



# REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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## IN THE WAKE OF INDIRA

For once the blood which bathed Indira Gandhi was her own. This time, the tyrant of India, who had hunted countless revolutionaries of the Naxalbari generation to their deaths and who had only months before sunk her claws deep into the flesh of Punjab... this time, the butcher herself lay dead, riddled by machine-gun and pistol fire while walking within her own official compound in the heart of India's capital city, Delhi.

Her death represents a tremendous blow to the entire, increasingly fragile, centralized state system of India. It will accelerate a nationalities crisis which Indira herself was unable to resolve, and which apparently played a major role in her own death. And the uncertainty, the potential for an unprecedented unraveling of the world's second largest country, can be read in the gravity with which political forces across the world reacted.

Honeyed words poured out from the rulers of the world in honor of this butcher, which on close examination reflected more than just a common self-interested

hatred of regicide. The effusive praise from the "socialist" imperialists of the East and the postmortem forgiveness of the "democratic" imperialists of the West were merely the cover under which both blocs outlined *their* interests and plans for a subcontinent teetering on chaos. The death and the resulting instability quickly took its place on the tense matrix of global confrontation, as new and potentially explosive conditions emerged in an old theater of superpower contention.

### The Empress Indira

The Indian faultlines now opening into crevices are obviously nothing new. The old British colony itself fractured violently into Moslem Pakistan and Hindu India decades ago, when formal "self-rule" followed World War 2. India, a nation of 700 million, is a complex country of over a dozen major nationalities and linguistic groups, countless religions, and a highly stratified and oppressive caste and class structure, dominated by imperialist rela-

tions. In many ways it is the increasing demands being placed on the Centre by centripetal forces that played a major role in forging Indira Gandhi herself into the almost monarchical figure she became. She became an indispensable nerve center of the Indian state over the years after her ascension to power in 1964, taking the place of her father, Jawaharlal Nehru. The ruling party, always an unstable patchwork of coalitions held together by corrupt patronage, increasingly undisguised Hindu chauvinism and the military power of the Centre's army, was so closely identified with her person that after 1975 it was reorganized in a form known officially as the Congress-Indira Party (Congress-I Party).

This position of power she wielded to keep the unitary state a whole, reveals itself as a weakness of the central state now that the empress herself is gone. The *New York Times*, for example, quotes an anonymous "specialist" explaining that "The Congress-I Party has a very weak political base because Mrs. Gandhi so

dominated the party. She did not put strong people into leadership positions. And Rajiv (Indira's son and now Prime Minister — *RW*) has no personal political base of his own."

Not only did Indira dominate her own party, but her brief exit from power in the late 1970s proved to all observers that no party *but* hers could dominate neocolonial India. Operating alongside the useful tinsel of parliamentary democracy, state power was increasingly exercised directly through her offices, relying on diktat, on military occupation and martial law, on the declaration of emergency, and (as in the case of the Punjab) on the cold murder of thousands.

### A Background of Crisis

The flood of bourgeois commentary over Gandhi's death portrays the conflicts tearing at India as the irrational passions of a supposedly violently religious and bigoted people. It is a lie which whitewashes the role of imperialism. Always a

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**A Vote  
In '84  
Is A Vote  
For Nuclear War!**

**Heads they win,**

**Tails we lose,**

**Aren't you glad we've got**

**the right to choose?**

Excerpts from:

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

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# The Third Presidential Debate

The third Presidential debate was held in New York City, Tuesday, October 23. When workers in the garment district streamed out of the subways early that morning they were met by leafleters who thrust into their hands flyers announcing: "Third Presidential debate. Hear Ronald Reagan & Walter Mondale LIVE TODAY in the Garment District. 12 noon, corner of 38th and 8th Avenue."

"Shit," muttered some, and refused to take the campaign propaganda. Undaunted, the leafleters explained to these strangely unenthusiastic souls that they would really like this event and that they should read the fine print on the flyer. "To clear up the notion that there is basically no difference between the candidates," the flyer continued, "there will be a third and final debate today..."

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By 11:30 a.m. small groups of people had begun to cluster on the corners of 38th and 8th. A passerby asked a woman with a camera, "What's really going to happen here?" "I don't know, but something sure is," she replied. A half-dozen men hanging out on the northeast corner were debating among themselves whether the announced debate was for real. "No way," said one, looking at one of the flyers distributed. "They'd have the street blocked off by now for sure." Just at that moment sirens sounded from down 8th Avenue. Everyone craned their heads. Were they coming?

The hangers-out continued their debate. They evidently hadn't read the fine print announcing the sponsors: "October 23 Coalition, Ad Hoc Committee for Meaningful Elections, LAWGD (Loyal Americans Willing to Go Down), and League of the Living Dead, New

York City Chapter."

Many on the corners, however, had clearly read all of it, and had come in the obvious anticipation of giving a deserving welcome to these two — one hopeful, one present great head of state.

And great heads they were, too. Some in the crowd insist that Reagan was only someone wearing a grotesque but remarkably true-to-life rubber mask. And that Mondale's face, not yet memorialized in rubber, was only a life-size photographic enlargement grafted onto a paper bag. Quibblers! No matter the appearance, a true debate was nonetheless held!

The corner, traditionally one where the *RW* has been sold and where Revolution Books' tables have attracted many, was immediately packed. Hemmed in by trucks parked at the curb, some 50 workers and passersby of all na-

tionalities, with probably 100 more on the periphery, strained to catch a glimpse of these august candidates who were now standing pompously on a "stage" of milk crates. Amidst a background of street noise, people strained to catch every word. Cocky Reagan began:

"I've just signed legislation outlawing Russia forever. We begin bombing in five minutes."

"Mr. President, Mr. President, I disagree," asserted Mondale. "We begin bombing in six minutes."

Outraged, Reagan roared, "Five." "Six," countered Mondale, and they went back and forth until the next meaty exchange.

"Mr. President," Mondale moved the debate. "I accept your commitment to peace. I want you to accept my commitment to war!" "No, no," insisted Reagan, "I'm more committed to war!" "No, I am!" countered Mondale.

"But I want to wage war in the heavens — you know," nodded Reagan sagely, "I believe in Armageddon." "But Mr. President," Mondale asserted, "religion is for the people. First we have to blow up the earth — then the heavens!"

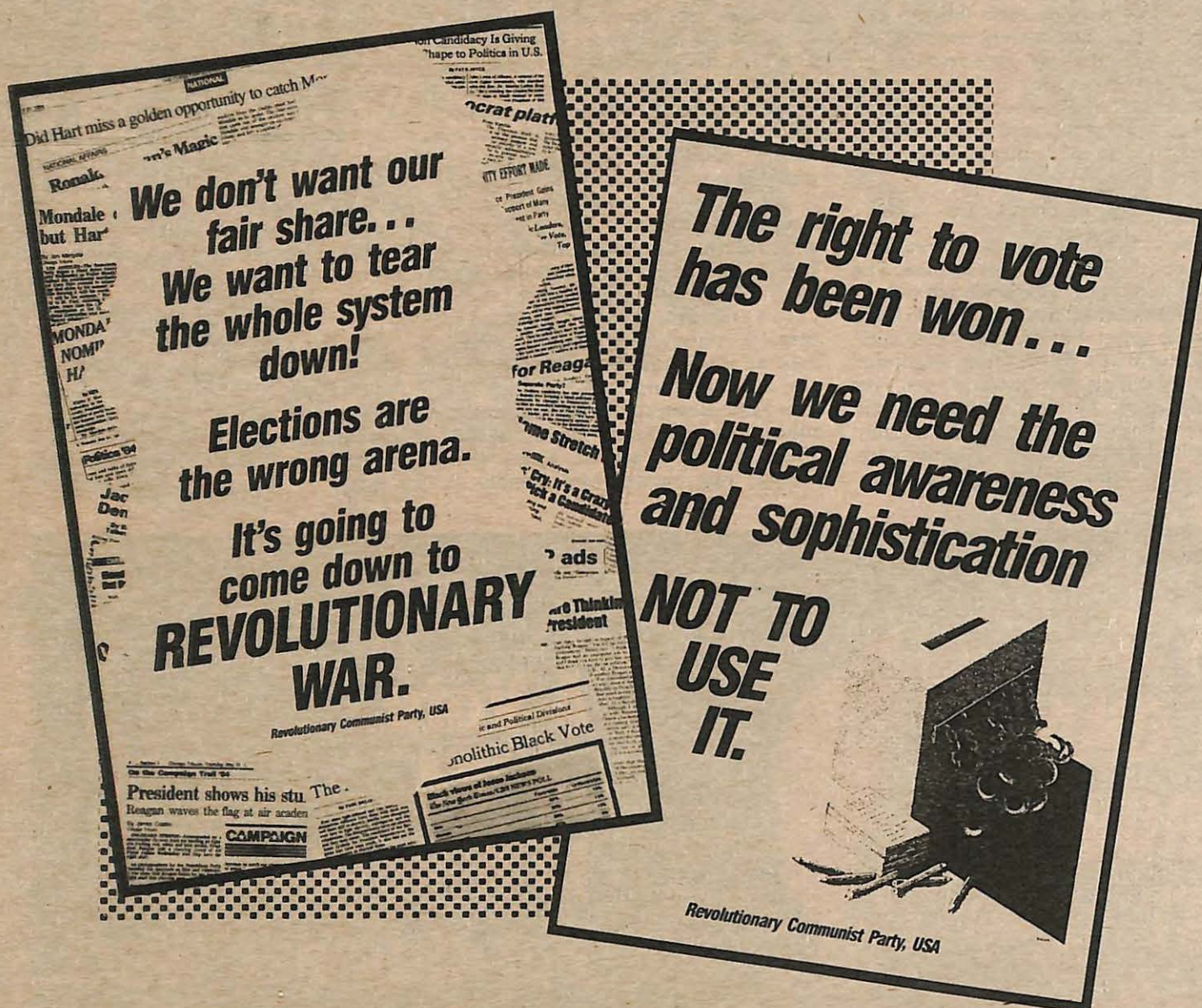
While all this was eliciting peals of laughter from the crowd, a furtive character, clearly Secret Service (revealingly dressed in beige trench coat, slouch-hat, and dark glasses), popped up periodically and translated each profound pronouncement into Spanish.

Reagan continued the debate: "The future of America is the future of the world." But Mondale responded, "America is not temporary, Mr. President." Not to be out-patriotized, Reagan joined in unison with Mondale: "We are forever!"

Suddenly, a clearly disloyal figure jumped up: "That's what you think, motherfuckers! There's a lot of us who won't put up with your shit, your war preparations..." "We represent the oppressed all over the world," another joined in. Handing out to the crowd stacks of "Let's End This Madness" leaflets, which had suddenly appeared on the scene, the agitators called on those assembled to take bundles and get them into the garment shops, to begin serious preparations for revolution, and to get down with and join the RCP. "This was a farce today," said one, "but they're deadly serious and so are we!"

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While 1500 leaflets rapidly were being distributed, including a number in small bundles, Ronald Reagan and Walter Mondale were last seen slinking off and disappearing into the crowd. As people drifted away from this decided break with normalcy, several who witnessed the debate and had taken bundles were seen passing them out to others on the street...



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This is the text of a major message from the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA, which was distributed nationwide throughout the fourth week of October, mainly to proletarians of all nationalities. Initial reports indicate a very successful distribution of 1/2 million of these leaflets, utilizing new and creative methods.

# Let's End This Madness Before It Ends Us!

Most people who have really thought about it deeply have been forced to conclude that there will be a nuclear war in their lifetime. And they are right. There *will* be—and very likely within the next few years—unless this matter of life and death and the very future of the human race is taken out of the hands of the governments of the United States and the Soviet Union and their allies & puppets. To stop nuclear war, governments like these must be brought down! They are imperialist gangsters on both sides (the Soviet Union is no more “communist” than the U.S.). You can’t even wage and you sure can’t win the fight to stop such a war unless you are willing and ready to say that these countries—*starting with your own*—aren’t worth defending; unless you welcome and are looking to take advantage of every difficulty, setback and defeat your government suffers and use these to strengthen the revolutionary movement that aims to overthrow these governments. And you can’t do *that* unless you don’t have a share in their billions of dollars of profits, soaking in blood, from ripping people off all over the world and their “strategic interests” in enforcing this; unless you don’t have a stake in defending a “way of life” where, under the control of the U.S. & Co. on one side and the Soviet Union & friends on the other, *over a billion people* in this world are forced to live on *less than 300 dollars a year!* It’s the people on the bottom of this world and on the bottom right inside these mighty powers who really don’t have any share or stake in this, who are *victims* of it, and who can and must put a stop to this madness.

Already in this country and in every part of the world, thousands and millions of people are protesting against the threat of nuclear war. But mostly the people protesting right now are from the middle classes. Most of them are for real in crying out against such a war (and in many cases, against other outrages and injustices too) but they still feel like they have a little too much to lose to put everything on the line to prevent such a war. That may sound funny...but that’s how it is, and *left on their own* these people won’t—can’t—do what is necessary to really stop this war. Which is why things can’t be left up to them. They have to be shown the way and to be pushed and pulled along by those millions on the bottom, the ones who have nothing to lose anyway and who, by coming together around a common program, can be the solid core of a *revolutionary struggle*—the one kind of struggle that can really change (and maybe literally save) the world.

A lot of people might say this isn’t going to happen — there isn’t going to be any revolution, at least not in *this* country: nobody’s going to overthrow this monster, powerful as it is. But millions of “nobodies” just might, and in any case at some point there is going to be a serious fight to do just that. We know because we are right now doing the political work to prepare to do that, as soon as the opportunity opens, as soon as the situation is ripe enough and there is a crack that a revolutionary mass uprising can blast through and become a war to overthrow this regime and establish a revolutionary one. We firmly believe that we can master the military theory and when that opportunity comes it will be possible to directly tackle the military tactics that will be involved, and right now it is crucial to strengthen the political basis for revolution. This leaflet is one part of that political work; at the same time as you’re reading this, people all over this country are

also getting copies of it—because of the leadership and coordination given by our party. Think about that in terms of building the political and organizational foundation for a revolution. And beyond that, our party is joined with the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM), made up of parties and organizations all over the world that are either already waging revolutionary war—like the guerrilla forces in Peru called the “Sendero Luminoso” (or “Shining Path”) in the media—or are building up the basis to wage such a war as soon as possible.

So there is a vanguard for the revolution—a revolution that fights *all* imperialists and reactionary butchers—in this country and internationally. And that vanguard has a political program that can guide the revolutionary struggle and illuminate the way to a new society and a new world without the exploitation, oppression, degradation, wars of plunder and dog-eat-dog values that are “normal life” under this system and that destroy, suffocate, or pervert everything creative and uplifting. But that vanguard and that program by themselves are not enough. For revolution to succeed, those whose interests lie in springing society into the air and changing this whole world from bottom to top must take political action in unity with that vanguard and that program to lay the basis for the revolutionary uprising and revolutionary war—yes, right in this country. To win a revolution you not only must have those whose life is lived in a poverty-stricken reality; you also have to get some others not quite so bad off but basically dissatisfied—and there is plenty to be dissatisfied about, including the threat of nuclear war! You have to get a lot of them, if not to fight with you at least not to fight *against* you. Again, we have the program that holds the basis for that—we can take steps to answer their deeply felt concerns, steps the present system cannot take, exactly because we are not bankers & international investors with a system of money-making and a position on top of the world to protect at all costs. But to prepare the ground, politically, for revolution, to influence millions of people toward revolution now, and be able to win them over once the revolution actually jumps off and is in progress—that requires people, most of all people on the bottom with nothing to lose and a world to win, to take to the streets and other arenas of political struggle *now*, down with an all-the-way-revolutionary program.

A lot is up—and that’s a good thing. There’s no good reason and no good excuse for going along with this shit and the Zombies who are. This is a time to raise hell everywhere and don’t stop. Already people are in motion toward a day next spring when all over the country in many different ways it will be made clear that NO BUSINESS AS USUAL will be allowed. People will come forward from everywhere around the unified slogan: “They won’t listen to reason, they won’t be bound by votes. The governments must be stopped from launching World War 3—no matter what it takes.” On that day it could make a world of difference if those most victimized by this madness make their words and deeds felt so powerfully that they can’t be ignored. That day especially—and every day—must be seized to get ready for revolution.

Get down with the party and the RIM: become part of the *organized* revolutionary movement actively preparing the ground for a revolution here in unity with revolutionary struggle throughout the world; get revolutionary training and learn to see and act on every event and every question in terms of how it fits into the preparation for that revolution here and its advance worldwide. We are the future and we, not the bomb—and not those who have their fingers poised above the button—will have the last word!

Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

## CIA Manual

## A Crime Yields Cries For More

To good Americans, it all makes perfect sense. First, there are the revelations concerning the CIA manual, *Psychological Operations in Guerrilla Warfare*, in which the U.S. spy agency instructs its Contras (the U.S.'s puppet anti-Sandinista army) in the proper, U.S.-approved method of assassinations, bombings, kidnappings and other such activity in Nicaragua. Then, Secretary of State Shultz delivers a major speech condemning "state-sponsored terrorism," declaring, "We now recognize that terrorism is being used by our adversaries as a modern tool of warfare," and calling for preemptive and retaliatory actions against "terrorists" without worrying about things like evidence, or how many people in the general vicinity will get killed or maimed. The free press and televised media blithely join the party — discussing the latest CIA or Contra official admission in one breath (or column), and demanding military action against "terrorists" in the next. This is the latest "psychological operation" aimed at good Americans everywhere. The idea is that U.S.-style mass terror is quite fine and necessary since it's employed in the pursuit of U.S. national interests.

All the previous stories and excuses for the manual, flimsy and contradictory as they were, have now been dropped — and the fact that the U.S. has been directing the Contras in terrorism is openly and blatantly publicized these days. One recent report on ABC News is characteristic. The reporter interviews a former Contra leader, disguised, presumably, so that the CIA won't be able to use its methods on him in retaliation. He testifies that back in 1981 the CIA sent him and 50 other Contra commanders to Argentina for expert training in murder, kidnapping, how to make and place bombs and the like. The expertise of the Argentine military achieved a certain plateau in the late '70s when it proved that it had learned its lessons well from its U.S. teachers of "counterinsurgency." Over 30,000 Argentines "disappeared" and tens of thousands more underwent systematic, high-tech torture — another U.S. "psychological operation."

After studying the U.S.'s Argentine lessons, the Contras received more instructions directly from the CIA's own agents in Honduras. It was at this point that the agent in charge of the Contras, a man known as "Juanito" according to Edgar Chamorro (another Contra leader), delivered the text and provided the money for the production of the infamous manual. Chamorro said that "Juanito" was soon replaced by another CIA operative who told the Contras that the first agent had made a "mistake" in producing a manual that called for assassinations, kidnappings, blackmail, bombings and other forms of "selective use of violence for propagandistic effect." Did this mean that the operation was merely the product of a "low-level agent" and that really, the CIA was against this sort of thing?

Not hardly. Chamorro said he was told the "mistake" was that "...you should never write that down. You do it, but don't write about it." Talking about it on national network TV seems to be perfectly okay, however. And the reporter made sure the point was driven home by asking Chamorro if the manual reflected the philosophy of the CIA — a question which was, of course, answered in the affirmative.

## The Specter of Vietnam

There is also the rather sudden appearance of numerous links between the U.S.'s current Contra war and one of the U.S.'s previous wars of imperialist aggression — Vietnam. Not only was this "Juanito" a veteran "counterinsurgency agent" from those glory days, but it turns out that the entire Contra operation gets its method, and its inspiration, from Vietnam. Senator Moynihan of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence announced that they had finally discovered the origin of the CIA manual — the Green Beret training course. It seems that the new manual is merely a rehash (in-

cluding some "word for word" translations) of the "lesson plans" used by the psychological operations department of the U.S. Army Special Warfare School at Ft. Bragg during the Vietnam War. In dealing with such matters as assassinations, the older material used the term "remove" while the Contra manual uses the term "neutralize," and the old material has a section entitled "Implicit and Explicit Terror" while the new manual merely discusses these topics. But aside from these semantic differences, the content of the two is basically the same, according to Moynihan. If this conjures up visions of napalm and bombed-out countryside, free-fire zones and search-and-destroy missions, and bullets in the heads of anyone suspected of disloyalty to the U.S. cause — that's exactly the point.

It is a point that was emphasized further on a recent edition of ABC's *This Week with David Brinkley* devoted to the flap over the CIA manual. Among the participants in the discussion was William Colby, former CIA director who, before his promotion to that post, was the executive in charge of the Phoenix Program during the Vietnam War — a fact duly noted by ABC's crack reporters. Colby thought the manual was just fine, declaring, "I happen to support the idea of helping brave men fight for

their country." In Colby's Phoenix Program, the "brave men" included former criminals, various mercenaries and U.S. troops. \$11,000 was offered for a live "VCI" (Vietcong Infrastructure, a term applied to virtually any Vietnamese who didn't kowtow to the U.S. and its South Vietnamese puppets) and half that amount for a dead one. According to one U.S. government report, over 21,000 Vietnamese civilians were killed in the Phoenix Program; according to a Saigon government report, 40,994 were murdered from mid-August 1968 to the middle of 1971.

Colby offered some transparently lame arguments (and deliberately so) that the term "neutralize" in the Contra manual didn't really mean *only* killing. He neglected to mention that the term "neutralize" originated in the Phoenix Program, where it replaced the previously used "eliminate." According to a former employee of the Agency for International Development, whose comments are cited in the book *The Washington Connection and Third World Fascism* by Noam Chomsky and Edward S. Herman, "elimination" gave the unfortunate impression to some congressmen and to the interested public that someone was being 'eliminated.' Now the major goal is 'neutralization' of the VCI. Of course, the same proportion of VCI are being

killed...but Congress seems mollified now that suspected Vietcong are 'neutralized' rather than 'eliminated.'"

Not only the CIA's Contra war, but perhaps even Secretary Shultz's grand perversity on "terrorism" can find its antecedent in the Vietnam days and the august Mr. Colby; Colby once described the purpose of his assassination/torture program as a way "to protect the Vietnamese against terrorism."

While avoiding any mention of the fact that U.S. imperialism suffered a tremendous defeat there, American officials and propagandists are deliberately raising the specter of Vietnam in the context of the Contra war for two reasons. One is specifically related to potential U.S. actions in Central America. There is a clear threat being delivered to Nicaragua (and all Central American opposition to the U.S.) of a Vietnam-style intervention with all the carnage that conjures up. But there's also another, broader purpose to bringing up Vietnam, with the fairly widespread knowledge of U.S. war crimes committed there looming in the background. It is to support a more overall point that the revelations about the CIA manual are being used to convey — that is, no matter how horrible the crime, it becomes a thing of beauty when committed in the imperialist interests of

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"We will need the capability to act on a moment's notice. There will not be time for a renewed national debate after every terrorist attack. We may never have the kind of evidence that can stand up in an American court of law. But we cannot allow ourselves to become the Hamlet of nations, worrying endlessly over whether and how to respond. A great nation with global responsibilities cannot afford to be hamstrung by confusion and indecisiveness. Fighting terrorism will not be a clean or pleasant contest, but we have no choice but to play it."

George Shultz, Secretary of State  
Thursday, October 25, 1984



# A HORRIBLE END or An End To The Horror?

by BOB  
AVAKIAN

## Ordinary People Rising to the Occasion

Here I am referring particularly to a situation — in a serious crisis, before or in the context of world war and/or a revolutionary civil war — where there may not be clear lines of leadership or organization within the party, or between the party and the masses; when the party's functioning may be disrupted, or perhaps the party is even (temporarily) shattered or wiped out in certain areas — precisely at a decisive time. In such extraordinary times there is all the more need for "ordinary people" — basic party members and basic masses trained in or even influenced in a general way by the party's line — to rise to the occasion and "take the reins and ride": regrouping revolutionary forces and rebuilding the party "from the ground up," taking initiative to give leadership and direction to the outrage and unrest of the masses and seeking out links with other forces of rebellion, while also striving to reestablish organizational links with the party structure in other areas. (Note in this regard some very relevant remarks by Mao: "When the war breaks out, it is best to rely on the local areas. You cannot depend on the central government."<sup>26</sup> He is speaking specifically of imperialist attacks on China and the likelihood of nuclear attacks as part of this.)

This is very much related to — and another dimension and graphic illustration of — the importance of political preparations *now*. In particular it dramatically illustrates the importance now of building the party at its base (among its main social base of proletarians without privilege and with really nothing but their chains to lose and a world to win) and of spreading and deepening the party's influence and roots among especially that base.

It is very important, as part of political (and ideological) preparation, to put some emphasis now on explaining this question of ordinary people rising to the occasion. The imperialists from their side are popularizing this kind of thing, reflecting their necessity given "what time it is" (here it is relevant to note what seems to be an increasing incidence of TV shows, etc., coming out in the U.S. now where ordinary housewives and others become CIA agents and so on!). We from our side and with directly opposite objectives and content to this must stress it all the more. An important part of this is popularizing historical examples of just this phenomenon of ordinary masses coming to the fore in extraordinary circumstances to take responsibility for the revolutionary movement and its vanguard forces, when this makes all the difference.

## The Potential of Black (and Other) Prisoners

As a group, they can go either way; in fact they will split: there are some hard-core lumpen/criminal elements among them who will be much more likely to be in the counterrevolutionary camp when it comes down to it, but there are many who are much more victims than victimizers — victims of and opponents of this system. Many can play a very important role in the revolutionary camp when the time comes (and a number will make important contributions to the process of political preparation, as indeed more than a few already are, but this too will be magnified many times, in fact take on qualitatively new and different dimensions, when things reach the point of the armed struggle for power).

This week the Revolutionary Worker presents the third installment 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 Bookstores 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:

The '80s: Decade of Extremes

"Revolutions Gone Sour"

The Prince "1999" Line

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

The Positive and Negative of Impatience

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

We would do great harm to the revolutionary cause — to the actual chances of winning — if we were not able to utilize, unleash, and channel this. Here, besides what is said on this in the *New Programme* of the party, Mao's comments on the use of similar forces, especially at the start of the revolutionary armed struggle in China, are worth thinking about: "When we started to fight battles, we depended on vagrants because they dared to die. There was a time when the army wanted to weed out the vagrant elements, but I opposed it."<sup>27</sup> On the other hand, he stressed from the beginning that the erroneous ideological and political tendencies that tend to arise among such forces, such as the "roving rebel band" mentality, must be firmly opposed, and that to be able to handle this it was crucial to strengthen the base of the party and the army among the basic working people — workers and peasants.<sup>28</sup> Yet, once again, Mao's policy was to find the ways to correct such mistaken tendencies and give leadership to these forces and their positive qualities — not to drive them out.

Their sights must be raised above the individual battle for survival (or individual dignity) and the individualist ideology that goes along with this — above, beyond the orientation of anything for such survival and dignity — which the material conditions of desperation (and still more of prison life) pull powerfully toward. It is the revolutionary ideology of the proletariat, and that ideology alone, which can so raise their sights and enable them to make a very valuable contribution to the revolutionary movement and, in particular, the armed struggle for power.

## An Appeal To Those the System Has Cast Off

Here I am speaking not only to prisoners but to those whose life is lived on the desperate edge, whether or not they find some work; to those without work or even homes; to all those the system and its enforcers treat as so much human waste material.

Raise your sights above the degradation and madness, the muck and demoralization, above the individual battle to survive and to "be somebody" on the terms of the imperialists — of fouler, more monstrous criminals than mythology has ever invented or jails ever held. Become a part of the human saviors of humanity: the gravediggers of this system and the bearers of the future communist society.

This is not just talk or an attempt to make poetry here: there are great tasks to be fulfilled, great struggles to be carried out, and yes great sacrifices to be made to accomplish all this. But there is a world to save — and to win — and in that process those the system has counted as nothing can count for a great deal. They represent a great reserve force that must become an active force for the proletarian revolution, to destroy the old world and create the new.

(All footnotes are numbered as they appear in the original)

<sup>26</sup> Mao Tsetung, "Talk at Enlarged Meeting of the Political Bureau (March 20, 1966)," *Miscellany of Mao Tse-Tung Thought (1949-1968)* (Arlington, Virginia: Joint Publications Research Service, 1974), Part II, p. 378. Distributed by National Technical Information Service, U.S. Department of Commerce, Springfield, Va., 22151.

<sup>27</sup> Mao, "Highlights of Forum on Central Committee Work (December 20, 1964)," *Miscellany*, Part II, p. 421.

<sup>28</sup> See Mao, "On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party," *MSW*, Vol. 1, pp. 105-116.

# Nerds, Geeks and College Republicans

I was at the University of Wisconsin at Madison on October 25th, set by presidential proclamation as Student Liberation Day to pay tribute to the rescue of American medical students from Grenada. College Republicans across the country aimed to make this a highpoint in the season of Resurgent America and an upfront show of strength for Reaganite youth on campus. After all, what better way to capture the meaning of their movement than with a commemoration of the invasion of Grenada, known the world over as a "symbol of America's courage and vision."

At Madison the call for real Americans to stand up and be counted did not go unheeded. The highlight of the College Republican event was the participation of the Macho Nerds for Reagan, with their ladies auxiliary, Geeks for the Gipper. As a College Republican leader prepared to address the crowd, the impatient Nerds and Geeks began their enthusiastic chanting: "Nuke New Zealand" and "Russia Has No Suburbs." The crowd of up to 300 that gathered in front of the Memorial Union was decidedly pro-

Nerd, some joining in the infectious chants themselves. Already a contingent of Nerds in fatigues had been dispatched to secure the stage, double-timing through the crowd to the sounds of "Song of the Valkyries" (theme song of *Apocalypse Now*). Along with the warm response received on campus, the event received wide media coverage. In fact we heard later that a newsbrief about the rally given on a local heavy-metal radio station mentioned matter-of-factly the demand that Student Liberation Day be celebrated every year with a new invasion of a foreign country. (This is a key plank in the Nerd program.)

As it happened, the Nerds themselves performed a valuable rescue mission for the event, as only a handful of College Republicans turned out. This prompted concern and speculation among some Nerds and Geeks about their "allies," the College Republicans (who are considered "wishy washy" in official Nerd ideology), and about the state of readiness of your average Reagan youth. (One College Republican confided to me that although he had urged all his friends to be there to mark this

heroic date, he feared the turnout might be less than expected because *Dallas* reruns had just debuted on daytime TV.)

The rally ended on an upbeat note, with students chanting, "Punch Out the Weak" and "Money for Bombs, Not the Poor; U.S. Go to El Salvador," while a large circle of Nerds and Geeks got on their knees to enact the traditional Nerd ground-kissing ceremony.

While Student Liberation Day was organized to demonstrate that conservative reaction is back in style and with a vengeance on campuses, it had quite a different effect here at UW. The Nerds and Geeks stole the show, leaving our College Republicans looking deflated and like idiots. The national College Republican Student Liberation Day poster had pictures comparing the humiliated American hostages in Iran (pre-Reagan) vs. the joyful liberated students from Grenada kissing American soil (the Reagan difference). At UW, the College Republicans carried off their event with all the bluster of the Grenada invasion and all the effectiveness of the botched 1980 helicopter raid into Iran.

The wide spectrum of opinion on

Election '84 was in evidence at the rally. Respectable students with their red, white and blue Mondale-Ferraro signs stood next to the College Republicans, leading one student to comment — it's funny how the ones standing closest to the College Republicans and looking most comfortable with them are the Mondale-Ferraro people. While one major impact of the Nerds and Geeks was to ridicule the main themes and values of Election '84 (especially America the Strong) and the reality of both candidates, unfortunately many Nerds and Geeks, like other students, have been pulled into the '84 Vote with its nuclear mandate, à la Mondale-Ferraro. One Nerd expressed his view this way — while he would be voting, if Mondale did happen to get elected it would be time for a Macho Nerds for Mondale. One high-school Geek at the end of the rally burned the American flag she had been so energetically waving, laughing at all the shocked looks it created among a variety of people around her.

RW Reader

## Crime

Continued from page 4

U.S. national security.

### Murdering Innocent Civilians on a Massive Scale

Insofar as the "moral" argument — i.e., "the U.S. shouldn't do that sort of thing because then we become just like them" — is being put out there, it is there to be blown away, so to speak, by the requirements of national interests. The above-mentioned *This Week* TV show was a classic on this score. Another former CIA director, Admiral Stansfield Turner, seems to have been brought on the show specifically as the "morality" fall guy (how fitting that a former director of U.S. spies is presented as the epitome of U.S.-style morality). Turner cries out, "There's a line we won't go beyond. We don't want to be just like the communists (sic)." This provides ABC's New Order-commentator, George Will, the opportunity to point out that nobody's complaining about the U.S. supporting assassinations and such in Afghanistan: Will declares "an artificial distinction here" since the Contras are "freedom fighters, and freedom fighters resisting a tyranny are apt to kill the

tyrants and the tyrants' agents." Fighting for the U.S.'s freedom to dominate always requires killing whoever is in the way.

But the New Order that George Will and his employers seek will require much more than Contra terrorism, and more than "another Vietnam" to approach realization. And so, Will hammered away with his most powerful arguments, making the same basic point several times: "During the Second World War, the Germans bombed Rotterdam and we obliterated Hamburg and Dresden — and the argument was that the moral quality of our act was different because the values we were promoting justified it." And more, "... this country, two generations ago, deliberately dropped an atomic weapon on civilian populations, created a fire storm, deliberately, using incendiary bombs in Dresden and Hamburg. Now, having killed in the interest of getting rid of a tyranny and establishing democracy in Germany — which we did by doing this sort of thing — now, why is it that it is suddenly us becoming like the other side when we kill Sandinista officials one at a time, instead of in job lots of 80,000 as we did killing innocent civilians during the Second World War?"

And this archetype reactionary motor-mouth is clearly willing to risk a little

overkill on this subject. At the end of the program he is asked if Shultz was right on how to deal with "terrorism." His answer: "Sure. For the same reason when we bombed, or tried to bomb, a ball-bearing plant in Germany, knowing that when you drop high explosives at night at 20,000 feet, some innocent civilians are going to be killed. We did it because the end — being very important, to rid the world of Hitler — justified the means, terrible though they were. And since terrorism is terrible, the Shultz doctrine is correct."

Clearly, it is no accident that there is a plethora of World War 2 "history lessons" being applied to the current situation. (Senator Barry Goldwater also got into the act by pointing out, "We had manuals like this in World War 2," so what's the big deal?) For the "morality" of imperialist world war fighting, with its "justified" mass murder of civilians, it's the credo required these days — although the degree of destruction it is scheduled to "justify" far surpasses any historical experience.

This is not to say that the flap over the CIA manual is *simply* a charade designed to spread the mass-murder message. Indeed, it is precisely because the U.S. is actively preparing for world war with its

Soviet rivals — and thus, both desperately *fears* getting "bogged down" in a regional quagmire and desperately *needs* to demonstrate its ability to absolutely dominate Central America — that there are U.S. ruling-class differences over the precise course of action the U.S. should take in the region. The argument that the Contra revelations have not served the promotion of U.S. democracy in the region is one that is at least debatable in imperialist ranks, and undoubtedly part of a broader dispute over the strategic question: what's the best way to defeat the Soviets?

However, the pressing necessity to actively prepare for this showdown has determined that no messy doubts over horrible means can be allowed to get in the way of the horrible end that is planned. And thus, the summation of the CIA manual must be carefully orchestrated to provide the proper *ideological* content. It is a sign of the times that the U.S.'s state-sponsored terrorism of today is being blatantly glorified to facilitate the unleashing of a terror of unprecedented dimensions tomorrow. □

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On the edge of Salinas, California, where the small city stops and the vegetable fields start, there is a sort of intermediate zone, a jumble of packing sheds, loading docks where trucks are filled with vegetables, and farmworkers' barracks, "home" for a section of the workers who prepare the fields and harvest the crops. From the outside, the untrained eye finds it hard to tell the difference between the packing sheds and the barracks. They both have the same sort of faded, cracking paint with lots of bare wood exposed, the same sort of blacktop or gravel running right up to the edge of the building. The paint is usually the kind of color you can't remember five minutes after you leave — was it gray, green or tan? — reminding of nothing so much as an old, abandoned tractor.

We arrived on the weekend, near the end of harvest season in northern and central California. The corporations which dominate vegetable production in the Salinas Valley were finishing up their operations, starting the shift to fields in the south, where the harvest comes later in the year. Because they too would soon be moving south, often to work for the same company in fields in California, Arizona or even Nevada, farmworkers were mostly skipping the 400-mile drive down to Mexicali to visit their families this weekend, the normal practice for a lot of the workers. Instead, groups of farmworkers were standing around outside the barracks, talking and drinking beer.

On the inside, the barracks look like the minimum-security county jails in California. Rows of cast-iron cots, thin mattresses encased in plastic covers. The men staying there were on lettuce-harvesting crews — according to the companies that control California agriculture, the "highest paid agricultural labor in the world." Lettuce harvesting is highly skilled and physically demanding, a job that requires such a level of team work and speed that once a good crew gets formed, companies keep the same group of 30 or so people together as the harvest moves from the north to the south and back up to the north again. On exceptional days, with extremely good crops, the piece-rate workers in the crew, the ones who actually cut the heads of lettuce off the ground, can make up to \$20 an hour. When it is raining so hard that the fields turn to deep mud and the machines cannot even enter, sometimes the lettuce still has to be harvested, to catch the fluctuations in the market or to keep the lettuce from rotting on the ground. On those days the piece rate stays the same and the workers are paid a whole lot less.

The job of harvesting lettuce is so hard, and the pace so intense, that few can do the job for more than ten years without physical burnout. During that time, most never reach the high-sounding piece rates of some cutters. Women are excluded from the lettuce-cutting jobs entirely, although there are plenty of women in other jobs in the fields including on the lettuce crews. And there are other jobs, brutally oppressive in a different way, in-

to which women are pressed. When we left the barracks, a woman walked out of the barracks across the way and engaged in loud negotiations with a farmworker with his head out of a second-story window over the price for her services. Prostitution flourishes — part and parcel of the oppression and degradation of the women in the U.S. and in Mexico, but magnified and intensified by the strained and warped social relations forced on field workers by the demands of migration.

All these are elements of a sharply contradictory picture of life in one of the most fertile farming areas in the world. For a certain small section of the workers, for a certain amount of time each season, wages can look fairly good. Beyond that, through the seventies, the workers in this

farms, owned by a steadily smaller and more concentrated group of investor/growers, with all the real work done by oppressed groups treated as aliens and outcasts by the rest of official society and the law. National oppression has always been severe; the Chinese, for example, were driven out of the fields in a series of pogroms. From the point of view of those reaping profits in the fields, a key condition of each of these groups has been their mobility. One grower testified before Congress of his work force in 1911: "I don't know where they come from. They just keep coming, year after year. When the work is finished, I do not know where they go. That is the condition of our country." That is the condition that capital and agriculture has always fought to enforce in California,

can stay in the same school, while the other two sets of parents follow the crops.

It is an indication of the social position that American society continues to force on the farmworkers that it has remained almost impossible for any field workers to actually buy even the smallest cottage in Salinas, or even to get credit of any kind. We heard the story of one couple, both of whom worked in some of the best union jobs for years and who had saved \$10,000 in cash to buy a house; they were refused solely because they were farmworkers — in a system demanding a migrating, superexploitable force in the fields.

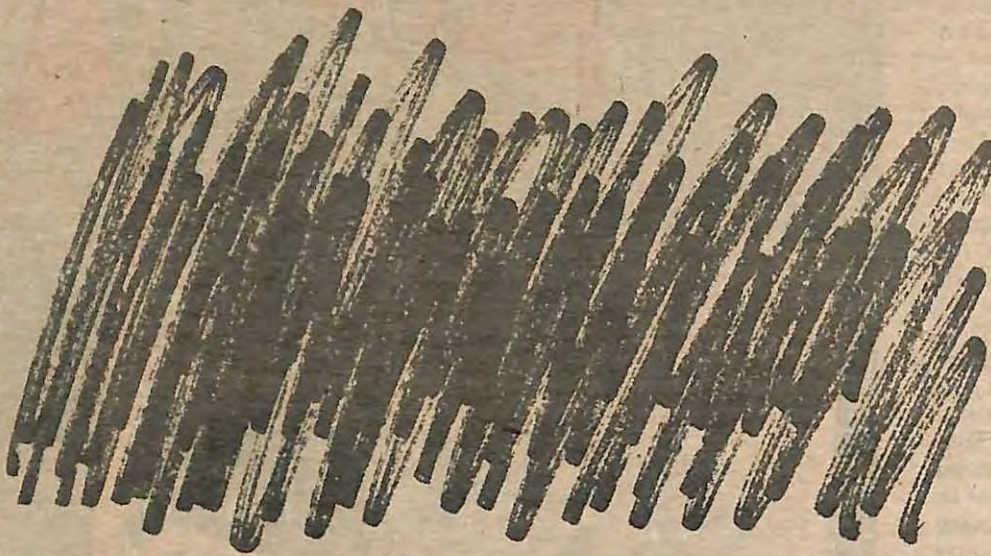
In short, there is an immense social chasm between the life of the farmworkers and what might be termed "Ronald Reagan's America." This comes completely into focus in a quick glance at Monterey, California, fifteen miles down the road from Salinas. Monterey sits on a picturesque spot on the Pacific, and through the '70s has become a classy tourist spot, with restaurants, antique stores, and boutiques. In the last year or so, its development has exploded, with a new \$40 million aquarium funded by electronics billionaire David Packard and expected to attract around one million tourists a year. One new hotel has already been completed, three more are under construction, along with a new shopping mall. Monterey is well on its way to becoming an American Express-card heaven.

The situation of the farmworkers has also undergone change in the last few years — a little different than the parasitic boom in next-door Monterey. In the Salinas Valley, there has been a great increase in the number of immigrants from Mexico seeking work, as well as a number of Salvadorans, Guatemalans, and Hondurans; alongside this have come some deep cuts in wages, and very important changes in the whole way work is distributed and carried out. Those fleeing bitter hunger in Mexico and the bullets of the army and death squads in Central America have been used as a club, to drive down wages and to enforce methods of work and terms for finding work that strip people of dignity and remove even the smallest degrees of control over people's most immediate economic situation.

One of the sharpest and most hated of the recent changes is the reintroduction of the system of labor contractors. The elimination of the labor contractors and the establishment of the union hiring hall was one of the key demands of the farmworkers' movement. In the Salinas Valley the contractor system was almost completely eliminated years ago (although it remained the dominant system in California overall). It was replaced in part by the union hiring hall in the places where there was a union contract, and often by company seniority systems on farms without the union. In the last two years the contractors have come back to Salinas with a vengeance, and now over half of all workers are hired

— Continued on page 12

## A FIERCENESS IN SALINAS



valley gained benefits won through union contracts signed with most of the major lettuce growers. On the other hand, the jail-like barracks capture well the fundamental conditions of existence for people here. In the eyes of American society, the people of Salinas are not workers but *farmworkers*, and even more they are *Mexicans*.

### "They Just Keep Coming"

The Salinas Valley has long been a key center of agriculture in California. Although it is relatively small as the major agricultural valleys go, it has deep, rich soil, and more important, it is open to the sea which creates a very moderate climate, cool in summer and warm in winter. It is one of the best places in the world to grow some kinds of vegetables, lettuce in particular; it has the longest lettuce-growing season in the U.S. The town itself still bears visible evidence of the groups that dominated work in the fields in the past, going back 100 years — the Chinese, the Japanese, the Filipinos. What is today Salinas' red-light district, for example, was once Salinas Chinatown, and there are still some Chinese restaurants in the area.

In certain basic ways the class relations for farm labor have remained very similar throughout that 100 years: large

and in a basic way they have succeeded, even up to today.

But it has never been completely possible, or even totally desirable, for the owners of the fields to keep workers from settling down in agricultural towns. Because of its long growing season and the corresponding possibility of long employment (five or even six months, an exceptionally long time for a farmworker) in a single place, Salinas has been an attractive place for farmworkers to settle. In fact, Salinas has become the main place inside the U.S. where farmworkers who work the vegetable circuit try to settle down (outside of Mexico, where the great majority of farmworkers still keep their families).

In large sections of Salinas, English is rarely heard on the streets, and it seems as if every available space has been taken up by tiny apartments, shops, cottages, and converted garages. Most of the dwellings are occupied year-round, one way or the other, and the farmworkers have struggled to come up with solutions to the difficult problem of how to live a migrant life and raise families at the same time. One not uncommon solution is for three families to jointly rent a small cottage in Salinas and for one of the couples to stay there year-round so that all the children

## The Execution of Eleanor Bumpers

On Monday, October 29, Emergency Service officers of the New York City Police Department broke through the front door of Eleanor Bumpers' apartment. Eleanor Bumpers, a 67-year-old Black woman, was under an eviction order from a NYC housing project in the Bronx for being five months behind in her \$89.44 a month rent. But Eleanor Bumpers wasn't about to be put into the street; she wouldn't get out as ordered.

The police were armed with a "restraining bar," a heavy U-shaped weapon used to immobilize people, with tear gas, and plastic shields and wore bulletproof vests and gas masks. But the "nonlethal" weaponry gave way to something else: they opened up with two blasts from a shotgun, shooting off most of Eleanor Bumpers' right hand and tearing a gaping hole into her chest. Eleanor Bumpers wasn't evicted — she was executed.

Immediately the "we couldn't help it"

lies were spun out by the proper authorities, with the police steadfastly defending the shooting. Eleanor Bumpers had a 9-inch knife, the police said, and was lunging towards an officer when she was shot dead. That is what the police always claim *after* they've pumped one of their victims full of lead. These brave cops went in to confront a so-called knife-wielding grandmother, a Black woman with a heart condition, diabetes, and arthritis so painful that her daughter said her mother could barely get around. What's more, the police say they did use the restraining bar to at least partly immobilize Eleanor Bumpers. If there is any truth to Eleanor Bumpers grabbing a kitchen knife in the face of this onslaught, the police saw to it that Eleanor Bumpers would pay the ultimate price for daring to defend herself.

Then there was a story put out in the media that Eleanor Bumpers had a history of mental illness and emotional

problems (as if this were justification for blowing her away), which came as a first to Eleanor Bumpers' children and neighbors. Eleanor Bumpers had, for instance, often babysat for neighborhood kids. Eleanor Bumpers' history is one like that of millions of Black women oppressed by this system: she came to New York City 61 years ago from North Carolina only to find herself forced to survive and raise a family of seven children on welfare and working jobs like a maid at the beck and call of the patrons of the Waldorf Astoria. It was also claimed that Eleanor Bumpers had at some time threatened a Housing Authority cop with lye — a story which escalated to tales of how the police were in fear of Eleanor Bumpers cooking a pot of lye on her stove. A spokesperson for the New York City Housing Authority later on never could verify this lye "rumor."

Eleanor Bumpers' family and neighbors demanded to know why she could

not have been restrained and why if there was a problem, her family had not been called. One of Eleanor Bumpers' daughters lived but a few blocks away. In an interview with the *New York Times*, Deputy Chief John P. Lowe cleared up the confusion. Said Lowe, "Our officers are not allowed to fire warning shots. They are trained to hit the target, not a leg or an arm, but the main part of the body" — the cops don't wound their victims, they kill them.

Indeed, according to the police, Housing Authority cops had reported to the Emergency Service police that at 9 a.m. on Monday morning, Eleanor Bumpers had a knife and was resisting an eviction order. By the time Emergency Service cops went into Eleanor Bumpers' apartment she was already a marked target; this Black woman didn't "know her place." And by 11:30 a.m., Eleanor Bumpers was lying dead in a city hospital. □

November 1983. It was a press conference just like the other two dozen or so that had been held over the previous two weeks. Looking tired, and only slightly interested, reporters bandied with the State Department spokesman over a few loose details concerning the U.S. invasion of Grenada. For most, the day was routine; you might even say boring since by this time the "question and answer" sessions served only to fill in the holes in the official story line.

The State Department guy is cool, a little too cool, as he rearranges numbers, dates and facts and "clarifies any misconceptions." There's a thread sticking out from the man's suit and you can't help but imagine that a persistent tug on that thread just might unravel the whole suit. But then it's over; you get the signal when he starts to square off his papers on the podium. Looking up over his glasses, he says, "Remember boys, the fog of war can be a very confusing thing!"

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October 20 to October 25, 1983. The official story: The U.S. government is keeping a close and "concerned" watch over the development of the situation in Grenada. So far, it doesn't look good. The internal chaos — a coup on top of a coup and the murder of Maurice Bishop, the Prime Minister, along with at least four of his top assistants and who knows how many other people — has caused a tremendous amount of concern in the Eastern Caribbean and in the U.S. itself. This weekend the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS) is meeting to decide on a course of action. President Reagan, in Georgia for a golf game, interrupted his play to receive periodic reports on the situation. By Sunday the OECS had unanimously decided to ask U.S. assistance in carrying out an invasion for the purpose of rescuing Americans, restoring regional security and liberating the Grenadan people from the tyranny of "leftist thugs." Upon receiving this request, Reagan sat in his pajamas during the predawn hours of October 24 agonizing over whether or not to invade — finally accepting the invitation to assist the OECS based on his moral repugnance towards everything that was happening in Grenada.

One tug here and half of the fabric is gone! For a few days after the invasion the *Washington Post*, the *New York Times* and the *London Times* are chock-full of "reports" that contradict the joint U.S./OECS version of the story. The *Washington Post* reported on October 23, 1983 that the Pentagon had already begun "dusting off contingency plans" in relation to Grenada. October 21 was an especially busy day. On that day a State Department official tried to pressure an official of the St. George's Medical School to travel to Barbados in order to appear on television to request an invasion of Grenada to "rescue the medical students." And the October 26 edition of *Newsday* reported that on Friday the 21st: "U.S. intelligence was providing information about the landing sites, the location of coral reefs, and the basing of Grenada's security forces. The aircraft carrier U.S.S. *Independence*, heading toward Lebanon, was told to swing by Grenada." The *London Times* reported that on October 22 a U.S. Marine Corps general and a Jamaican military official had already begun to map out the invasion — that is, one day before the U.S. was supposedly asked to help out the OECS. And, in relation to the OECS meeting and the invitation to invade, a couple of interesting facts have emerged. According to the *Washington Post*, it just so happened that then Assistant Secretary of State Charles Gillespie was "fortunate enough" to be in Barbados in time to meet with the leaders of the OECS, Barbados and Jamaica, over the weekend when the OECS meeting began to focus on military action against Grenada. (Gillespie is now the U.S. Ambassador to Grenada.) Not to be outdone, the *New York Times* reported that the U.S. had actually written the OECS invitation to invade in Washington. So it's clear, the U.S. orchestrated the invasion.

Then, on October 26 the U.S. Ambassador to France, Evan Galbraith, appeared on French television to announce that he personally knew that the invasion was "an action which had begun two weeks ago." Later, the ambassador, apparently falling victim to the spate of

brainwashing that afflicted all those who veered off of the official line at the time, retracted his statement, saying instead that he had "misspoken" and that it was "ridiculous to suggest" that the U.S. had preplanned the invasion even before the crisis exploded in Grenada.

Then, the Pacific News Service breaks a story in early November 1983. Apparently one of the Ranger units that participated in the invasion had practiced a dry run of the invasion three weeks before the Bishop government was overthrown and one month before Bishop was murdered. These military exercises were held between September 22 and October 2, 1983 at the Ephrata Municipal Airport in Washington state. The purpose was to give the Ranger unit some first-hand experience in parachuting onto airport runways, seizing buildings and rescuing hostages.

A spokesman at the Pentagon tells the *RW* that the Pentagon knows absolutely nothing about these exercises and claims that if they did occur, they were a purely local affair. The Public Relations Officer at Fort Lewis, Washington, the home base for this Ranger unit, also tells the *RW* that no such exercises ever took place. In fact, he even offers to resign his post if he is not telling the truth. Yet an official at the Ephrata Municipal Airport laughs when told of the government's

position on the exercises and he confirms the fact that the exercises were indeed held there and that the Pentagon had requested that they be given a very low profile in the press. According to this official: "I don't know why the army would deny it. I closed down the airport for six days while they jumped out of planes and took over my buildings. Now, some people say they were practicing for what they did in Grenada, but I don't know for sure."

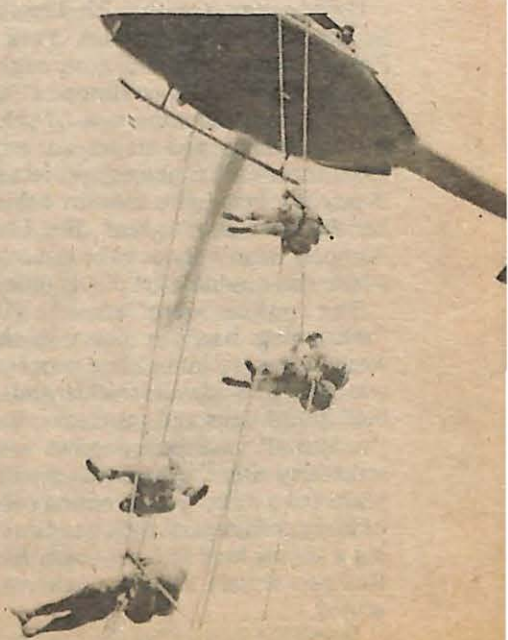
And, finally, a full two years before the invasion of Grenada, the U.S. held war games in the summer of 1981. One curious facet of these exercises was an assault against the fictitious island Amber and the Amberdines, "our enemy in the Eastern Caribbean," a not too subtle reference to Grenada and the Grenadians. The details of this exercise were quite interesting — there had been a coup on the island of Amber, the Prime Minister of Amber had been assassinated and U.S. citizens were being held hostage! Paratroopers and Marine amphibious units pulled a predawn invasion of the island in order to set up a new regime, restore order and rescue the American hostages.

One would really have to be extremely naive or consciously devious to sum up all this as "coincidence." About the only possible conclusion to be drawn here is

that the U.S. had been preparing, actually planning and practicing the invasion of Grenada down to the last detail for at least two solid years. Given all this practice, it still took elite U.S. troops more than two weeks to secure the island. And it also sheds some light on the "curious medical student," reported in *Newsweek* (November 7, 1983): "a West Point graduate and former Foreign Service Of-

# Grenada

## ANATOMY CHEAT FIX



OF A



of the Pershing and cruise missiles in Western Europe and, perhaps most importantly, the successful provoking of the Soviets into shooting down the Korean Airlines flight 007. In this context, a "successful" invasion of a country allied with the Soviets was needed by the U.S. to bolster its position internationally and demonstrate the willingness of this "great power" to use military force, and to boost a reactionary social base at home, still smarting from the "Vietnam Syndrome" and the Iran embassy takeover. George F. Will, one of the hard-nosed ideologues of U.S. imperialism, captured this bloodlust well when he howled at the time of the 007 incident, "If they downed one of our planes, why don't we down one of their countries!" One thing is for certain, Grenada definitely fit the bill for U.S. needs at the time — a cheap fix for U.S. imperialism.

In the year since the invasion, there has been quite a bit of investigation — by a variety of forces — around the question of U.S. involvement in the coup. And, based on the results of this investigation, it is now possible to posit a possible scenario for what went down in Grenada prior to the U.S. invasion. In brief, our hypothesis is that the U.S. pulled off a major sting operation in Grenada — what the FBI would refer to as Operation Grenscam. The purpose of the sting was not limited to the goal of overthrowing Bishop, murdering him and replacing the NJM regime with a pro-U.S. government; although it did encompass all of this. Instead, the sting was tied up with laying the foundations for a U.S. invasion by working with pro-U.S. elements in the government of Grenada who were led to believe that if they overthrew Maurice Bishop they could cut a deal with the U.S.A.

The first ingredient necessary for a successful sting is a vehicle through which the sting gets carried out. The vehicle in Grenada has been the subject of quite a bit of speculation over the last year. The Winter 1984 issue of *Covert Action Information Bulletin (CAIB)* — a journal focusing on exposure of the CIA and sympathetic to the NJM government in Grenada and Soviet revisionism generally — was among the first to argue that the U.S. was working with someone well placed within the leadership of the NJM. This argument was echoed by Bishop's former press secretary, Don Rojas, in an article which appeared in the Spring 1984 issue of *Caribbean Perspective*. While it is true that various forces in the leadership of the NJM could have been working with the U.S. — especially since the NJM, as a vehicle for the Soviet strategy of historic compromise, governed through a coalition of pro-Soviet revisionists and social democrats, which included ruling-class elements from the old colonial government — suspicions have mainly focused on the two principal actors in the unfolding drama, Deputy Prime Minister Bernard Coard and General Hudson Austin, one of the main leaders of the army and the Minister of Communications, Works and Labor.

With regard to Bernard Coard, it is most unlikely that he was the culprit. Coard is suspect principally because of the differences between him and Bishop which led to the adoption of a scheme whereby Bishop would share joint leadership with Coard in the NJM. (Here it should be emphasized that while the exact nature of the differences between Coard and Bishop remain a bit fuzzy, and, to a certain extent are beyond the scope of this article, they do seem to have mainly concentrated on internal issues.) But even former high-ranking members of the NJM and ardent Bishop supporters, like George Louison (Minister of Agriculture) and Don Rojas, categorically deny that these differences had anything to do with "ideology" — that is, neither Bishop nor Coard had any interest in splitting with the Soviets or ditching "the path of socialist orientation." And, it is worth noting that Coard, more than anyone else in the NJM, was well known as the "ideologue" of the movement and one of the principal architects of the ties between the NJM and the Soviet bloc.

On the other hand, every bit of available evidence seems to point to Hudson Austin as a more likely candidate. First of all, Austin was the head of the army — traditionally a prime recruiting ground for both the U.S. and Soviet imperialists when they seek out "sym-

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ficer, a U.S. consul in Laos during the Vietnam War, who had quit the State Department to go to medical school. Once the invasion started, he was in constant shortwave-radio contact with the advancing troops and seemed to know their moves in advance."

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"Nonetheless, and despite considerable assistance from the USSR and its proxies, the People's Revolutionary Government was a failure, and the failure led to intense internal conflict, and eventually to the overthrow and murder of Bishop."

"The several documents that recount the internal crisis that led to the fall and murder of Maurice Bishop in the autumn of 1983 do not indicate any strong divergence of views between Bishop and those who replaced him; rather, the struggle appears to have been almost exclusively personal.... We saw no evidence that Bishop was removed because the Cubans or the Soviets were dissatisfied with his political orientation; as far as we have been able to discover, there is no reason to think that... he was 'soft on imperialism.'" (from the preface to the newly released *Grenada Documents: An Overview and Selection*, by the U.S. Department of State and the Department of Defense)

There is certainly no denying the fact that by the time of the coup and invasion, the pro-Soviet state of Grenada was in great turmoil. Notes from the September 14 Central Committee of the New Jewel Movement (NJM) open up with one member declaring: "The situation is that the Revolution now faces the greatest danger since 1979. There is great disspiritiveness and dissatisfaction among the people... the state of the party is the lowest it has ever been." But this is a subject on which the U.S. imperialists have no right to speak. Nor, for obvious reasons, do those responsible for publishing the above-cited collection of documents even so much as broach the idea that the U.S. was much more than a "casual and concerned" observer in the development of the crisis in Grenada. For anyone the least bit familiar with the history of U.S. crimes in the world — be it the assassination of Patrice Lumumba in the Congo or of their own puppet, Diem, in Vietnam, the overthrow of the Allende regime in Chile or the most recent publication and distribution of a "terrorism manual" to the Contras in Nicaragua — one of the biggest questions has to be just how "internal" the explosion of this "internal crisis" actually was. It's almost like watching a scene from the old Columbo detective series — the one where Columbo leans over the desk,

stares the killer in the eyes and says, "I know you did it! Everything points to you, you had the motive and the means. All I've got to do is show how you did it!"

By far, the most important problem confronting the NJM in the fall of 1983 — and the main factor determining the developments in Grenada both in terms of the overall situation and specifically in relation to the events of September and October — was the overall state of the world. Grenada was possibly the one place in the world where it would be next to impossible for anyone to seriously argue that the heightening contradictions in the international arena, specifically the rapidly accelerating political and military preparations of both the U.S. and Soviet blocs for World War 3, was not the key factor in what developed. From the moment the NJM seized power the destiny of Grenada had been shaped and cradled within this contradiction. By the fall of 1983 this contradiction was ripe for a leap in the intensity in which it played itself out.

From the U.S. side an offensive roll had been launched with the aim of trumpeting the "resurgence" of America in the world and in no uncertain terms setting out the parameters for "international relations" from then on out. The highpoints of this offensive included the occupation of Lebanon, the deployment

# Grenada

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pathetic forces" in each other's neocolonies. And, given the demoralized state of affairs in the army, it is most likely that Austin was ripe for the U.S. pick-up. Secondly, Austin did emerge as the head of the Revolutionary Military Council (RMC) which seized power after Bishop's murder and then feverishly worked to curry favor with the U.S. And finally, Austin's whole political history indicates that there was a more than substantial basis for him ending up on the side of the U.S. — with the idea that if he overthrew Bishop the U.S. might cut him a better deal as a neocolonial puppet than the Soviets. Before the 1979 revolution, Austin had worked as a prison guard and constable in Grenada — a career he had been trained for by Britain and Jamaica. And although he played an important role in the overthrow of the Gairy regime in 1979 and later emerged as a leading member of the NJM, Austin was widely known to be one of the more conservative forces on the Central Committee. Contrary to the portrayal of Austin as a hardline pro-Soviet force, which was pushed in the U.S. press prior to and after the invasion, the Winter 1984 issue of *CAIB* points out that the CIA actually had a very different view of him — noting with interest that Austin had come close to resigning his government posts in 1981 in a dispute over the growing influence of Cuba within the NJM and Grenada. This view of Austin was also confirmed and reported to the *RW* by another source who had occasion to talk with an official in the U.S. diplomatic corps. It is also quite interesting to note that following the invasion, Austin and company were offered refuge by none other than Forbes Burnham, the head of state in Guyana. While Burnham has frequently attempted to play both sides of the fence in his relations with the U.S. and Soviet imperialists, overall he is very tightly bound up with the U.S. bloc, and under his rule Guyana has frequently served as a sanctuary for various shady and CIA-sponsored groups and individuals.

It is possible to argue that such a U.S. sting basically proceeded in two stages — the first being the period between mid-September and mid-October. The murder of Maurice Bishop marked the leap between the first and second stage while the second stage encompassed the period from the emergence of the RMC as the government in Grenada and the invasion. During the first stage it is somewhat debatable whether or not Austin was consciously working with the U.S. It is possible that Austin was simply attempting to advance his own agenda in Grenada and that agenda dovetailed with the plans of the U.S. Even if this was the case, it doesn't necessarily change the scenario. If anything it would indicate that the U.S. was working behind the scenes, nudging events along in the desired direction and greasing the skids for the later crucial stage of the sting. With regard to this, it is important to note that the U.S. has openly admitted that the CIA was active on the island for an unspecified period prior to the invasion. The October 26, 1983 issue of the *Washington Post* reported that in the wake of the invasion a Congressional Intelligence Committee had been debriefed by the head of the CIA about CIA activity in Grenada during this time. The Winter 1984 issue of *CAIB* further reported that a Congressional source informed them that this same Intelligence Committee learned that CIA agents were evacuated from the island with the "rescued medical students" and that the Pentagon had been informed about the impending coup in Grenada weeks before it happened. It is in this light that the events between September 16 and October 19 should be reviewed.

On September 16 the NJM Central Committee adopted a proposal that instituted a system of joint leadership within the party. Under this system Prime Minister Maurice Bishop was to be responsible for international relations and work among the people while Coard was responsible for the internal functioning of the NJM and the economy. In order to bring about this scheme and control a majority on the CC, Coard had to form an alliance with Austin and the army. Having been forced to agree to the joint-leadership proposal,



Bishop and a few key supporters left for a working visit to Eastern Europe. During Bishop's absence the Coard/Austin alliance ran the government. Interestingly enough, one of their first moves was to disarm the militia — or what remained of it. For Coard, this move effectively cut short the possibility of Bishop returning to launch an armed rebuttal of the joint-leadership proposal. For Austin, this move may have been key in launching him down the road to a coup. For one thing, it concentrated all of the armed power in Grenada in the hands of Austin and the army, thus effectively insuring that when and if he made his move neither Bishop nor Coard would be in a very strong position to oppose him. And whether or not Austin was consciously working with the U.S. at that time, this move would certainly seem to indicate what his intentions were — after all, it hardly seems likely that he would consent to disarming the militia if he counted on having to turn around a few weeks later and call on that same militia to defend his regime against a U.S. invasion. And, needless to say, disarming the militia certainly fit in well with U.S. plans. This disarming of the militia was reported in the *Washington Post* and it was also confirmed in comments made by Don Rojas after the invasion.

On October 8, Bishop and his supporters returned to Grenada and announced that they no longer agreed with the joint-leadership plan and that they were going to launch a struggle against it. A showdown was scheduled for an October 12 Central Committee meeting. Between October 8 and 12 all kinds of rumors — calculated to sharpen the struggle among the ruling circles — began to mysteriously appear in the capital. One rumor had it that Bishop was planning an assassination of Coard and his wife. The source of this rumor, according to Volume 5, No. 9 of *Class Magazine* (a special edition on Grenada), was traced to the head of the militia in St. Paul's (a geographical division in Grenada). This individual mysteriously died during the October 19 shootout that killed Bishop. But the most significant rumor — that is, the one which had the potential of causing the most trouble — had to do with a supposed plot by Coard and his wife to assassinate Bishop. Coard immediately denied any such plot. Bishop, accused of spreading the rumor himself, vehemently denied the charge on Radio Free Grenada.

Here it should be noted that by this time the Coard/Austin alliance had begun to come undone and the army was more and more functioning as an independent entity with its own interests and agenda. This fact was pointed to in an interview with George Louison published in the Trotskyite *Intercontinental Press* after the invasion and confirmed in the documents released by the State Department concerning the October 12 CC meeting. According to both these sources the army had met separately on the morning of October 12 in order to work up its own proposals for the CC meeting. And, in connection with the mysterious rumors, it is interesting to note that the "Bishop assassination" rumor was eventually traced back to a member of the security forces under Austin's command. Whether Austin initiated the rumor or it was a product of the CIA and its agents isn't exactly clear. What is clear, however, is the fact that the only ones to gain anything from the rumors were Austin and the U.S. Bishop was placed under house arrest and guarded by security forces loyal to Austin. Coard, faced with mass outrage, was forced to publicly resign from his government posts.

In the wake of all this, a whole string of weird events began to occur. Coard's supporters feverishly attempted to under-

cut the effects of the rumor and, while Coard himself went into hiding — not to be seen or heard from again publicly until his capture after the invasion — his supporters continued to push him as the new Prime Minister. Bishop's supporters meanwhile began organizing street demonstrations in support of Bishop. Austin moved against both, giving Coard's forces a backhanded brush-off by contradicting them and declaring that for the time being Bishop was still Prime Minister. In relation to Bishop, Austin had to be a little more careful. While he vouched for Bishop's safety and position out of one side of his mouth, with the other side he launched an attack on Bishop's "one-manism" and began arresting Bishop supporters for organizing demonstrations. In addition, Austin used the opportunity to tighten up his own ranks by weeding out anyone still loyal to Bishop. Einstein Louison, the only high-ranking military official who remained loyal to Bishop, was arrested at this time. And while Austin carried out a crackdown on "troublemakers" — that is, people demonstrating in support of Bishop — it is interesting to note that, according to various accounts from Don Rojas and George Louison, pro-U.S. reactionaries became quite emboldened as Austin stepped out on his own. Rojas cited the unhindered ability of these forces to demonstrate during the week before Bishop's murder as an example, pointing specifically to a demonstration by 500 people at the airport construction site which was organized around the slogan, "C for Coard, C for Corruption, C for Communism and C for Cuba," and which succeeded in closing down the airport construction site for a few hours on October 18.

All of this led up to the murder of Maurice Bishop on October 19. While the details surrounding the murder still remain a little murky, one thing is clear — the murder of Bishop marked a decisive turning point for all concerned. There was a tremendous amount tied up in successfully killing off Bishop. Without this it is highly unlikely that the RMC could ever have emerged as the full-fledged government in Grenada. From the U.S. perspective, it also would have been politically and militarily more difficult to pull off a successful invasion if Bishop was still alive. Killing him off not only helped spread demoralization throughout the country, thereby undercutting the base for the RMC and setting them up for the full effect of the sting, but it also pushed the RMC beyond the point of no return in terms of who they could turn to for help. (The murder of Bishop effectively guaranteed that the RMC would receive no help from Cuba or the Soviets. This was principally a political question as opposed to anything else. It was Bishop and his international political role that attracted the Soviet bloc to Grenada and with that gone the prospect of "aid" from the Soviet bloc quickly disappeared.)

With so much wrapped up in making sure that Bishop was killed, it seems safe to assume that this was probably one event in which the U.S. played a very active role in nudging things along. In fact, there does seem to be some evidence that the RMC and Austin may have started to waffle on this question since at a certain point things definitely appeared to have snowballed out of the RMC's hands and taken on "a life of their own." While it is not currently possible to prove just how much the U.S. directly had to do with Bishop's murder (the RMC itself admitted to being the actual triggerman), there is quite a bit of evidence that indicates that the U.S., at the very least, played a major role in setting it up and unofficially supervising it.

First of all, the demonstration that freed Bishop from his house arrest is very suspect. The organization of similar mass demonstrations has been a time-tested tactic of the CIA. When the U.S. was working to overthrow the Mossadegh regime in Iran during the 1950s, a similar demonstration was organized in support of the Shah. When the U.S. overthrew the Sihanouk regime in Cambodia, a "mass demonstration" was mysteriously organized in support of Lon Nol; the picket signs and banners for this demonstration were all written in English for the benefit of American news-viewing audiences — not in the Khmer or French languages used in Cambodia.

The demonstration that freed Bishop was peculiar in a number of respects.

First, it was quite well organized given the fact that so many of Bishop's supporters were either under arrest or very closely watched by the RMC forces. Second, while the demonstration did contain a number of genuine Bishop supporters, there were also quite a few visible and active pro-U.S. reactionaries involved in it. Third, it is somewhat surprising that this unarmed demonstration was somehow able to free Bishop from arrest even though he was being guarded by heavily armed security forces who had been screened for their loyalty to the RMC and Austin. According to RMC accounts after the fact, the soldiers guarding Bishop had received orders not to fire on the demonstration. And finally, it is definitely quite interesting that this demonstration brings to mind the fact that Tom Adams, the Prime Minister of Barbados, let it be known after the invasion had begun that he had been approached sometime around October 15 by an "unnamed U.S. official" about the possibilities of organizing a rescue mission for Bishop. As it turns out, this "unnamed U.S. official" approached Adams at the same time that George Bush, ex-head of the CIA and current Vice-President who headed up the Grenada invasion task force in D.C., was conducting a "working visit" to the Eastern Caribbean and Jamaica.

By far, the most revealing aspect of this demonstration is what happened after it freed Bishop. According to a number of eyewitness reports, a very large crowd of Bishop supporters had gathered in the central square of the capital and were waiting to hear from Bishop. However, instead of going to the square — or even going to the National Radio Station to broadcast a message — the demonstration ended up taking Bishop up to Fort Rupert, the headquarters of the army. It has been reported that several trucks on the scene at the demonstration, including one which carried Bishop to the fort, were Coca Cola company trucks bearing signs which read: "We want unity. Not communism. Elections Now." (The "election" such forces had in mind was carried out in a blaze of gunfire at the fort.) In addition to the fact that by this time it was more than a little obvious that army headquarters was not exactly a place where Bishop would have enjoyed a large degree of support, it is also worth noting that Fort Rupert was both an indefensible position and one in which there was only one entrance and exit. Once Bishop was inside the fort and the army troops arrived, it was literally impossible for him to leave.

Still another indication of U.S. involvement in the murder, or at least of the fact that the U.S. kept a very close watch over how the whole scene was going down, is the fact that although most reports of the actual murder scenario have been quite sketchy, the *Washington Post*, in an issue appearing a few weeks after the invasion, managed to come up with a very detailed account of the scene as viewed from the RMC's headquarters. This account included the shooting off of a white flare to signal Bishop's death and a bizarre scene outside the RMC command tent where soldiers lined up to chant, "Central Committee order given! Central Committee order executed!" Interestingly enough, the *Post* was able to obtain this story despite the fact that the RMC had banned all foreign press from the island. In addition, in its November 15 issue, the *Post* also produced a very detailed picture of the scene at Fort Rupert just as the army troops arrived to confront Bishop. The picture was taken from what appears to be a fairly close range and from an angle somewhere above the scene. It is detailed enough to show the armored personnel carriers arriving and a number of people emerging from a building inside the fort with their hands held up over their heads. According to the *Post*, this picture was supplied to the Associated Press by an agent for a photographer who wished to remain anonymous. And the U.S. was not the only member of its bloc keeping a close tab on the Bishop murder scene. The November 13 issue of *Newsday* mentions a "Sandhurst graduate" (that is, a British Intelligence officer) who claimed to have watched the whole scene through an 80-power telescope.

One final point worth mentioning in

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Houston, May 7, 1978.

## Moody Park 3 Conviction Overturned After Five Years

In a decision handed down last month, the felony and misdemeanor riot convictions of the Moody Park 3 (Travis Morales, Mara Youngdahl, and Tom Hirschi) were overturned by the Texas Court of Criminal Appeal. The three, supporters of the RCP, had been arrested days after an explosive outbreak of rebellion by Chicano and Mexican people erupted in Moody Park in Houston's northside on May 7, 1978, following a Cinco de Mayo celebration. They had each originally been charged with nine counts of felony riot. When the trial concluded in May 1979, Travis and Mara were both convicted of felony riot, and Tom Hirschi was convicted of misdemeanor riot. The convictions have been on appeal since that time. All these convictions have now been thrown out, and as of this writing no further trials are pending against the Moody Park 3.

### The Moody Park Rebellion

The rebellion that took place at Moody Park in 1978 came one year after the beating and drowning of a young Chicano veteran, José Campos Torres, at the hands of six killers from the Houston Police Department (HPD). His savage murder and the subsequent efforts by the state to exonerate, excuse, or straightforwardly justify the killer cops (who were eventually "punished" with a \$1 fine each for their part in the death of José Torres), came to crystallize for many people, particularly Chicanos, what Travis Morales called "the lifetime of oppression Chicano people face under this system." A year-long battle to expose the systematic nature of this oppression, and to have the executioners of José Torres sent to the penitentiary, was spearheaded by a group formed after Torres' murder, People United to Fight Police Brutality, in which the three were active.

The simmering anger of many Chicano and Mexican people for this lifetime of oppression, and for those who enforce it, boiled over shortly after the \$1 fines were meted out. Over 3,000 people, mainly youth, rose up, overturning and burning police cars, driving the police out of the northside, and turning back the pigs' repeated attempts to retake the area. The traditional Cinco de Mayo holiday became, this time, a festival of the oppressed: joyous cries of "Viva Joe Torres" pierced the night, youth spray-painted political slogans on walls and sidewalks were illuminated by the glare of flaming police cars. Fighting continued the next night as police, warily trying to maneuver back into the northside, were met by bands of youth determined to keep them out. In a week of vicious retaliation that followed, HPD teams led by SWAT units constantly stormed into

the area, and eventually over 40 people were arrested and charged with the "crime" of having participated in the rebellion.

As an accompaniment to the repeated police assaults, an orchestrated campaign of slander was generated in the bourgeois media, with the general theme being that a bunch of "drunken Mexican kids" had been whipped up to a night of mindless, frenzied violence by communist agitation. The truth, of course, was quite different. While spontaneous, the rebellion was far from being "mindless violence." Overwhelmingly, it was a conscious political act, a blow struck mainly by youth at the national oppression of Chicano people, as focused and concentrated particularly in the murder of José Torres, and also aimed at a "justice system" which cynically and brazenly valued the life of a Chicano at \$1. And while the bourgeois state geared up elite SWAT teams for sweeps through the area in ensuing days, and all sorts of elected officials and opportunist pimps bemoaned the "breakdown of law and order," one youth spoke to the taste of the future many of the oppressed had sampled in that furious outburst. "It was like a festival out there. It felt good to be free just for a while."

Travis Morales, who was particularly singled out for persecution before and after the rebellion, both through repeated arrests and police harassment and through vicious slander in the media, defiantly spoke to the significance of the Moody Park rebellion in a press conference called a few days after its outburst. He called it a "glorious day in the history of the Chicano people, a day when the capitalists and their cops got just a small dose of the justice they deserve," and demanded that the charges against all those arrested be dropped. Soon after this the three were arrested and held on \$500,000 bond apiece.

### The Court Decision

The rebellion itself, the trial of the three, and the broad exposures of the maraudings of the HPD that took place during that period have all left a lasting and deep impression on the Chicano and other oppressed people in Houston particularly and in Texas more generally, and on those whose function it is to see that these people remain oppressed. When the decision from the appeals court finally was made, five years after the trial, it was still regarded as significant enough to be the headline story in both Houston newspapers, and was featured as a leading or prominent story in all the local TV news broadcasts. The thread that ran through all these stories was the revival of every lie about the rebellion

that had been popular in their pages several years ago, with some thinly covered hints that further attacks could be in store, particularly aimed at Travis.

When, several years ago, defense attorneys filed (and then later contested) appeals of the convictions of the Moody Park 3, motions to overturn these convictions were made on several grounds, including: that the defendants had established their indigency but were refused a free transcript of the court record; that the state had systematically removed all Black people from the jury; that the Texas Penal Code article they were charged under is unconstitutional; and that there was selective and discriminatory prosecution used in picking out the three, because of their political beliefs and activities.

In announcing its decision, the opinion of the Appeals Court reads, in part, that the three were charged: "stemming from the large-scale riot which took place in Houston's Moody Park on May 7, 1978. During that riot, various felony offenses were committed by persons other than the appellants, including the burning of police cars, a newsman's vehicle, various assaults, and the burning of buildings near the park. . . . In [another decision] this court held that 'knowing participation' in an assemblage under the statute includes the requirement that the defendant know that the conduct of the assemblage is resulting in unlawful activity. . . . Appellants contend that the trial court erred in failing to charge the jury that they must find appellants participated in the assembly knowing that the assembly was resulting in conduct creating an immediate danger of damage to property or injury to persons. We agree."

One thing that must be pointed out concerning all this is that the court overturned the conviction on grounds that were least damaging to the state. In fact, a charge that had been slightly reworded in the original trial would have been found adequate for upholding the convictions, according to this court's decision. What is clear is that, at whatever level the decision to throw out the convictions of the Moody Park 3 was made, considerations were given to far more than the subtlety and logic of the legal reasoning advanced by both the defense and the prosecution. Political considerations were paramount in this decision as they were in fact during the entire battle around the trial.

The contradictions that gave rise to the Moody Park rebellion in the first place have grown more acute in the past six years, a fact various elements of the bourgeois state are undoubtedly eying nervously, and they certainly are taking different forms of action to ready

themselves for possible future upheavals, on an even larger scale. In addition, large numbers of proletarians from Latin American countries, especially Mexico, have emigrated to Houston in the last few years, and a center of this community in Houston is the areas around Moody Park.

In a situation shaped overall by looming preparations for inter-imperialist war, and with a potentially dynamic influence of the continuing turmoil and struggle in Latin America on the American Southwest in particular, it is imperative for the imperialists to try to secure some relative acquiescence in political activity among the Chicano and immigrant proletarians who are packed into the barrios of Houston and every other major city in Texas and working the fields throughout the entire state. The court's decision must be viewed in the light of this dilemma confronting the bourgeoisie, and seen as a pitiful sop to try to convince people, particularly Chicanos, that "justice was served," "the system works." It is as if to say that while there may have been some "excessiveness" on the part of the police "in the past," and while perhaps it was not right that the cops who killed José Torres only got fined \$1, even that "communist Morales" got his conviction dropped, so now everything is even. This decision, especially when seen as part of an effort by the bourgeois state to try to cement allegiance among sections of Chicano people to their rotting and war-bound system, is in itself an indication that things are not exactly well in hand for them "on the homefront."

### Retooling the HPD for the '80s

Along with this, and as part of the imperialist theme of "burying past differences" to unite for the team (national) effort needed soon, major efforts have been underway to retool the HPD and the local political superstructure generally. Through the mid- and late '70s, Houston's "robot gungslings" had achieved a well-earned reputation for being the most savage and murderous in the U.S., and the political superstructure of the police department was completely dominated by crude, unabashed racists. In the late '70s, there was a shaking out of these forces going on as Houston developed into a more pivotal center of finance capital and the old political and police setups were clearly proving to be inadequate in their ability to cope with the greater complexities of a city with a large, diverse, and growing population of the oppressed.

Two things were required by the bourgeoisie in its revamping of the HPD: to break down the cronyism, the "good

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# SALINAS

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by labor contractors. Along with the enormous increase in the insecurity and arbitrariness of people's lives, there have been sharp cuts in wages and much harsher working conditions under the new system. One woman, who formerly worked under union contract, described her present situation like this: "If a person doesn't move fast enough they tell them that they shouldn't show up the next day because they didn't move as fast as they should. Then the next morning, when the rest of us arrive at the field we grab our own hoes and run into the field and hit it hard and fast, as fast as we can. The people don't go to the bathroom or to get water because of the pressure."

The labor contractors are a kind of concentration of the whole set of relations governing the life of the field workers and set up to keep farmworkers absolutely dependent on the slightest whims of agricultural capital. Under the contractor system, workers are not hired by companies to work for a season, however short that "season" might be, but are hired in small groups, the size of work crews, by contractors who then usually act as foremen in the field. Some farmworkers are forced to go to Main Street in Salinas every day (when there is work in Salinas), to walk from bus to bus, asking the contractors for the privilege of working for what could turn out to be a few hours at minimum wage, if there is work at all.

Farmworkers have to search for work in this valley, maybe find it for a few weeks, then rush off to another valley, for perhaps two months, or perhaps to find nothing at all. And even when the farmworker has landed a "steady" job, there's no guarantee of anything. The crop may be so bad that it is impossible to make even enough to live on, when the work is paid by piece rate; on any given day, there is no guarantee of work — the grower may decide to hold off harvest to wait for better prices, which fluctuate daily, or the farmworker might be bussed 50 or 100 miles only to find that the crop is frozen, it can't be picked until it thaws, and the worker waits, all day, and it doesn't thaw.

Historically, the growers have tried to paint a rosy picture of this, to make the claim that "some people" just like to work outside, move around, etc. The fact is, agricultural capital compels this — and it has been reinforced by a whole system of social and legal restrictions.

## Wreaking Vengeance

Linked with the contractor system is a sort of general offensive against anyone suspected of being unwilling to accept the most degrading and back-breaking conditions. The situation of the former Sun Harvest workers is well known and discussed among the farmworkers. Sun Harvest used to be the largest lettuce company in the Salinas Valley and the world. It was the first company to sign with the UFW, in 1970; it was a subsidiary of United Fruit, which recently decided to get out of the lettuce business. The company that took over its operations is nonunion and refused to hire any of the old Sun Harvest workers — they have the reputation of being "troublemakers." Beyond that, most of the other companies in the valley refuse to hire them and they are now under a sort of blacklist. One woman told us that she, like "almost all" the former Sun Harvest workers, was forced to try to get work from contractors, many of whom are former foremen: "and [we] are treated like shit. Now they are taking vengeance on us — the old foremen are trying to get even. We are no longer in the union — and now they are free, and us too — and this is what they are doing, wreaking vengeance on us."

"Wreaking vengeance" on the Sun Harvest workers has significant symbolic meaning in the valley. In the '60s and '70s, the Salinas area was a major center for the farmworkers' struggle — activists stepped from the fields and went to the cities, even as far as New York, to promote the lettuce boycott and the strikes, and it was rare to have a major strike anywhere in California without workers from Salinas on the frontlines. Salinas was also a political center — a spot heavily influenced by the revolutionary political currents of the day, the revolt against the Vietnam War, the battles against national oppression. The Sun Harvest workers came from those who were at the center of all this; many of them have been blacklisted from almost any jobs in the fields; when the union first came in at Sun Harvest, these activists were able to get jobs there, and many stayed.

Today, the union is taking it on the chin at Sun Harvest and most everywhere else in the valley, but inevitably the union and the upsurge among the farmworkers of which it was a product continues to leave a marked imprint on the politics and mood among the proletarians here, even though perhaps a majority of the workers in the area are now arrived recently, in the period after the union's heyday.

The farmworkers' struggle of the '60s and '70s was a fierce revolt against oppression, closely bound up with the general rebellion and social turmoil of the time. The union, on which much of the practical efforts of the struggle were focused, both rode the struggle and attempted to restrain and channel it. Its leadership, all along combining various brands of reformism, social-democracy, and revisionism, concentrated on somehow fitting farmworkers into the American dream — at least some of the workers. This included in the '70s what the union called its "wet line," union encampments at the border whose job it was to prevent workers without papers from crossing into the U.S. Though Chavez denies it, members who were present say the methods included brutal beatings of "illegals." The UFW strove to baptise itself as a legitimate bourgeois labor union, with all the reactionary politics that implies.

And even among a section of the people as oppressed as the farmworkers, there are those who embrace such politics. Beyond the role of the UFW, this is partly due to the fact that for a while conditions did improve for the farmworkers in the Salinas area and began to stand in sharper contrast to conditions for other sections of the farmworkers. In the late 1970s, for example, at the "height of prosperity" for the best union jobs, apple pickers in the valley beside the Salinas Valley were living in cardboard shacks under the apple trees — and paying rent for the privilege. The legend attached to the UFW name has not by any means died — as recently as '78-'79, workers were killed in UFW-led strikes near the border. But for all that, the mood in the valley is not the same as that among long-time, bought-off, unionized workers — these proletarians are inwardly boiling, and though they rally behind the trade union, it is not just trade-unionism that will decide how they feel and what they will do in the coming period.

In the last month or so, all of the UFW contracts in the Salinas Valley have expired, and the growers have put out the word to various foremen and other unofficial mouthpieces that no new contracts will be signed, even though their official public position is that they are only asking "reasonable concessions" from the union. When the UFW called a rally in Salinas recently, as a show of support for the union and in a kind of answering shot to the growers' demands, 4-5,000 farmworkers showed up. The march went for miles through the streets of Salinas, very reminiscent, at least on the surface, of the

farmworkers' movement of old: The UFW flag, red with a large black stylized eagle on it, was flying everywhere; spirited chants of "Viva Chavez" and "Viva la huelga" rang along the entire march. Yet, in talking to the workers, there was little doubt that this was not 1970 or even 1979; times have indeed changed, and new and hard contradictions were pressing to the fore.

When we asked one former union worker at the rally, who had been having a difficult time finding work for over a year, what his life was like, he replied, "I have always had nothing. You get used to living that way." This was more than simple resignation, but instead a reflection of the fact that for him, there was a growing sense that something big was up, but, as he put it, he was not yet ready to do "something drastic." But something was on his mind: "There must be protest, because this is beginning to be of concern to the people, it is something that is leading to a collision, and for what reason? Instead of relieving the tensions, they are being pressured to the point of exploding, a revolution, a whatever. Who is that who is looking for this kind of problem? Of course, capital — capitalism is looking for a high. And the poor people, what do they do? Those in poor countries, what do they do? They work and get further in debt."

We talked to a young worker who said he wasn't too interested or knowledgeable about union politics. He was working in one of the higher-paying jobs in the valley, though in a nonunion job. When we asked him how he saw conditions changing, he asked in return: "Do you mean in relation to how they used to be in the U.S., or in relation to how they are in Mexico?" For those who are able to work in the U.S., things are getting worse — but conditions in Mexico started "worse," and are deteriorating a lot faster. He then went on to describe the situation of the increasing numbers who come here without family or friend to support them while they look for work — and have greater and greater difficulty finding it: "In this case they might have nothing to do but wait for the immigration to pick them up." The comment was a certain sign of the times for the Salinas Valley. For the past couple of decades, INS raids have not been nearly as common as elsewhere in California among communities of Mexicans. There are various reasons for this, not the least of which was the instability this would create for the growers in their skilled work crews. And though this still seems to hold in Salinas, people are well aware that terror against immigrants has been stepped up, even as the weapon of the Simpson-Mazzoli Bill is sharpened by the bourgeoisie; the situation could change. Even this year, in other parts of the state, the INS has pulled massive fascist attacks on farmworkers. In the town of Parlier, near Fresno, police cordoned off a four-square block neighborhood of farmworker families, going door-to-door with a helicopter overhead, deporting 168 people.

Also, strong ties to Mexico — and increasingly to other Central American countries — strongly color the way proletarians look at things; some are drawn to revolution and internationalism. In one barracks we visited, two posters announcing the formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement were pinned to an otherwise bare wooden wall. In another place a worker told us, "In Mexico there will be a revolution. There are plenty of parties there. Each party has its own ideology. Let's take this movement here, the *Revolutionary Worker*, it is a revolutionary movement to prevent a third world war. In Mexico we have not reached that stage yet. There, there are nationalist parties, but not one like this party here. Each party wants to change the system of government. This is the road we are still on, concerning the conditions in which we live in Mexico. We haven't arrived yet at something like this. There, it's barely starting or wanting to make preparations for a revolution, which must be done. Here things are more advanced. [This party here] is a good thing, if this is a party or movement which is international, which will not only include the people here from the U.S. but will include people from different parts of the world to form a single movement genuinely against the big powers. What is still missing is educating the masses, teaching them, preparing them."

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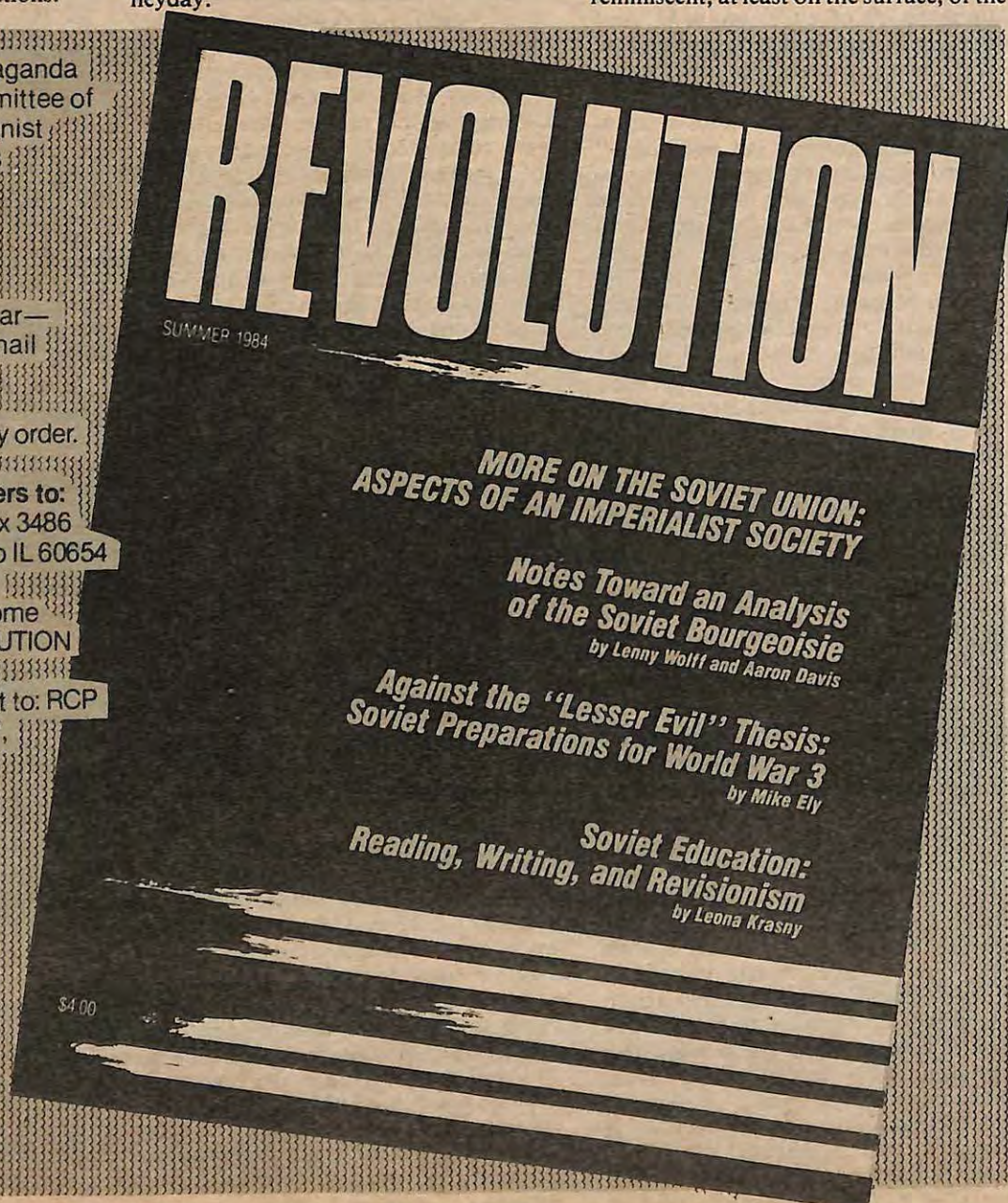
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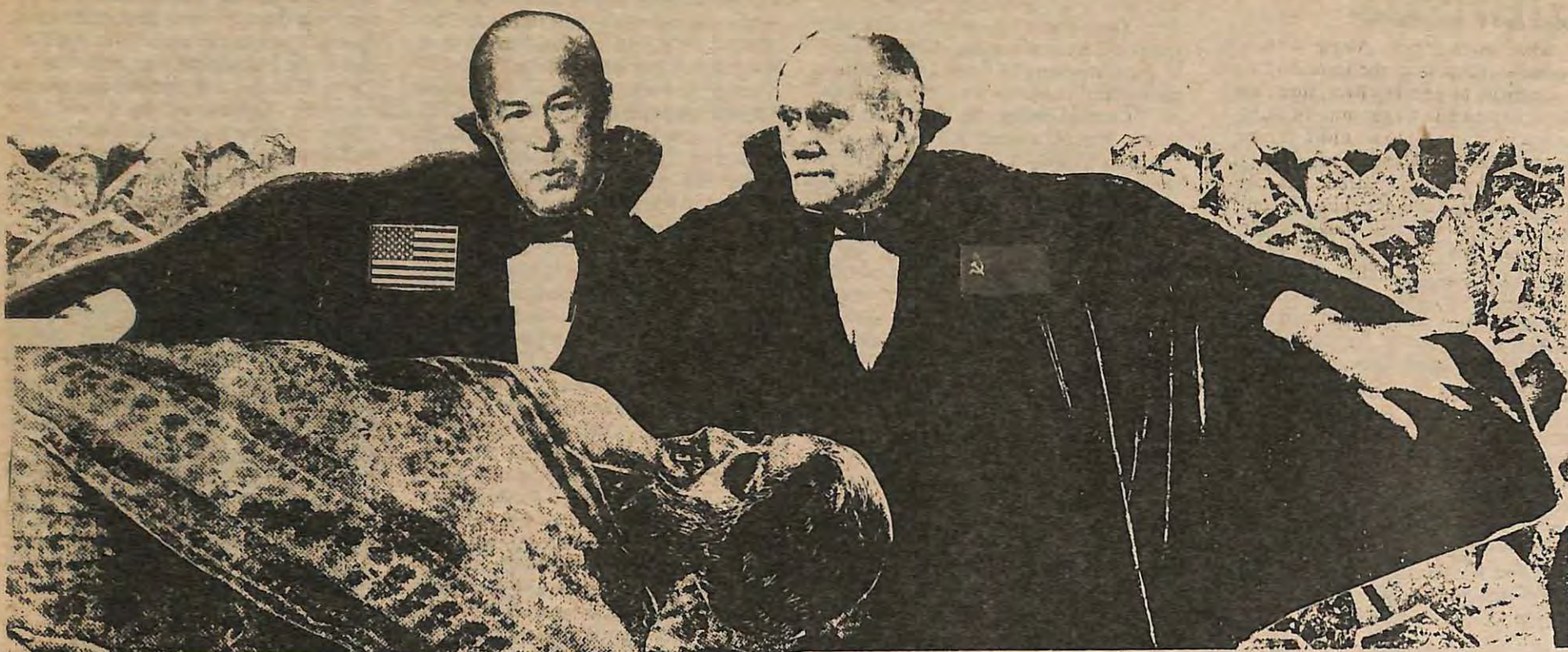
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# In The Wake of Indira



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jerry-rigged system of barely joined states, India has been violently wrenched by the rapid intrusion of capitalist relations over the last decades. Great unevennesses, the expansion of new classes, and new economic demands have all torn at the fabric of the old Indian central government.

Add to this the raging conflict between classes in the country and the overarching international crisis of imperialism producing the heightened activities of imperialist powers on all sides, and the strains on the existing structure have become tremendous.

In this situation Indira emerged as an ever more central figure within the Indian Centre, built up as "Mother India" herself. The army emerged ever more as her major prop. And the Hindu chauvinism of the religious majority was mobilized as a reactionary cement for the country in vicious pogroms to help batter back the various minorities and their demands.

Carrying out a policy that refused any but the most cosmetic changes in the nationalities policies, Indira spent the last year rushing from one hole to another in the dike, overriding and even disposing local state governments, and often hurling her armies into the breach. (Continuing a trend: from 1981 to 1984 the army has been deployed to "maintain law and order" eighteen times.) In June, her strategy to suppress the rising Punjabi agitations for autonomy and regional demands culminated in the necessity for Central government troops to raid the holiest Golden Temple of the Sikhs in Amritsar — and after 36 hours of the fiercest fighting, slaughter the militants who fell into their hands. (See *RW* 261.)

That this was only the most acute manifestation of a far more general crisis became obvious in the following months. Not only was permanent martial law necessary to prevent open revolt in the Punjab, but secondary conflicts erupted in one state after another. In July, pro-Indira forces used forceful tactics to usurp state control in Kashmir over their parliamentary opposition in an extremely controversial chain of events. In Andhra Pradesh, near the southern tip of the continent, Gandhi's cat's-paws ousted that state's chief minister N.T. Rama Rao, a reactionary who posed as the representative of the Tengu people, triggering national riots that forced her to reinstate him. The flames have been licking ever higher.

Now Indira herself is gone. And if it is true that her executioners were Sikh soldiers with long service within her own bodyguard, it is a fitting symbol — at least — of how acute the divisions within India have become and how Indira's own bloody acts have come back to take their revenge on her.

## In the Wake of Indira

With Indira's forcible retirement from public life, tremendous fragility and uncertainty reigns in her place. And it can be read in every one of the events that followed so close upon the heels of the assassination.

For one thing, the Indian ruling class has had no better alternative at hand than to immediately swear in her son Rajiv as

the new Prime Minister. To understand how desperate and symbolic this act is, it is necessary to understand that Rajiv, until a short time ago, was an airline pilot, not a politician.

Until four years ago he had no connection with political activism, leaving the role of dynastic heir-apparent to be played by his corrupt and widely hated brother Sanjay. Following Sanjay's death, Rajiv was hauled into the limelight to insure that there would be a Gandhi in the wings. Now, over the corpse of an empress who has ruled for two decades, the ruling class of the world's second most populous country finds itself riding into a hurricane led by a novice whose only credentials are the fact that he bears his mother's name.

Meanwhile, in the streets, the most reactionary passions of Hindu pogrom are being whipped up — attempting to tackle the problems of separatism with fire and lynching. Based on the assumption that Sikhs are responsible for the death of Gandhi — and the ominous tremors shaking India itself — mobs have reportedly roamed through most major Indian cities looting and killing. It is unknown how many have been murdered — though reports say that whole parts of the capital were scenes of mob violence, that heavy columns of smoke rose from sites all over the city. One Indian journalist reported on the *Today* show of November 1 that one thousand people had died up to that time. Sikhs were reportedly gathering in temples, armed and preparing to defend themselves. Sixteen major cities were reportedly experiencing such pogroms, largely concentrated in the central and northern Indian regions known as the "Hindu heartlands." According to bourgeois news reports, troops had entered at least six cities, including Delhi.

As an unmistakable sign of the weakness of the Indian ruling classes in the midst of this crisis, and the quite real threat represented by minorities within the Indian state, bourgeois reports claim that the Indian government has deliberately blacked out any news reports *within Punjab*, surely a key element in events to come (and where the bulk of India's 13 million Sikhs form a slight majority).

It is difficult to predict the future direction of events. One thing, however, is unmistakable: that the imperialists of both blocs have wasted no time marshaling their forces to turn the situation to their own advantages, and have waded into the situation with accusations and snarling threats. India is no minor chess piece — it is the central ballast of South Asia, possessing twice the population of Europe. It is a heavily armed state, which has already repeatedly beaten Pakistan — and more recently has tested both "nuclear devices" and advanced missiles.

While India is a country thoroughly dominated by imperialism, with its economic life wrenched and plundered to suit the drummers of the metropole countries, its very size has allowed it to carry on a certain balancing act between the two imperialist blocs, East and West. In geopolitical, and certainly in military affairs, India under Indira has carried out a definite "tilt" toward the Soviet bloc, de-

spite all pretenses toward leadership of the "nonaligned world."

In the seventies, the Indira government signed a 20-year treaty of "friendship" with the Soviet Union, refused to condemn the invasion of Afghanistan, and bought most of its military hardware from the Warsaw Pact. The de facto alliance developed in pace with American "tilt" toward Pakistan in its endemic hostility toward India, and the deepening ties of NATO with the Chinese state to the north. In economic terms, however, India managed to maintain itself without an exclusive economic "partnership" with the Soviets, for example, deeply penetrating state sectors such as steel, and the Western imperialists using their powerful financial institutions as an economic harpoon. India has remained one of the few states where contention between the two imperialist blocs raged long-term within the state and its economy.

The tenuousness of this situation, in which the contention operates through a welter of state institutions and developing regional markets, in which military and economic entanglements alternately complement each other and collide, becomes obvious when uncertainty threatens the future of the Indian state. Tilts can be reversed, and tilts can also fall over into exclusive cemented alliances.

As Indira's death raised all the possibilities of a power vacuum, both superpowers rushed in belligerently as claimants. Both sides announced her as their own. Chernenko, in a personal letter to Gandhi's son Rajiv, called Indira "a fiery fighter for peace and security of people and a great friend of the Soviet Union." Reagan, using the codewords of his bloc, called Indira a "hard worker in the cause of democracy" — establishing a "linkage" with the West which was constantly repeated in the U.S. press by referring to India pointedly as "the world's largest democracy."

Kissinger, in his role as unofficial (but subtle) imperialist spokesman, made it clear that relations with her had been "cool" in the past — referring to her "moral" condemnation of U.S. genocide in Vietnam, while she herself had been "ruthless" (or even, in Ted Koppel's words, "brutal") in her own actions. In spite of such coolness, he made it clear that India lay very close to the heart of American interests, and instability there held greater dangers still for the West. He pledged all available American influences in the region, "however limited they might be," to the cause of a "united and stable India."

The actual meaning of such American statements quickly became clear as reports filtered in of open Soviet grabs for influence and public opinion in India. The Soviets openly associated Indira's assassins with the U.S. and the CIA in both their media and official statements. A message of condolence from the Council of Ministers and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet stated that the Soviet people "wrathfully stigmatize the criminals and their patrons." Meanwhile, Tass accounts from Delhi reported that Indian security forces had arrested a number of "terrorists" who had purportedly been "infiltrated into India's territory from

abroad and who had special assignments to kill prominent state and political figures of the country." "U.S. state terrorism" was being alleged as reaching into India across the Pakistan border through the Punjab.

The U.S. responded to this with violent official protests, calling the Soviet statements "irresponsible," "outrageous" and "absurd." (After all, who could dare claim that the United States, or the CIA, ever "neutralizes" heads of state?)

The American fear in this instability is, above all, that the existing "tilt" would become the toppling of a weakened state into the lap of a waiting Soviet patron. More than "official protests" were being made. Immediately, articles appeared in the American press fleshing out the subtle threats woven through both official U.S. and Kissinger's statements — they referred to the heightened danger of war between India and America's client state Pakistan.

Here, in a quite violent and unexpected turn of events, accumulated contradictions of imperialism have exploded and threaten to reverberate, perhaps with accelerating force, not only in India itself but through the tangled networks of international relations. Imperialism's anarchic intrusions into the fabric of India have conjured up warring forces that have increasingly threatened to swamp the central neocolonial state. The crisis has now dragged down Indira Gandhi, a hated oppressor of her own people, who was simultaneously a central, quite indispensable unifying figure for the whole rotten order. Simple, peaceful resolutions of these conflicts are inconceivable.

Imperialism itself not only throws up these contradictions, but now strains to exploit them to tear India as a whole, if possible, or chunks of it in any case, firmly into one camp or the other. And all of this tremendous disorder operates on a political stage where literally hundreds of millions of the earth's most impoverished human beings have languished in the grip of social relations that until now seemed eternal and invincible.

The crisis in India, as the far more sweeping international crisis it is part of, is only in the opening stages of unprecedented shocks. There will be more events which announce that what exists now cannot endure.

In this situation the revolutionary proletariat (as much as India's reactionary classes and the rival imperialist blocs) certainly is being given tremendous opportunity, which now appears first as cracks in an extremely complex situation full of aroused forces of all conceivable complexities.

With typical pomposity, Indira Gandhi is quoted as saying, the night before her assassination, "If I die today, every drop of my blood will invigorate the nation." This may certainly come true, if quite differently than she intended. Her death encapsulates the increasing impotence of the class she led, and with her absence its fragility will stand increasingly naked before the gathering hurricane of the 1980s. Undoubtedly millions are celebrating her end, while they and millions more realize that the future is not only uncertain, but coming up for grabs. □

# Grenada

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connection with all of this is the fact that a few weeks after the invasion was over, and after both Coard and Austin had been arrested by U.S. forces, the U.S. announced that a scheduled investigation into the murder of Maurice Bishop was being cancelled. Instead, the *Washington Post* reported that Sir Paul Scoon (the head of the interim government) was going to bring in Scotland Yard in order to carry out a secret investigation. The supposed reason for this move was a sudden concern for not jeopardizing Coard's and Austin's shot at a fair trial inside Grenada by publicly dredging up evidence against them. This sudden concern for giving Coard and Austin a fair trial and guaranteeing their rights is quite touching, especially since it is coming from the very same people who have plastered Grenada with posters depicting Coard and Austin chained and half naked and denouncing them for "selling Grenada to the communists."

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"U.S. participation (in the invasion) was based on three considerations: First, to ensure the safety of approximately 1,000 U.S. citizens whose lives were endangered by the break down of law and order, by a shoot-on-sight curfew, and by an unpredictable internal power struggle. In exchanges with visiting U.S. officials on October 23 and 24, senior People's Revolutionary Army officers repeatedly raised impediments to the orderly evacuation of U.S. citizens desiring to leave the island. Five State Department officers on the scene monitored developments continuously from October 22, and concluded that American lives were in jeopardy and that a peaceful orderly evacuation would not be possible. This judgment was endorsed in public statements by many of the students on their return. It also was endorsed, in testimony before the U.S. Congress, by the Chancellor of the St. George's University School of Medicine." (from *Grenada: A Preliminary Report*, released by the Department of State and the Defense Department, December 16, 1983)

The successful murder of Maurice Bishop brought the RMC and Hudson Austin into place as the established government in Grenada. It also brought the second stage of a possible U.S. sting into full view. During this stage Austin was given reason to believe that his government would be able to gain the backing of the U.S. imperialists. For starters, given the history of relations between the U.S. and the Bishop regime, it certainly seemed logical enough to expect that the forces who offed Bishop would at least be able to get a foot in the door with the U.S. But more than that, from the moment he came into power, Austin bent over backwards to curry favor with the U.S. imperialists. His declared program was amenable to the U.S. in every respect. The October 24, 1983 issue of the *Washington Post* reported that the RMC had announced that it only intended to hold power itself for 10-14 days — after which it was committed to holding "free elections" and setting up a "national reconciliation cabinet" which would "operate on the basis of ensuring that all social classes and interests in our country are represented." This same RMC announcement went on to call for the building of a mixed economy and increased private investment, "both local and foreign." In addition, the November 1983 issue of *Caribbean Contact* (newspaper of the Caribbean Council of

Churches) reported that one of Austin's first acts upon assuming power was to free 37 prisoners previously detained under the Bishop regime. And, contrary to the statements of press and president alike, Austin also very quickly established "law and order" in Grenada. In a move which under any other circumstance would have undoubtedly endeared Austin to the U.S., he was able to restore "law and order" so quickly by successfully putting the entire country under house arrest by ordering up a 24-hour curfew. Indeed, if the establishment of a curfew was a reason cited by the U.S. to invade Grenada, one obvious question is why haven't they invaded South Africa?

In relation to the situation of the medical students, here too reality severely clashes with the picture painted by the U.S. — regardless of how many medical students and medical-school officials will now offer up testimony to support the U.S. story line. Austin immediately assured U.S. officials that the safety of all U.S. citizens on the island, including most especially the medical students, was guaranteed by his government. Austin even went so far as to provide the medical students with government transportation between their homes and the school during the curfew. And he also informed U.S. officials that the airport was to be reopened on Monday, the same day as the curfew was to be lifted, and anyone who wished to leave Grenada was free to do so.

It was not Austin who threw up impediments to evacuating the students, but the U.S. and its allies who managed to prevent regular flights in and out of Grenada even after the airport was reopened and the students were free to leave. The January/February issue of the *Black Scholar* contains a very revealing article by a U.S. citizen who was living in Grenada in October 1983 and who attended an October 23 meeting between medical students and a representative of the U.S. State Department to discuss the possibilities of leaving the island. According to this account: "When we arrived at a classroom in the Grand Anse Shopping Centre, we were introduced to a man called Jim Bodite. He was the representative who was to take down our names, addresses, passport numbers and so on, 'in case of emergencies.' He asked the fifty or so people present if, at that time, they felt endangered and desirous of leaving the island. The students responded by saying that they had taken a poll of a few hundred of their fellow students, and that only ten percent felt they should leave. But they wanted to know what 'evacuation plans' the U.S. government had for them if the situation changed. Bodite declared that there were no such plans yet, that they knew of no reason to worry, and that if requested, it would take 'about two days' to arrange an evacuation. He made light of the effort on the part of some parents to arrange three charter flights for their children enrolled at the medical school. He insisted that we just relax."

But perhaps the biggest bait held out to Austin during this period was the relationship he developed with the Vice-Chancellor at the medical school, Dr. Geoffrey Bourne. Dr. Bourne, who had a close relationship with every Grenadan government from the days of Eric Gairy down through Bishop, Coard and then Austin, welcomed Austin's overtures with open arms. And, according to one report, no sooner had Bourne begun meeting with Austin than he sent word back to the U.S. that he was advising Austin on "government policy matters" and that Austin was not "particularly sympathetic to the Marxist cause," that he was "on the right" and he desired to "move the country back towards democracy." Through this relationship Austin was hooked up with Bourne's son, Dr. Peter Bourne, in Washington, D.C. Peter Bourne quickly pulled together an informal advisory council for the Austin regime based in Washington.

This council was composed of some very shady characters. Peter Bourne by himself is suspicious enough. His job experience includes a stint as an Assistant Secretary General at the UN and an illustrious career as a special White House Advisor on Drug Abuse during the Nixon, Ford and Carter administrations. During Carter's administration Bourne was fired from his post for allegedly prescribing Qualudes for officials in the

Carter administration under false names. Bourne's history also includes a very interesting relationship with the CIA. The July 23, 1978 issue of the *Chicago Sun Times* states that Bourne was known to have supplied information on drug abuse to the CIA's psychiatric division in 1975. Bourne's consulting firm, Foundation for International Resources, carried out a number of studies on drug abuse in Southeast Asia and, according to *CAIB*, very willingly debriefed the CIA after returning from each research trip. (Here, it should be noted that the CIA is infamous for using overseas antinarcotics programs as covers for counterinsurgency programs.) Bourne's firm has also provided overseas consultation for the State Department and the Agency for International Development. In 1979, when Bishop and the NJM seized power in Grenada, Bourne, who was a visiting professor at the medical school at that time, kept the U.S. informed of developments in Grenada through the use of the school's telex machine. Bourne may not have known about the invasion during his dealings with Austin, since it will be remembered that Bourne was the medical-school official who claimed that the invasion was unnecessary first and then, after meeting with the State Department and getting his brain cleaned, ended up supporting it.

Another member of this advisory council was Sally Shelton. Shelton is a former Deputy Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs and, under the Carter administration, she was the U.S. Ambassador to the Eastern Caribbean. During Shelton's tenure as ambassador, she was renowned for her vigorous and open hostility towards the Bishop regime in Grenada. When Shelton joined Austin's advisory council she was employed as the Caribbean Affairs expert at International Business-Government Counsellors Incorporated, a Washington-based firm which also employs former CIA-head William Colby as a senior advisor.

The final member of this curious triumvirate was Robert Pastor, a former aide to Zbigniew Brzezinski (Carter's National Security Advisor) and a member of the National Security Council in his own right. One of Pastor's past excursions into the Caribbean region was involved with the U.S. cover-up of what happened during the 1978 Jonestown "mass suicide" in Guyana. Pastor's job then was to make sure that all ID tags were removed from the bodies and that they were immediately embalmed so that an autopsy could not be performed.

The ostensible purpose of this council was to prepare a position paper for the Austin regime and present it to the State Department — a task which wasn't accomplished before the invasion began. In addition to meeting with Austin, according to the *New York Times*, Sunday, October 28, Dr. Geoffrey Bourne "later arranged the first of several meetings between Grenadan military officers and U.S. diplomats based in Barbados." Given all this, is it any wonder that Austin might have thought he was sitting pretty with the U.S.?

However, while all of this was going on, the U.S. was also busily working the other side of the sting, that is, while Austin was attempting to curry favor, the U.S. was busy carrying out the final preparations for the invasion. No sooner had Austin come to power and begun openly approaching the U.S. than the U.S. began denouncing him as "a hard-line pro-Soviet thug." The Voice of America and the American press itself suddenly shifted from criticism of Bishop to a hypocritical portrayal of Bishop as a "moderate civil rights leader" deposed by insane, power-hungry killers. And even while Austin had allowed representatives from the U.S. and its allies to not only enter Grenada but to travel wherever and whenever they wanted during the weekend preceding the invasion, the U.S. press was busy describing scenes of chaos and murder throughout the island. Along these same lines it is also worth noting the role played by Ashley Wills, a man who Maurice Bishop had accused of being a CIA agent. Wills was first brought to Grenada by Sally Shelton. While Shelton was busy "advising" Austin, Wills was accompanying the Naval Task Force steaming towards Grenada as the political consultant for the invasion.

At some point over the weekend, the Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago

informed Austin that a U.S. invasion was imminent. At that point, Austin found himself in the position of desperately continuing to attempt to suck up to the U.S. even while he frantically appealed to the Soviet bloc for aid and attempted to rouse the Grenadians to defend his regime. Nothing Austin could have done would have stopped the invasion — not even applying to become the 51st state. The U.S. die had been cast a long time before the invasion began.

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"Grenada, although small, is 15 times the size of Iwo Jima and of large symbolic value. U.S. soldiers' boot prints on Grenada's soil have done more than the MX will do to make U.S. power credible and peace secure. President Reagan's defense budgets are not, by themselves, a full effective signal to the Soviet Union of U.S. seriousness. The boot prints prove that the United States will not only procure sophisticated weapons systems but also has recovered the will to use the weapon on which its security rests: the man with the weapon." (From a column by George F. Will in the November 7, 1983 *Newsweek*).

On October 25, 1983 the U.S. invaded Grenada. At the crack of dawn, 1,900 Marines and Army Rangers, accompanied by a dozen warships, an aircraft carrier, helicopter gunships and 70 fighter jets, ruthlessly overran an oppressed country the size of Philadelphia — a country defended by 700 Cuban construction workers, a rag-tag and disintegrating army of approximately 1,200 people armed with light weapons, including 100-year-old hunting rifles, and scattered groupings of civilians. Government buildings were bombed into rubble and the beaches and streets were strafed by low-flying gunships. A mental hospital filled with patients was reduced to a smoldering mound of debris in "an accidental bombing." ("These things happen in war," intoned Speaker of the House of Representatives, Democratic Congressman Tip O'Neill.) By the time the island had been secured, 6,000 troops — including specialized elite commando units — had been sent ashore and altogether 20,000 had been stationed nearby in case they were needed. There has never been an accurate estimate of the number of Grenadan people murdered in the course of the invasion. The U.S. maintains that the Grenadians offered no resistance at all and even went so far as to send the bodies of Grenadians killed during the invasion to Cuba for burial as Cuban citizens. Nor did the U.S. admit to killing any of the patients in the bombed mental hospital until the stench of decaying bodies beneath the rubble would no longer allow this lie to go on. There have even been reports of U.S. soldiers looting the island, stealing cameras and watches during this "liberation."

In the weeks that followed, thousands of Grenadians — suspected of being "troublemakers" — were arrested, many kept in small wooden packing crates for days at a time. U.S. troops occupying the island were eventually replaced by U.S. military police and a U.S.-trained regional security force. The CIA and a special psychological operations unit have attempted to terrorize the Grenadan people into a state of "normalcy."

And, over the last year, the Grenadan people have been treated to all the fringe benefits due a country "liberated" by

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# Grenada

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U.S. imperialism, including a new crop of tourists and upcoming elections featuring as a major candidate the pro-U.S. dictator Eric Gairy, who has returned to Grenada, and the favored U.S. lackey Henry Blaize. Over this last summer a 13-year-old boy was "accidentally" shot by a U.S. military policeman. And, for a year now, the surviving patients of the bombed mental hospital have been forced to sleep on floors and out in the open since the U.S. has so far failed to rebuild the hospital or even supply new beds. (One U.S. official recently claimed that the patients don't seem to want beds and would only use any cots supplied to them as weapons against each other.) The U.S. has finished the once controversial airport, which opened in time for celebrations of the U.S. invasion. As to previous warnings about the airport's potential military use when it was being built by Cuba, one U.S. military official arrogantly boasted, "We have no worries about its potential military use now that we are controlling it."

Such is the business of U.S. power projection. The U.S. wanted and, more, needed the invasion of Grenada. They planned and practiced for it. Their stamp is on the "bloody chain of events" that preceded the invasion.

In the wake of the invasion U.S. political analysts spoke bluntly of its purpose — "Nothing succeeds like success itself!" This "glorious military victory" served to put the world on notice that "America is in charge!" As the *New York Times*, citing an administration official, put it in an editorial after the invasion, "The Reagan administration's overriding reason for invading Grenada was to keep the United States from being perceived as a 'paper tiger' in the eyes of both friendly and hostile Latin American nations." Certainly this message was intended for Cuba, Nicaragua and other hot spots in Latin America, but it also had meaning for those far beyond the Caribbean, Central and South America. In no small part it was clearly aimed at America's NATO allies and their Soviet imperialist rivals. And finally, this first U.S. military victory since the 1965 invasion of the Dominican Republic was also dished out to puff up the solid social base of U.S. imperialism — a segment of society who, until the invasion of

Grenada, had little over which they could yahoo and whoop it up. In an article summing up the invasion one year later, the *New York Times* cynically cited one "public opinion expert" as saying, "The moral justification for the invasion of Grenada is not clear to the American people. But it worked, and American people judge these things on pragmatic grounds."

On the night of the year's anniversary, ABC *Nightline* featured a debate on the invasion. And the whole terms of the debate were imperialist gangster logic from start to finish. The debate featured an argument between a Pentagon official and a former intelligence officer who has written a book criticizing the invasion because it wasn't efficient and military errors were made. In other words — the "successful" invasion wasn't successful enough in his opinion. This was countered by the Pentagon spokesman who argued that, on the contrary, the military carried out a fine operation, and ended up basically threatening the reactionary critic by telling him that he should make his criticisms in a roomful of *Rangers* and see what happens to him then! This was a fitting end to the day which began with Ronald Reagan hailing the invasion as a turning point: two reac-

tionary dogs barking and threatening each other over the success of this cheap fix. A real demonstration of how vicious the U.S. imperialists are — but also of how profound is their weakness and desperation as they head into the most decisive battle of their history. □



## Moody Park 3

'ol boy" networks that were impeding its ability to carry out more thorough and more systematic repression in the '80s, and to change its image from one of being the most bloodthirsty killing machine in the U.S. to one of being an efficient, professional machine. A machine that, in the words of current Police Chief Lee Brown as he submitted an annual police report to Houston's Mayor Kathy Whitmire, "has assumed an undisputed leadership position among the nation's foremost cities regarding superior police training."

Now the cowboys like Happy Bond and Harry Caldwell, who presided during the tumult of the late '70s, have been put out to pasture, or found employment heading up "security operations" for Houston-based oil companies, and Lee P. Brown, a Black man who came to national attention when he presided over the Atlanta police force during the series of murders of Black youth in that city, is the overlord of Houston's uniformed killers. Brown has led in the restructuring of the police force in various ways to achieve what he has bragged about as being "state-of-the-art policing" for the '80s. One aspect of what this "artistry" means has been a vicious escalation of the assaults upon oppressed people, at a rate that far surpasses his infamous predecessors.

When a federal civil rights commission conducted hearings about the HPD in 1979, one of their recommendations was that the police would be better able to carry out their dirty work, and would encounter less opposition, if their activities, and particularly their beatings and killings, were not subjected to public scrutiny. This suggestion was clearly taken to heart by authorities in Houston.

At hearings held in February of this year of an official group known as the Police Advisory Committee, hearings which were, in the committee's words, "educational and informative, not adversarial in nature," it was revealed that 82 people, most of them youth from the oppressed nationalities, were shot by Houston police in 1983 alone. A police official at the hearings, a Captain Bob Adams, explained that "the people they [police] come in contact with when they are involved in these shootings are going to be people in what we might consider their most active years, 17-25; they're the people who are not going to be home at night, for the most part. They're going to be out on the streets, partying or whatever." When he was then asked why the "typical suspect" shot by Houston police was not only a youth, but specifically a Black or Latino youth, Adams coldly replied, "We have not attempted to study behavioral patterns. I would suggest that perhaps behavioral scientists could go through our reports and reach a better conjecture than we can." Neither any of these shooting incidents nor the hearings themselves were the subject of anything but passing mention in the Houston media.

Another official at these hearings, Dan Hedges from the U.S. Department of Justice, unwittingly spoke to the role federal investigations play in covering over the systematic terror of the police against oppressed people. After saying that out of over 250 shootings by Houston police his department had "surveyed," the only convictions were the ones in the Torres case, Hedges defended his office against complaints that it was not "vigorously prosecuting" by saying, "Well, I'm not talking prosecutions, I'm talking complaints and investigations, complaints received by the FBI or our office. Keep in mind that... [because of] the very vigorous prosecution by our office, some of the police violence in the late '70s was brought to the attention of the citizens. And when you do that you generate more reports and complaints and allegations."

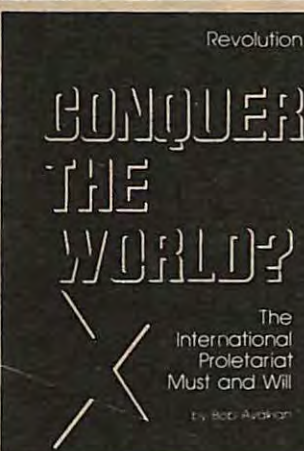
A stark picture of deadly terror is drawn through the evidence and statements decorously presented by these well-dressed slime. Since the time that Harris County District Attorney Johnny Holmes has delicately referred to as "a series of events that occurred between 1977 and 1979 with which we are all eminently familiar," a far more deadly clampdown than ever has been unleashed in Houston, and it has been covered over by the farce of occasional federal investigations and a pervasive media blackout. All this would point to another reason why the state would not see its interests best served now by focusing public attention once more on the events of the Moody Park rebellion and a renewed battle over the exposure of the constant maraudings of the HPD. The local political pundits unanimously acclaim that the period when national attention was focused on Houston's police is from a previous epoch, long in the past. Now is certainly not the time the bourgeoisie cares to be hit with renewed exposure of police murders, even as these murders are implemented on a larger scale than ever, and preparations are being put into place for much more ferocious attacks.

The state has 120 days from the time the convictions were overturned to move to retry the Moody Park 3. DA Holmes has indicated that he well may decide on that, saying "We want to retry it if we can. We don't want to ignore it. We have to see if the case is still there, with the scissors still available. Then we have to ask ourselves if we want to spend resources to retry the case." Travis Morales, when interviewed on a Houston TV station that same night, responded to this by pointing out, "Ever since the Moody Park rebellion in 1978, the state has spared no effort in its attempt to railroad the three of us and to basically tell people they better live on their knees and they better not rebel. They wanted to make an example of us. To date, they have not been successful in railroading us into prison.... When and if the final dropping of the charges happens, that would be a tremendous victory. Let's be

prepared to go for revolution in the '80s."

The most ominous element of the Moody Park rebellion to the authorities is not only that it was an explosive rising of the oppressed, but the fact that revolutionary communists politically linked up with this rebellion, defiantly refused to apologize for their political leadership, and struggled to popularize and bring to a more profound level the lessons of that outburst. As the slogan raised by the RCP in the wake of the rebellion put it, "Moody Park, seed of the future — from rebellion to mass armed revolution." Now the bourgeoisie is "fighting their own way" in regards to this decision — trying to get people to forget about and

bury the past, the police murders and the exposures of them, the lessons that were learned in the fiery night of rebellion, and also, trying to conceal their current rampages and preparations for future clashes. At the same time as they are doing all this, they are leaving the possibility open for further prosecution of the three. The revolutionary proletariat must also "fight its own way," stepping up all-round preparations for revolution, and in particular further striving to utilize the contradictions which in the past have made Houston's northside a site of advanced, conscious struggle, while remaining vigilant to beat back renewed efforts by the bourgeoisie to attack the Moody Park 3. □



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

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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.