for demonstrations on election day and night in various cities. The slogans the RCYB will be taking into these protests are: "Reagan, Mondale Which Will It Be? Either One Means World War 3" and "Red, White and Blue, We Spit on You. You Stand for Plunder, You Will Go Under." Others, too, will be finding various ways to politically express the same spirit on November 6, ways which raise the spirits of progressive people, politically deflate and ridicule the reactionaries. This is the only appropriate response to the elections — and beyond that, the only appropriate way to prepare for the future. □

All this emphasizes the importance of our waging a determined counter-offensive in the ideological sphere, straight up against their offensive, with what could be considered its guiding themes: "Being U.S. Imperialism Means Never Having To Say You're Sorry," and "Let's Get Back To Doing It Like We Used To Do — But More and With a Vengeance." Waging such an ideological counteroffensive means not only continuing and deepening exposure of their ideological offensive (as well as all-around exposure of the imperialist system and what it is bringing on the agenda now) but boldly raising the banner of proletarian revolution and stepping out right in their face, ideologically and politically. It means finding creative ways to expose their lackeys and "models" (and their revival of racist and sexist stereotypes) to sharp ridicule. It also means making clear, even proclaiming — aggressively but calmly, without hype or frenzy — that we have the line and program, the orientation and strategy, and the leadership to actually do what we are calling for when the opening is created.

Bob Avakian

A Horrible End, Or An End to the Horror?

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the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA.

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by BOB
AVAKIAN

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If the rulers of this country can prepare for a global war of conquest against their Soviet rivals, a conflagration which has the potential to extinguish human life on this planet, then why cannot those who understand this fact and who aspire to a higher form of society prepare to overthrow these rulers before they embark on this monstrous enterprise? This is the profound challenge posed by Bob Avakian in his latest and most important work to date, *A Horrible End, or An End to the Horror?*

Avakian surveys the contemporary social and political terrain to reveal how and under what circumstances U.S. imperialism might be brought down. Yet what makes this such a compelling study is not merely its insights into revolutionary strategy but its insistence that these issues be viewed in the larger setting of the historical advance toward, and the problems attendant to, the achievement of socialism and communism.

Avakian casts his analytical gaze on the shortcomings of the movements of the 1960s, the recent assaults on Leninism, Marxist-Leninist military theory and experience, the enslaving essence of modern democracy, the role of dissent in socialist society, the centrality of the woman question to the revolutionary process, and the ideological roots of accommodationism and capitulationism within the revolution. Here, as in all his writings, Avakian articulates a Marxism for which revolution cannot be a halfway affair.

A Horrible End, or An End to the Horror? is not airy speculation but a lucid and riveting assessment of the problems, tasks, and opportunities that this critical historical period presents to revolutionary-minded people. It may be objected to but can no more be ignored than can the imperialists' plans for nuclear war: the world situation is just that acute and the approaching possibilities for the revolutionary seizure of power are just that real.