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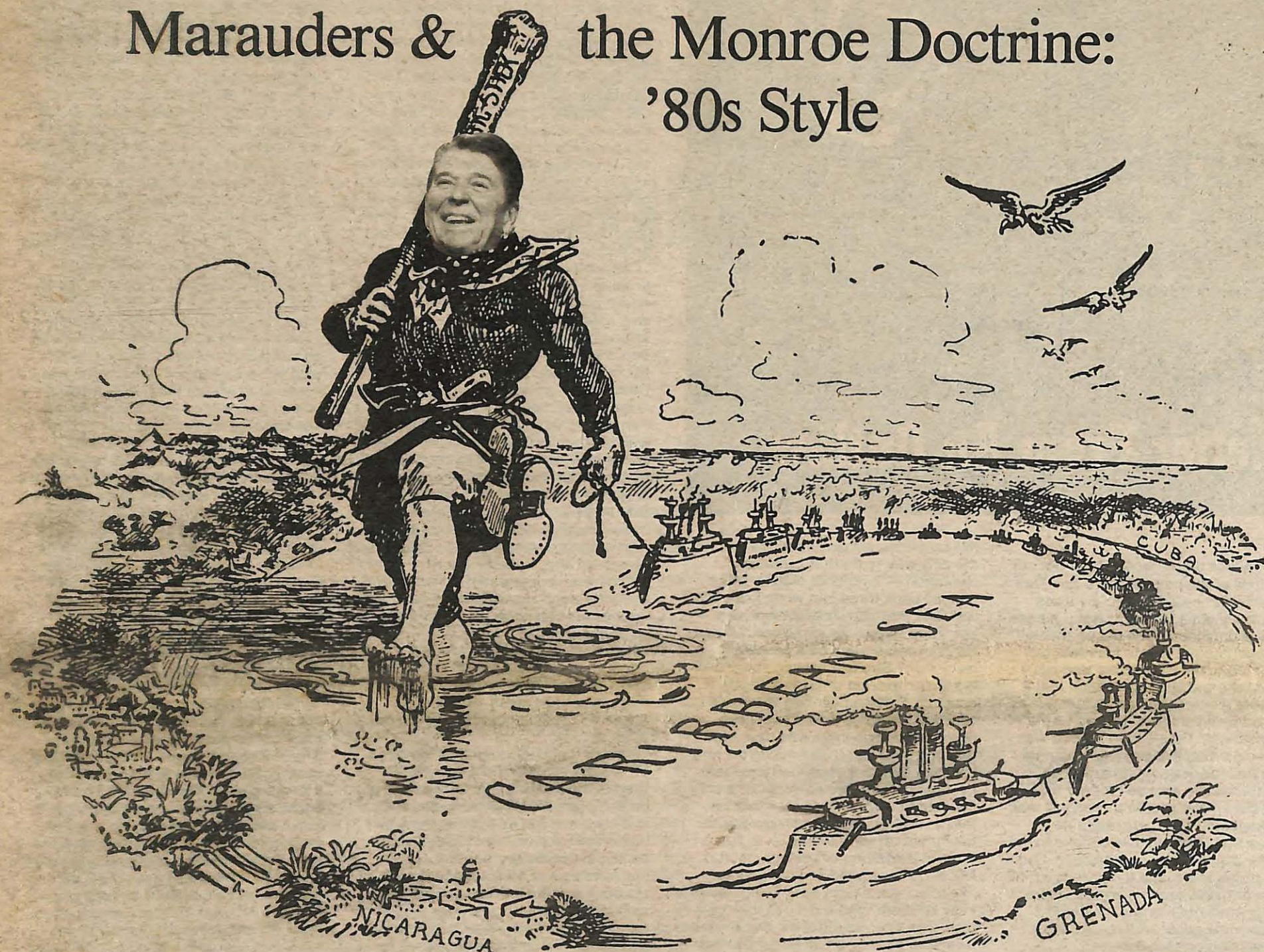
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Marauders & the Monroe Doctrine: '80s Style



Last week, U.S. threats and plans for its Central American bloodfeast were supposedly based on the arrival of Soviet MIG aircraft in Nicaragua. But with world attention focused on the unloading of the Soviet freighter *Bakuriani* in the Nicaraguan port of Corinto, it soon became apparent that there were no MIGs being placed on Nicaraguan soil.

No MIGs. The crisis had been hatched in Washington, D.C., and then slated for public release at the most opportune time. U.S. officials admitted as much in the pages of the *New York Times*. A Congressional aide said that when he had visited the State Dept. on October 11, officials there had told him that there was a plan to focus attention on the shipment of Soviet-bloc weapons to Nicaragua. The plan was to go into effect after the elections. (As it turned out, it went into effect just as the polls closed on the day of the elections!) Another official, speaking of the MIG crisis, said, "Some of those who want us to adopt a harder line have long wished that MIGs would be delivered because they know that would tilt the policy in their direction.... The next best thing to the delivery of MIGs was the possibility that

they might arrive any day."

These are the kind of people we're dealing with. The same who manufactured another incident just over a year ago: KAL 007. Then, the U.S. deliberately sent the airliner on a suicide mission — guaranteed to bring the response from the Soviets that it did — in order to reap a prewar propaganda harvest. And now, the MIG episode is manufactured, designed to jack up pressure on Nicaragua and whip up general war fever in the U.S.

No MIGs — but no matter! Suddenly there were new stories emanating from U.S. officialdom — all loyally (and forcefully) appearing in banner headlines or repeated by TV correspondents with raised voices. It was now a "massive Soviet arms flow" and a "massive Nicaraguan arms buildup" that was used to jack up the tension. MIGs or no MIGs, the free press fulminated, U.S. officials are discussing all manner of "contingencies" — the diplomatic word for potential acts of blatant U.S. aggression. These include a big jump in U.S. funding and weaponry to the puppet anti-Sandinista Contras, more and larger U.S. military maneuvers in Central America and, once

again, maybe a full naval quarantine of Nicaragua.

And seeing as how the possibility of a MIG incident had diminished (at least for the moment), U.S. officials made sure that all would know there were lots more potential "incidents" where that came from. Specifically, the Pentagon raised the specter of a new "call for help" in Central America. Said Defense spokesman Michael I. Burch, "We would take very seriously any threat to Honduras or El Salvador, and if those countries were invaded by Nicaragua and they were to request our assistance, I believe that we would respond with whatever assistance was necessary." At the moment, according to U.S. officials, there is only "circumstantial evidence" that such a scenario might take place — that is, if *circumstances* warrant, the "evidence" has already been invented.

U.S. Invasions Only

This is perhaps the most farcical creation the U.S. has yet come up with in Central America. At a time when the military might of El Salvador and Honduras has undergone a quantum leap through massive injections of U.S. military aid,

when Honduras has been turned into a U.S. fort and when U.S. military exercises, some in tandem with its neocolonial militaries, are taking place on an unprecedented scale in the region, the U.S. raises the "threat" of an invasion by — rather than of — Nicaragua. Sandinista foreign minister, Miguel D'Escoto, accurately responded to this by declaring, on ABC network TV, "This is sheer lie, hypocrisy and *bullshit* — if you'll pardon my English."

Yes, it is farcical, and transparently — even admittedly — so. This is "resurgent America," and the bully is throwing his weight around. Who needs even a modicum of pretended believability in the incidents it manufactures, or the pretext it invents, to "justify" the most naked aggression? Certainly not the puffed-up U.S.A.

Now is the time when U.S. officials resurrect the Monroe Doctrine, a 161-year old Presidential statement that has been used to bestow imperial legitimacy on countless U.S. interventions in Latin America. Now is the time when professorial prostitutes are paraded around to pontificate on the U.S. version

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Excerpts from:

A Horrible End, or An End To The Horror?

by Bob Avakian

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Letter From An Outlaw

Dear RW,

It was less than a week after I got out hundreds of the party's "Let's End This Madness Before It Ends Us" leaflets that I really got a taste of what it means that it is only those who are on the bottom and have nothing to lose that can put a stop to the madness. I also got a strong hit on why those classes that still have a little too much to lose are in no position *whatsoever* to lead us out of this madness! On election night it was pretty clear that Reagan was going to again be crowned king of a rotting imperialist system and we thought that this would make people thoroughly mad and disgusted and there might be a chance that they would even take to the streets. But this was not the case. Some other proletarians and the party went into one of these housing co-ops where college students live and we tried to arouse some anger — but it was like they were on one big bumper.

I talked to this woman student about what she thought about the election results. She was not pleased with the results but she felt that she had to live with it since there was not much she could do about it anyway. I told her that there was a lot she could do about it —

like take their class off their throne and the only way to do that is through revolution — by blood! Man — she jumped back three feet when I said this! She said that she was for revolution — but it had to be a peaceful one. I asked her how could there be a peaceful revolution? She was talking about making speeches and talking to the state government. I told her that there was no way that would go over. There have been too many people who have tried that and even put their lives on the line kneeling before their throne and then get beat up and thrown in jail. She still insisted that we should try. I told her that it would take us fighting a war to take them off their throne — to put them in a position of seeing what it is like to be controlled and dictated to — like how we are right now, being slaves. I say let them have a dose of their own medicine. I bet you that we would not be as stupid as they are in administering this planet as to allow people to go hungry and allow a situation to exist where people prey on each other. Anyway — she still insisted that revolution had to be nonviolent.

I pursued this a little further by saying that you can't just go up there with

daisies in your hand and singing hymns or anything like that. You have to go right up into their faces and destroy them. She said that she just could never bring herself to do such a thing even if the situation required it because she did not believe in violence. I finally said that it doesn't really matter what you believe because THEY, the monsters, who run this country and are taking us to war, are very violent indeed. Now is not the time to turn the other cheek. Man — you could run out of cheeks to turn and you will be worn out by the time they get through slapping you around! She also added that her idols were Jesse Jackson, Ron Dellums, Martin Luther King, Jr. I guess why she likes them is that these are her class of people. She believed that what Jesse Jackson was talking about was glorious. I told her it was garbage — that he was put there with a crown on his head to get his color of people to go along with the U.S. government. They wanted to trick people into thinking that he could save Black and Hispanic people by getting them a piece of the action — in a stinking America. It was a good conversation with this woman and I think that somewhere deep in her heart she's going to have to come to realize that it will have to come to revolutionary warfare to put an end to this madness we have today.

At another point I was talking to another student who had a little different point of view than this woman. I was listening to him talk. He had some strong points. He believed that revolution was the way to go. I talked with him about how it is no difference whether a Democrat or a Republican pushes the button. They play the same role to protect this bullshit. These rulers don't want to give up their toys or their planes that they fly everywhere to conquer and dominate territories. They are not even prepared to lose their little animal eggs that they eat and call delicacies. You know that they would rather lose the whole thing — demolish it — than ever give it up. This student agreed with me and he was very dissatisfied with how the polls went. He was not so bummed out because he knew that regardless of what happened in the election — the whole system was going to keep operating and war was still going to be in the not too distant future. He had more questions about what kind of future we thought could be carved out of all of this.

I think that people need to trip out a bit around this question. I'm kind of tired of the thinking that all we were put on this planet for is to work, pay bills, and have messed up relationships between men and women. There's got to be something better than this and mankind should have a higher sense of accomplishment. We are supposed to work and gain material things and when the government says that it is time to go to war — then that's supposed to be our duty since we have a job and are not starving. Well, I reject the idea because it is not some predetermined duty to protect this country's interests. People do not need to go along with that because this society ain't doing shit. Yeah — they feed us a few crumbs here

while they starve people all over the world. This student seemed to find what I said kind of interesting. I think he would make a good soldier for our side. Even right now — he could play a positive role.

This was my first chance to observe what students at the university are thinking and talking about. In a certain way — I was very shocked. I always thought that people in that university were supposed to be more open-minded and have more political brains than they showed. Some of the students were acting like sophisticated individuals and I sensed that they were a bit pushed out of shape to see a Black person from some ghetto come up there and talk about the elections and revolution. They were acting like the higher classes. Now these people will definitely have to change because there is a chance that they could follow the outlook that would lead them to protect this bullshit and not even know what's happened to them. I do not feel that this represents all or even most of the students. Some were quite open-minded and understood what is really happening. But too many said that there is nothing we can do — that we will just have to live with this shit for another four years. But I told them that there isn't gonna be another four more years! I think that we should prepare with this worst alternative in mind so that we can seriously focus on carving something far better for all of mankind. The future is what we make it.

Now — just a few words about being an outlaw. There was this one student who was freaking out how no one was listening to us and that we had broken some house rules" by coming in there like that. I think that if you really want to change things — there has to be a strong outlaw spirit in you because you do represent a minority political view of things. I have always felt like a minority all my life — but I do not feel concerned at all. A cat is at its best when its back is up against the wall and that is the situation that people are facing today. The only way to come out is to go forward and fight your way out. If you sit up in the corner and cringe at every move your enemy makes... you are sure to get stomped on. I know that what we're aiming to do is right and going up to those dorms to have debate and exchanges with those students is a start and our experience shows us that more of that needs to be done. I know what I read and see on TV... the U.S. is the biggest criminal of all. I would say that going around and robbing other countries and enslaving other people is about as criminal as you can get. I am playing for something serious here and have every intention of winning. Sure — there's a chance that I could die getting the message across but at least I didn't just let the bomb just burn me up. I feel that I am *not* doing what every good American should be doing but am doing what a good proletarian should do. I WEAR red to show that we are a class of outlaws all around the world who are fighting for the same thing. If wearing red is being an outlaw — then I am one and that's all right.

A Black proletarian

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A HORRIBLE END or An End To The Horror?

by BOB
AVAKIAN

Their Ideological Offensive and Our Counteroffensive

Especially after being in France for awhile — where to a large and sickening extent politics is still presented, especially by the “Left,” in terms of democracy versus fascism — I came to the point of concluding that an important first step politically would be to abolish these two words.⁹⁴ But having kept up with the scene in the U.S. and observing the political and ideological atmosphere being created there of late, I am leaning toward the conclusion that it would be wrong to bury the word “fascist” at least. I say this despite the fact that my revulsion at the use of this term by much of the “Left” is certainly well-founded, and despite the crude flinging about of this term historically (and down to today) and the often grotesque errors and political deviations that have generally been associated with this. Still, even being “removed” from the scene in the U.S., it is impossible to observe that scene without being struck by the very real elements of fascism that are being built up in the political and ideological superstructure in particular.

This is particularly striking in the ideological, and more specifically, the cultural sphere. The cult of the body (the revolutionary proletariat certainly needs to stress being in condition for general health reasons and more specifically for the arduous revolutionary struggle ahead, but just as certainly not with the core of love for Self and for The Nation as a race of Supermen — and Superwomen, even if they still have to remain the subordinates of the Supermen) that screams out in this “let’s get physical” craze; the cult of the military; the many-sided attack — including literal physical and sexual assault as well as the incessant preaching of wifely and motherly duty — to force women, even women with “responsibility outside the home,” more firmly into a subordinate, debased, and brutalized position; the cult of the nation, including the revival of the U.S. as god’s chosen nation (or at least as enjoying “favored nation status” with him); the promotion, from the highest levels of government, of the “Moral Majority” and generally of obscurantist-jingoistic mythology and ritual; and along with all this the drumbeat of the will to triumph: these are some of the major aspects of what I would have to call a genuinely fascist element within the ideological offensive of the U.S. imperialists in this period.

This is precisely not some “classless” or “systemless” phenomenon that can be attributed merely to the fact that evil people are in positions of power (though that is certainly true, it is also certainly *not* an exception to the rule). Rather it is an expression of the necessity that the U.S. imperialist ruling class as a whole faces, a necessity in the ideological realm — reflecting and addressing their necessity in the practical-material world — a necessity especially to fan the fires of blind jingoism, to dazzle people with individual and collective (national) narcissism and prepare them for the orgy of death and destruction that is the epitome of the program for “USA-No. 1,” and at the same time to overwhelm and intimidate those who aren’t swept up in this, who won’t go along or who actually resist. It is not necessarily the case that the U.S. imperialists will have to implement an actual fascist form of their bourgeois dictatorship, that is, a dictatorship openly based on systematic terror within the U.S. itself. But in any case things in the U.S. will get much more repressive, in terms of the atmosphere created as well as the brute force employed by the apparatus of the state (police, army, courts, etc.), and the fascist elements within their ideological offensive that I have pointed to will be an important part of all that.

In this light it is very instructive to look at the main points raised in a well thought out response to “American Patriotism — A Challenge.” In that article

This week the Revolutionary Worker presents the fifth in a series 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 is from Chapter I and its fourth major section “Questions Especially Concerning the Carrying Out of the Party’s Central Task Today.” The other subsections in this section of the book are:

More on the Question of Lagging the Objective Conditions

Revolutionary Intellectuals, the Advanced Minority, and a

Revolutionary Mass Movement

Further on the Importance of Party-Building

Imperialism and the Seal of Parasitism

Again on the United Front Strategy and the Crucial Element of

Proletarian Leadership

The United Front on the Basis of an Advanced Position Taken and

Pole established by the Party

Don’t Overdo It, But Pay Correct Attention

Popularizing the Question of the Armed Struggle for Power

More on “Desperate Risings of the Masses”

I challenged “anyone to give an explanation of why they are patriotic Americans or why patriotism for the USA is a good thing, which cannot be shown to come down to a statement of why they want to perpetuate a situation where they have a position of privilege — relatively greater or lesser, but privilege all the same — at the expense of, and at the cost of tremendous suffering on the part of, the great majority of people in the world.”⁹⁵

The author of this response centers his arguments around the idea that as a result of Vietnam and Watergate “Americans have nothing left to believe in. America has by and large become an alienated, morally bankrupt nation that can believe in little but video games, sex, and a frail sense of machismo.” His conclusion is not that this shows the urgent need for a revolution that is directed against everything America has more clearly been revealed to stand for, but that “above all, Americans need something to believe in, something for which they will be willing to sacrifice. This is a function that can be fulfilled by patriotism.”

It certainly can! — and here lies the essence of the problem. The writer does not realize it, but his position plays directly into the hands of the U.S. imperialists and their drive to unite the American Nation around something very specific to believe in: the need to create the conditions where America will reign unchallenged in the world (or what’s left of it) — which means nothing less than world war and everything that involves. Like many who today are seeking (and others who have previously sought) to solve the ills and cure the evils of America on a liberal-democratic basis, without a radical transformation of the whole society and its values, this writer raises the notion that the U.S. has failed to live up to the ideals upon which it is based. This is an argument I addressed in the article “Declaration of Independence, Equal Opportunity, and Bourgeois Right,”⁹⁶ where I pointed out that the U.S. has in fact lived up to the principles and ideals on which it was founded — insofar as that is actually possible — and the inevitable result involves the very things that this writer and many other like-minded people abhor. But this response concludes by arguing:

If only we can learn to live according to these ideals, we can once again be proud of America, not because of its fabulous wealth and military prowess, but because of its moral superiority. This is a patriotism that will do no one any harm. Rather, it will serve to once again provide inspiration for the millions who continue to fight for justice throughout the world.

However well-meaning this might be, the fact is that there is no basis whatsoever for America to have “moral superiority” in the world (and the use of the word “superiority” here is a sign that something is wrong even if the intentions are good). America’s “fabulous wealth and military prowess” are a product and integral part of American imperialist plunder worldwide and are founded in exploitation and misery historically and internationally: it is this which America embodies and symbolizes for “the millions who continue to fight for justice throughout the world.” And those millions, far from drawing inspiration from America and its ideals, face America as a major obstacle and ruthless enemy. Was it somehow accidental that the Vietnamese people had to wage revolutionary war against the U.S. and its allies for three decades to finally drive them out, or that oppressed peoples throughout the world face the same task today?⁹⁷ In sharp opposition to what the writer argues, patriotism for America, of any kind — even the most “idealistic,” harkening back to the principles of the *Declaration of Independence* and so on — will do a great deal of harm to the vast majority of people in the world and indeed to humanity as a whole, especially given what is now coming on the world agenda. The USA is an oppressor country — in fact right now it is “Number One” among oppressor countries in the world and is trying to “keep it that way,” with everything that means. Patriotism for America is patriotism for *that* — and can be nothing else.

The writer does recognize, after all, that there is a basic inconsistency in his

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⁹⁵ See “Provocations,” *RW*, No. 228, p. 4.

⁹⁶ See “Declaration of Independence, Equal Opportunity, and Bourgeois Right,” *RW*, No. 230 (November 11, 1983), p. 3.

⁹⁷ As for Ho Chi Minh’s use of a passage from the *Declaration of Independence* in declaring Vietnam’s independence from France at the end of World War 2 — a fact this writer cites — that is, unfortunately, an example of weaknesses and limitations in the Vietnamese Revolution and its leadership, not an indication of the value of the *Declaration of Independence* for revolutionary struggle in today’s world.

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

⁹⁴ Though I didn’t put it in exactly these terms, this was very much on my mind in writing “And What Should We Call the Third Time? or Still Fighting the Battles of the 19th Century at the Approach of the 21st,” as part of *More Reflections and Sketches*, *RW*, 206 (May 20, 1983), p. 3.

The Hidden Hunger

Two dozen blocks to the west of Chicago's Loop is the city's Near West Side. This is the area where Fred Hampton was shot down 15 years ago and an old "Illinois chapter of the Black Panther Party" sign still is visible above a storefront on Madison and Western. In this area tens of thousands of Black people are crowded together in small apartments, called "rat dens" by those that live there, and darkened by the shadows of the "high-rise penitentiaries," the CHA housing projects. In this area it is estimated that *three-quarters of the population* faces a high risk of hunger. Here the struggle for food is part of daily existence, where young children go through garbage in the alleys searching for a meal.

The *RW* was invited into one neighborhood in this area by a woman getting food at a pantry (a private agency that distributes food and provides some other services). "If you want to talk to people who are hungry, come to my area," she stated, and later brought this reporter around on the street in front of her apartment. Quickly a large group gathered, with bitter testimony to tell.

"My wife died of malnutrition," said one older man. "She swelled up like she was pregnant and later died." He himself had a heart condition, diabetes and had lost 40 pounds from not eating. "My stomach be cramping up at night, but I'm afraid to eat because there'll be nothing left in the morning," said a younger man, continuing, "the food they give you at these soup kitchens they wouldn't even put on a dog."

One woman described how her friend had a baby with a serious heart condition. She was burned out of her apartment and now has no food for the baby. Others described how they eat only bread and water for days or how they must rely on the schools, which have already cut back their food budget and serve food that is barely edible, to feed their kids. None of the men this reporter talked to eats three meals a day; all described how they had lost 40, 50, even 60 pounds eating only once or twice a day and often going hungry on weekends when many soup kitchens are closed. They went on to describe how the public aid office "treats you like an animal," how men on General Assistance must live three or four to a single room and sleep on the floor, how their families have broken up after prolonged fights over bills and, to add injury to insult, how "a grown man can't even walk down the street without being assaulted by the police."

Certainty of Hunger

Especially in Chicago's sprawling ghettos and barrios, hundreds of thousands of people are malnourished and thousands are dying of starvation-related diseases. Last week the Mayor's Task Force on Hunger published figures, based on the 1980 census, estimating that 888,000, or 29.5 percent of Chicago's population, is at risk of hunger. Some estimate that by 1984 this figure has increased to over one million. For three-quarters of these people — those living at 75 percent of the federally defined poverty level — hunger is a virtual certainty.

In these areas of the city, various starvation diseases, virtually nonexistent in the U.S. not long ago, have begun to emerge. For example, Children's Memorial Hospital and Mount Sinai Medical Center report as many as twenty cases a year of kwashiorkor and marasmus, rare diseases caused by prolonged calorie and protein deprivation.

"I haven't seen those diseases since 1968 when I was living in India," said Larry, a Harvard University nutritionist and member of the Physicians Task Force on Hunger in America, after visiting Chicago. "Marasmus and kwashiorkor are *always* the tips of the iceberg by definition. You don't get those diagnoses unless you have a very large population of malnourished indi-

viduals." Dr. Jorge Prieto, a member of the family practice staff at Cook County Hospital, Chicago's only public hospital, put it more bluntly — thousands of people are starving to death in Chicago, he says. Malnutrition "is linked to about 10 or 15 percent of the 48,000 cases we see (annually at Cook County Hospital — *RW*). We see people whose diseases are dragging on and on because they've been malnourished since birth."

These people are not dying from starvation outright, rather from starvation-related diseases. The deadly course of these illnesses proceeds this way: chronic malnutrition is triggered by extended periods of insufficient calorie intake. The body burns all its stored fat and then begins to fuel itself on protein stored in muscle tissue of vital organs. Simultaneously, energy is conserved by slowing normal and complex body functions. At this point the body has little reserve for fighting illnesses and is vulnerable to disease. Colds develop into pneumonia, earaches into debilitating meningitis, infections lead to major illnesses such as diabetes and liver problems, general weakness leads to tuberculosis and in children diarrhea can become dehydration and death in a matter of a few hours. Kwashiorkor, marasmus and rickets are even more extreme forms of actual starvation.

In Chicago, hunger is closely linked to a brutal and climbing rate of damage to mothers and infants. Inadequate food is one of the root causes of maternal anemia and toxemia, which pose a threat to a mother's life. Low birth weight (less than 5.5 pounds) and prematurity (less than 38 weeks gestation) uncapped a slew of health problems because of underdeveloped immune and respiratory systems. Underweight infants face 30 times the likelihood of dying before the age of one as infants of normal weight. Among Black people in Chicago the infant mortality rate is 25.7 per 1000 births compared to a national average of around 11. In Avalon Park, one of the more oppressed areas, 1982 infant mortality was over 50 per thousand. This rate is increasing among the most oppressed Black people.

In addition, one of the earliest manifestations of inadequate nutrition among children is failure to grow. A 1983 study at Cook County Hospital found that 30.5 percent of the children screened (the vast majority of whom are poor and Black) showed severe growth problems. Besides affecting height and weight, malnutrition greatly undermines the development of the brain, whose early growth is completed by age 3. In other words, the brains of children who are severely malnourished are irreversibly damaged during these early, formative years.

Women on Welfare

The majority of the families on the Near West Side are headed by women on Aid to Dependent Children (ADC). Rice, beans, potatoes, macaroni and cheese, white bread — these constitute a large part of the diet. Many of these mothers say their kids go to bed hungry, a condition which leads to stomach cramps, headaches, nausea and listlessness. The system has the nerve to blame these women themselves for the malnutrition and abuse of their own children. What emerges in interviews, however, is the tremendous oppression of these women and a deep suppressed rage at the way things are. These women are forced to make decisions whether they will buy food or pay the rent, whether to eat or have gas and electricity. Thousands face Chicago's winter with their gas turned off and no way of paying overdue bills — and here we're not even talking about the thousands of homeless women, many with children, who are forced to live on the street or in a temporary shelter.

Jessica, a 43-year-old Black woman, is typical of the kind of stress and pressure wrenching these women. Jessica is raising two grandchildren and two children on

\$314 SSI plus \$150 in food stamps. On this starvation pittance she is supposed to pay the rent (\$250), the gas (over \$100 in the winter), the electricity and buy food. This doesn't even begin to cover clothes, shoes, laundry, doctor's bills, etc., etc. In addition, Jessica is on kidney dialysis three times a week and in no way can buy proper food for her illness. Two weeks ago Jessica's gas was shut off. As has happened several times previously her blood pressure went way up and she landed in the hospital for stress and general deterioration. A food pantry is helping her negotiate rescheduling the gas payments, but clearly she is being killed by the impossible conditions of life she is expected to cope with... because she is a Black woman.

The intense pressure these oppressed women are under leads them to speak very bitterly of their life condition and the system that spawns them. Carla is a 38-year-old former waitress who has five children and lives on an ADC monthly allotment of \$434, plus \$229 in food stamps. She has a heart condition (as well as the children) which keeps her from working. "There's pressure, period, to be a woman," she told the *RW*. "First of all you're born with strike one, being a woman. That's a hell of a pressure by itself. Then when you've got kids, you've got to find a way to keep a roof over their heads, food in their mouths, clothes on their backs. In the middle of the night if the baby hollers you have to get up to see what's the matter. You go to the hospital, you sit up all night, maybe two nights, the doctor tells you it's a cold, gives you a bottle of Tylenol, sends you home. Next two or three days the baby might be dead. They put it on *you* — neglect! The mother might have a problem herself. She might have a heart problem, anything. You go into these doctors, they give you a fistful of bills and send you home. They don't even examine you... Everyone's starving. Everyplace where they're giving something away they got a line two miles long when you get there." And Carla is furious at the degradation that this entails: "You stand in line all day, what do you get? Maybe walked on, stepped on, and 'I'm sorry, we're out.' Stand in line all day for a can of string beans or a can of corn. But you've got to stand there because you know you have a child at home that's going hungry." Carla spoke to the *RW* about the need for "an overall change in the system" and we discussed the idea of revolution. Taking a bundle of the party's leaflet, "Let's End This Madness, Before It Ends Us," she distributed them widely to other ADC mothers and others throughout the area.

Hunger and Unemployment

Malnutrition also greatly affects the Black men on the Near West Side. Through long-term unemployment many are forced to live on General Assistance, which in Illinois has been cut to an incredible \$144/month plus \$75 in food stamps. "You have to sell half your food stamps just to pay the rent," says one guy on General Assistance. "That leaves you \$30 to last to the end of the month. You go to get some food and they give you cheese, butter and a hard roll — the cheese is moldy and has little tiny insects like lice all over it. Before they give you this they give you a lecture: 'You're bums, you should get a job.' They give you so much propaganda about how lazy you are, by the time they're finished you don't even feel like eating."

The vast majority of the GA men this reporter interviewed are unemployed workers. Many slaved for years in low-paying factories or service industries that closed; others worked as truck drivers, in the steel industry and one had been laid off after 16 years at Sears. A handful had come out of the army and been unemployed since. Many employers have blacklisted anyone giving an address from this entire area. Even much of the day labor has dried up for people in this

area, says one man who described getting up at 4 a.m. every day for six months in an unsuccessful attempt to get sent out to a minimum-wage job for a day.

James, a 51-year-old former clothing factory worker whose plant closed down, described his situation. In 1979 he contracted tuberculosis. Since then he has been in the hospital four times, each time for something unrelated to the TB, only to discover that the TB has reemerged. Doctors tell James the underlying problem is malnutrition. James eats two meals a day and only one at the end of the month because he must sell his food stamps to rent a place "that makes you sick just living there." His weight has fallen from 135 to 105 and he has recently developed a fungus in his lungs. Tuberculosis, a disease once thought conquered, has made a stunning comeback in Chicago in recent years (see "Breathing National Oppression," *RW*, April 1, 1983), with Cook County Hospital reporting a 32 percent increase in the number of cases in 1983. While the medication exists to wipe it from the face of the earth, doctors report that the principal factor behind the reemergence of TB today is malnutrition: the inability of the body, sapped of nutrients and strength, to beat back the disease.

The vast majority of these men on General Assistance are in their 20s and 30s. "Old men" like James are seen only occasionally, perhaps because life expectancy in this area is so low. Among these younger men anger often boils close to the surface. "How can you live when you never get anything solid to eat," said Elder, a 22-year-old former factory worker who recently came from Milwaukee looking for work and now is homeless. "I've been to all these places. For breakfast they give you oatmeal, but then they put a lot of salt in it. We ask them why and they say it gives it more flavor. Then it's soup for the rest of the day. Deacon Pete gives soup, St. Francis gives soup, the Parish Mission gives soup every day — none of them give any solid food... You get to be so weak your head hurts and some of them start falling out. People are very, very angry. The government is doing nothing for them except cutting people off aid. The government is the problem."

An explosive potential exists especially among these younger men on General Assistance and the women in this area. Many will say there's "going to be a war, right here in this city," and are excited and serious in talking about revolution. As one Vietnam vet coming out of a soup kitchen put it: "Death is all around us. I used to be afraid of death. If something would jump off right now — give me a weapon. It's better to die for a cause than because."

Official Reports

Over the past year several reports on hunger in Chicago have brought to light some of the dimensions of what is now called "a public health epidemic," including the most recent 232-page Mayor's Task Force on Hunger report. This particular report was leaked to the *Chicago Tribune* just before the Presidential elections, in what was an attempt, according to task force members, to sway voters. Some other reports on hunger in Chicago have also been used as an attempt to use this strata of people as a bargaining chip in a loyal opposition to Reaganism. However, as became obvious in the first Presidential debate, hunger as well as the general oppression of Black people and other minorities, was not even a minor topic of discussion and dealing with this problem is hardly on the agenda in this prewar period. If anything, the fact of such massive hunger, malnutrition and starvation-related diseases stands not only as a powerful indictment of the imperialist system itself, but further creates the conditions for its overthrow, the sooner the better. □

The Day After with the Post-Post

"KABOOM!"

"It's World War 3," reads the front page of the *Post-New York Post* in its "absolutely FINAL" edition which hit newsstands in New York City in November.

Say what??? as heads turned to take in an eyeful of these headlines. The *Post-New York Post*, readers learned from page two, the only newspaper to survive World War 3 (and it's "tougher livelier, juicier than ever"). Looking and sounding exactly like Rupert Murdoch's *New York Post*, the *Post-New York Post* is a side-splitting and searing satire on nuclear war. "We actually took our cue from Ronald Reagan," a *Post-New York Post* reporter told us, "we thought if the President could make jokes about nuclear war then we could too. We know we're kidding; we're not sure he is."

A *Post-Post* writer explained, "a lot of the stuff that's been done about nuclear war has been understandably solemn, like *The Day After*, *The Fate of the Earth*, the Jonathan Schell book. And this is another way to make the same serious point. I think what we're basically ridiculing is the whole troglodyte notion that there can be life after a nuclear attack. All too many people, a surprising number of people in the United States have this notion that we can dig out and everything will be okay. We'll suffer our losses but with grit pluckiness we'll be able to come back. A lot of people in the Reagan administration think this way. I've heard Caspar Weinberger, among others, talk this way. There's a famous saying of somebody in the Reagan civil defense... I think it's called Emergency

Management — and he said if we have enough shovels, we'll make it. It's just that kind of crazy thinking that we're trying to ridicule... We definitely had something to say here about the climate of the country, the climate of self-congratulation, the jingoistic spirit abroad in the land. We say it with humor. We say it with satire. We think that's the most effective way that we can speak."

Post-New York Post creators are professional writers and humorists, some of whom have authored pieces for *Time*, for film, TV, and publications like *Rolling Stone* and the *Village Voice*. Two of the writers worked at the *New York Post* before Murdoch bought the paper. Some of the staff had worked previously on other parodies, including *Off the Wall Street Journal*, and satires on Reaganomics. Their parody confirms something which worries the bourgeoisie very much: that even among sections of the people with something of a niche in the system, and political sentiments which oftentimes reflect that, the revulsion to the plans for nuclear war continues to grow very widely.

The *Post-Post* writer described this parody as "a heavily political antinuclear statement. It has to do with anyone who has nuclear weapons." This includes the Soviet Union, *Post-Post* writers say, expressing a desire for "total annihilation of nuclear weapons. As long as we're armed as we are, and not only the Soviet Union but at least a dozen other countries have nuclear arsenals — I mean, I think we're just living on borrowed time." Indeed the parody includes a story about the Soviets selling *Pravda* to Rupert Mur-

doch on the eve of the war for 6 million tons of American wheat. ("Kaboomsky!", the front page of the new *Pravda* headlines when the war comes down... and of course doesn't forget to list the winners in the Russian version of Wingo, "the biggest game in the Big Blini.") The *Post-Post* trains its fire principally on the U.S. and on Reagan... its editorial page even suggests something more or less positive about Mondale, at least by way of contrast. But if there is a Democrats-as-the-less-evil undertone, it is definitely of the pull-the-lever-while-hold-your-nose variety. Fritz is featured on page three, enmeshed in a new Miss America sex scandal, while Jesse Jackson is shown performing the rescue mission of his life, freeing Princess Di from Buckingham Palace. And let us not overlook the ad for "Jimmy Carter: The Motion Picture."

A highlight of the issue has to be the President's victory address, in perfect Reaganese ("We launched a preemptive retaliation — and if you've ever had to shoot somebody before they shot you, you'll know what I mean") and including an accurate rendering of arms control doublespeak, taken to its furthest limits by the great communicator: "For the first time in history, we have eliminated the threat of nuclear war. Literally overnight we achieved a drastic reduction in atomic weapons, and we didn't have to crawl on our hands and knees to Geneva to do it."

The *Post-Post* headlines page two: "Ouch! Superpowers Rumble, Skies Tumble," and opens: "A sudden outbreak of nuclear war yesterday stranded hundreds of thousands of commuters and made a mess of TV reception from

Maine to Minsk... 'this had to be the greatest fireworks display in history,' said one wowed Brooklyn housewife."

Wouldn't you know it, a few real-life patriots were not so wowed when they bought the *Post-Post* at a newsstand only to find out later it was a hoax... in a grotesquely intriguing sign of the times, they apparently thought it was for real — "sort of like the 'War of the Worlds' radio hoax" (aired in the months before World War 2 — RW), as one *Post-Post* writer described. But the overall response has been positive. The *Post-Post* has received 100 mostly congratulatory letters in the first two weeks on the streets and a number of phone calls complementing the parody, including five or six calls from (the real) *New York Post* reporters who said how much they liked the parody and were glad to see the *New York Post* raked over the coals. The *Post-New York Post* reported to us that the real *Post* is in fact quite upset with the parody.

The *Post-Post*'s current press run of 500,000 has been selling well in New York City newsstands and in major bookstore chains. At least one New York City supermarket cleared its racks of the *National Enquirer* to display the *Post-Post*. Copies have already been sent to Chicago, Washington and Boston. And one *Post-Post* writer deadpanned, "I understand that Ronald Reagan laughed uproariously when Nancy read it to him." □



Aquino Murder Report:

A Political Minefield

It took a full year since its inception for the Marcos-appointed Agrava Commission "investigating" the assassination of Benigno Aquino to declare officially what had long been apparent to anyone with eyes to see: the bourgeois opposition leader was shot by government soldiers escorting him out of the plane which had just landed at the Manila International Airport, not by a "lone gunman" hired by the Communist Party of the Philippines, as the Marcos regime had claimed.

That it took so long for the commission to come out with its conclusion was not due to the difficulty and complexity of unraveling who pulled the trigger that fired the fatal bullets. Although the regime had tried desperately to quench evidence and intimidate witnesses contradicting its version of the incident, it did not require a Sherlock Holmes to blow apart the "lone gunman" theory which is as full of holes as a cheap crime paperback. The Agrava Commission — modeled, it's said, after the Warren Commission of John F. Kennedy assassination fame — was being entrusted not with the task of formulating *factual* conclusions but rather *political* ones.

Who should be named, and after being named, who should actually be tried, how high to finger the Aquino murder conspiracy, and who should get thrown to the wolves, all of these are decisions with extreme consequences for the Marcos regime and the U.S. At the moment, how to move on the Agrava Commission findings might very well hold in the balance the stability of this important U.S. neocolony. That things have reached this point itself shows the deep problems for the imperialists here, perched on a volcano of political and economic contradictions; but the U.S. is not without maneuvering room, and that is exactly what its doing with utmost urgency.

"Lone Gunman"

As the release of the commission's report neared, it was becoming clear that the "lone gunman" story had to be thrown out the window: to put a stamp of approval on such a ridiculous fabrication almost certainly would have brought on swift and massive waves of protest in the street. Even Marcos himself began preparing for this last month: according to the *New York Times*, Marcos "distanced himself from the military assertions, saying the military did not reflect his opinion, and he pledged to prosecute whoever was implicated by the investigating panel." But once the "lone gunman" was disavowed, the existence of a conspiracy to assassinate Aquino,

going beyond and above the six soldiers that led him out of the plane, also has to be admitted. It was known that the regime's intelligence apparatus had kept close watch on Aquino's circuitous route from the U.S. to Manila and therefore knew exactly when and on which plane he was to arrive, information that the six soldiers could not have obtained by themselves.

Moreover, the staging of the "lone gunman" farce and the coverup in the aftermath of the murder, if quite shoddy, could only have been cooked up and coordinated in the higher levels of the military and perhaps the presidential palace itself. The problem for the commission lay in deciding how high up to go with the plot in its report, in other words, who shall be offered up as a sacrificial lamb, to be branded with the responsibility for the assassination and, hopefully, washing as much of the blood off the Marcos regime as a whole?

But the commission — or more accurately, the Marcos regime and the U.S. imperialists — faced a virtual no-win situation. Confining the conspiracy charges to the six soldiers and their immediate superior officers would leave the trail of blood safely short of the palace door. But such a move would have been seen widely as being no different from a complete whitewash. On the other hand, pointing the finger higher up in the ranks of the military could make the commission's report halfway credible and help to soften the reaction from the masses and the political opposition. At the same time, this course of action contains its own danger: it could seriously exacerbate existing contradictions simmering within the Marcos clique itself, and in particular force certain elements in the military to take desperate measures in order to preempt the undermining of their position and power.

The commission, of course, ended up issuing two separate reports. Both, as expected, debunked the "lone gunman" argument. But the minority report — a minority of one, the chair of the panel — limits the conspiracy to the six soldiers and the air force general in charge of air force security. The four other members issued a majority report which contained what the imperialists must see as a much riskier — but necessary — conclusion: it accused other military figures, including most notably the commander in chief of the Philippine armed forces, General Fabian Ver.

The naming of Ver brings the whole affair perilously close to Marcos. When he was starting out in politics in the '50s, Marcos chose Ver, a cousin and a captain in the Philippine Constabulary, as his personal body guard and chauffeur. After Marcos became president in 1965,

Ver rose rapidly up the ladder in the military, becoming chief of staff in 1981. Ver is considered doggedly loyal to Marcos, not making a move without the latter's knowledge and approval. Significantly, the majority report, however, stops short of accusing Ver of being the originator of the plot and charges him only with attempting "to cover up the crime, or hide the corpus or the effect of the crime." It is certainly not at all clear that even if tried, Ver would ever be found guilty by the Marcos courts. Still, the fact that the Agrava Commission, composed of figures themselves obsequiously loyal to the regime, had to name Marcos' right hand man, indicates the depth of the problems Marcos and the U.S. are dealing with.

It is difficult to say whether the split reports were a result of disagreements within the Marcos regime and/or between Marcos and the U.S. over how much concession to make to the opposition, or rather a deliberate ploy to leave ambiguous the question of "how high up does the murder plot go?", thereby letting some air out, at least temporarily, from the tensions that have been building up in anticipation of the commission's findings. In any case, the naming of Ver apparently has had the effect of keeping things from blowing up — for now. About 5,000 people did march in Manila demanding the resignation of Marcos after the reports were made public, but there was not the huge outpouring that had been expected if the commission had produced an out and out coverup. Although the bourgeois opposition figures continue to press for Marcos' resignation, Agapito Aquino, Benigno's younger brother who has become one of the major figures in the opposition after the assassination, remarked that "it (the report) was better than we expected." Marcos sent both reports to a special prosecutor to decide who will be indicted for what, after which those charged will be tried. Ver, meanwhile, was "granted" a "temporary" leave of absence from his post.

The U.S. 'Healthy Interest'

Needless to say, the U.S. imperialists are keeping their fingers on, if not involved directly in pulling the strings in, this whole process by working on both Marcos and his bourgeois opposition. Asked by a reporter how much confidence the Reagan administration has that the Aquino assassination trial will be held without "undue political influence," John Hughes, a senior State Department official, replied, "Well, I think we will remain a healthy interest in the process of this case." Just like the "healthy interest" the U.S. expressed in another example of "American democracy in action in the Third World" — the El Salvador elections!

Hughes also declared, "We trust that, as President Marcos has promised, those

responsible for Senator Aquino's murder, no matter who they may be, will be held accountable for their crime." "The allusion," the *Los Angeles Times* pointed out, "is to General Ver." However, the *Times* also said that "whether it (circumstantial evidence) will prove solid enough in this case to result in indictments and convictions remains to be seen." In other words, depending on the shape of the political terrain, it's possible that Ver might not be convicted or even face a trial at all, due to a supposed "lack of evidence."

"If looks could kill..." aptly describes the expression on Marcos' face when the four commission members handed him the majority report which implicated his right-hand man. But whatever his personal inclination, Marcos knows well that he'd better follow when the master tugs at the leash... and the U.S. clearly wanted Ver named.

But U.S. figures not only pressed for at least the naming of Ver by the Commission — the U.S. imperialists worked to calm matters from the other side, too, putting pressure on the bourgeois opposition with which the U.S. also maintains close contact. Only days before the two Commission reports were issued, Reagan pointedly interjected into the second presidential debate with Mondale, the comment that "the alternative to Marcos is a large communist movement to take over the Philippines," and that the U.S. is better off "trying to maintain our friendship and help them right the wrongs we see rather than throwing them to the wolves and then facing a communist power in the Pacific."

Reagan's comments touched off a flood of objections from the bourgeois opposition, including the (ludicrous) statement by one staunchly pro-U.S. leader that the opposition would cut its ties to the U.S. These forces took Reagan's statement as a slap at them which indeed it was. Implicit in this slap was the warning to the bourgeois opposition forces to moderate their actions against the Commission — the U.S. is not about to dump Marcos.

Contention

At this point, the U.S. seems to be assessing the reaction of various forces — factions within the Marcos regime, the bourgeois opposition, the masses — to the Commission's reports, in order to determine how far and how fast they can and must proceed, especially as regards to the fate of Ver. The same contradictions that the Agrava Commission faced still remain. To let Ver off the hook now would avoid the unpleasant prospect of letting Marcos' closest ally be named as head of an assassination plot, but also would surely spark off a new round of angry protests on the streets and further polarize the political forces in the Philippines. Sacrificing Ver at the altar would allow Marcos and the U.S. to claim that "justice was served," but could also leave Marcos himself even more vulnerable to charges of direct involvement in Aquino's murder or touch off open in-

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On Board For Reaction

Amidst heightened bellicosity and provocation against Nicaragua, America's leading liberals have themselves boldly drawn the line. Not against the administration, mind you, but against Nicaragua. Months and years of congressional opposition evaporated into mist in the face of the contrived "MIG crisis"; far from having been steamrolled by the administration into acquiescence, the Democrats actively joined the chorus. Faster than you can say "Front and center, sir!", they too were demanding their rightful place on the anti-Nicaraguan bandwagon.

Particularly instructive here has been the role of Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, whose image as "leading congressional critic" has been primed and cultivated over the past year. Because of his position on the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, he has been embroiled in several controversies arising from the CIA-directed "secret war" against Nicaragua. Typifying the general run of congressional oppositionism, his performance has oscillated between hypocrisy and irrelevance. His protestations of surprise and shock over the CIA minings of Nicaraguan harbors were largely parlayed into a procedural dispute; Moynihan loudly complained that he had not been properly briefed by the CIA before these actions were initiated. His recently feigned indignation over the CIA manual, the Contra primer in the fine arts of counterinsurgency, terror, and assassination, quickly became the occasion for Moynihan to denounce the CIA's duplication of "Marxist-Leninist" tactics. (The manual is of course anything but, based as it is on a 1968 U.S. counterinsurgency manual used by the Green Berets in Vietnam. Thus, through the efforts of Moynihan and others, this exposure of U.S.-sanctioned terror is miraculously transformed into yet another indictment of the moral depravity of the "other side.")

It is this performance which has won for Moynihan a wide recognition in the media as a voice of American "conscience," as a prominent gadfly jousting with the Reaganites in noisome battle over Nicaraguan policy. And in the critical hours of Nov. 7 and 8, as the "leaked" report of a purported Soviet MIG-21 aircraft shipment to Nicaragua avalanched into a monstrous ensemble of threat and provocation, Moynihan was once again prominent in the news. Having earned his oppositional spurs, he now

put them to good use. Here was the Senator underlining the threat to U.S. "security" through briefing the press about a major new airstrip being built in Nicaragua. Over there, the Senator was telling NBC that, while the alleged MIGs would not really change the military equation in Central America significantly, it nonetheless constituted a political "statement that this (Nicaragua) is Soviet-controlled territory. And it's not acceptable."

By Nov. 8, Moynihan had virtually adopted the mantle of administration spokesman. While Reagan's senior officials were still claiming that the administration had "not reached the point" of deciding its response if the phantom MIGs were uncovered, Moynihan announced to the press that the administration had indeed decided on a course of action. Declining to offer details, he nonetheless pointedly refused to rule out the use of military force: "I don't think it's possible to do that and be credible in our assertion 'Don't do it.'"

Moynihan was not the only figure extending "bipartisan" support to the administration, offering oppositional "credibility" as an instrument for national consensus-building. Senator Christopher Dodd, another stickler for principle, also proclaimed that one could not "rule out" military force if MIGs were unloaded. So did another leading critic, Sen. Jim Sasser, who wrote the president a letter to that effect. According to Sasser's Washington office, the letter assured the president that if MIGs were in fact introduced in Nicaragua, "it would radically change the way many critics view the situation," and that if military retaliation was undertaken in this event, "protests in Congress would be brought in a fully different way than they are now." Surely the Reagan administration might feel justified in rephrasing the old refrain: "With critics like these, who needs friends?"

Other Democrats registered their complicity through maintaining a discreet silence over the past week—for example, Teddy Kennedy. Interestingly, Kennedy had, as early as Sept. 20th, called attention to the "MIG threat" in connection with Nicaragua. Speaking to the "Fate of the Earth" conference in Washington, D.C. on Sept. 20, Kennedy raised the

issue twice. Warning that we live in "the most dangerous times since the early 1960s, and maybe World War 2," Kennedy characterized U.S.-Soviet relations as being at their lowest point since the Cuban Missile Crisis. For this, Kennedy apportioned no small blame to the Soviets, and in cataloguing their transgressions he cited the threat of Soviet MIGs in Nicaragua "as a clear and present danger." Criticizing Reagan policy in Central America, Kennedy blamed the administration and its "not so secret war" against Nicaragua as having in fact "allowed the Soviets to gain greater influence there." In Kennedy's view, Reagan policy was lamentable, the threat of greater Soviet influence intolerable. Criticisms of Reagan policy aside, Kennedy emphasized that "we must be clear that any Soviet move, such as the introduction of high-powered MIG aircraft," should be seen as a "reckless and dangerous act."

Clearly, the "MIG crisis," far from a bolt out of the blue, has been in gestation for some time. An aide to a senior House Democrat told the *New York Times* that on Oct. 11 he had been told by State Dept. officials that the administration planned to focus attention on the flow of Soviet-bloc weaponry to Nicaragua. "They told me there might be MIGs on the way," he said. And it was no doubt this kind of buzz-around which informed Walter Mondale's sudden campaign announcement that a "quarantine" against Nicaragua should be considered.

So it is that, as the administration has scaled new heights of deceit and duplicity these past several weeks over Nicaragua, the liberal opposition has fallen into place in recognition of a commonly perceived bottom line. Taking note of the development, the *Wall Street Journal*, whose editorial space this past week has been filled

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Damian Garcia Park: "Don't Wait, Demonstrate!"

On Sunday, November 4, immigrant proletarians and others gathered in Damian Garcia Park for an important rally prompted by the recent U.S. moves against Nicaragua. "Don't wait! Demonstrate!" proclaimed the flyer announcing the demonstration. Advanced proletarians and other forces felt the urgency to act and not wait until after a direct U.S. military action, or until after the U.S. elections. Banners in English and Spanish flanked the speakers' table, with the slogans united around and raised up by this action: U.S. keep your bloody hands off Nicaragua and all of Central America! Many more defeats for U.S. wars of aggression! Oppose the imperialists' heightened escalations towards World War 3! The rally was sponsored by the following people: Adrian Alvarez, editor of *La Gente*, UCLA*; Edye Berg, staff, Feminist Women's Health Center and participant in U.S. delegation recently returned from second Nicaraguan Health Colloquium; Kwaku Duren, State Co-chair, National Black Independent Political Party*; Sandra Cooper/Morgan, RN, SEIU Local 535*; William Oandasan, American Indian poet; Revolutionary Communist Party, USA; Revolutionary Communist Youth

Brigade; Tika Warfield, staff, Feminist Women's Health Center* (*organizations noted for purposes of identification only). Edye Berg, Kwaku Duren, the RCP, the RCYB and a proletarian spokesperson all made statements at the rally.

As things got underway, about 50 people gathered around. Many had come after reading leaflets; several brought friends. The crowd—mainly immigrant proletarians along with some punks, anarchists, feminists, Iranian students, Black people and others—grew to 150 people.

The character of the rally was something new, gathering as it did a politically diverse group of sponsors, joining around the particular slogans. People in the park listened carefully, trying to learn from and distinguish between the different viewpoints represented.

Several commented that this rally with these slogans and these different forces was a very refreshing and welcome thing, and many felt an urgency and possibility to spread this further. Throughout the area, spraypainted slogans of the rally and stickers appeared—after the rally, these had clearly multiplied. □



U.S. Keep Your Bloody Hands Off Nicaragua and All of Central America!

Many More Defeats for U.S. Wars of Aggression!

Oppose the Imperialists' Heightened Escalations Toward World War 3!

Last week, *Nightline*'s Ted Koppel grilled Miguel D'Escoto, foreign minister of Nicaragua, for proof that the U.S. was mistaken to charge Nicaragua with aggressive intents. To D'Escoto's replies that Nicaragua was in fact arming itself to deal with both a widely known *ongoing* invasion by "Contras" and an anticipated invasion by regular U.S. troops on maneuvers, Koppel scoffed that such tales of U.S. invasions were just "a bit surreal."

At the risk of being "surreal" ourselves, we have compiled a partial listing of events from the last century and a half in which the United States used its armed forces against the countries of the Caribbean and Central America (including Mexico). A number of sources have been used, including the U.S. *Congressional Record* and a book of exposure, *Under the Eagle*, by Jenny Pearce. In some cases only the official U.S. justifications for the invasions could be found, and so we have occasionally just given them as we found them. Those explanations with quotation marks are taken verbatim from a listing in the *Congressional Record* of June 23, 1969. The phrase "to protect American lives and interests during disturbances" becomes a numbing refrain, since it was used constantly to justify "sending in the Marines." Needless to say, in a great many cases, this was simply the crude and cosmetic excuse for American intervention. The real purpose was to protect "American interests" in the broadest sense of the term: to militarily guarantee that the U.S.-preferred side won in such "disturbances."

The record of interventions reveals several distinct historical periods. In the nineteenth century, U.S. troops are used largely for two purposes: to tear huge bites out of the body of Mexico for annexation by the United States, and to defend the merchant interest of U.S. naval trade against European rivals and local poachers.

The turn of the century, marked by the 1898 Spanish American War and the subsequent Teddy Roosevelt "Big Stick" policy, marks the arrival of U.S. imperialism: the drive for actual colonies is on, answering a compulsion to export capital. From then until World War 2, U.S. imperialism rams its troops violently into the region, occupying many countries outright for decades, while launching repeated incursions into the rest.

After World War 2 there is a decided shift in the necessities, and therefore the mechanisms, of U.S. control. Based on fairly well-established and internationally recognized U.S. domination, it becomes possible to rely on domestic puppet dictators, who in turn rest on U.S.-trained and financed armies. The frequency (compared to earlier periods) of direct gunboat diplomacy and invading marines declines, while CIA-prescribed coups become the standard means of changing government heads. These forms of U.S. control have been documented elsewhere (see RW No. 277) and are not included in this listing.

Increasingly since the sixties, and especially over the last decade, new challenges have started to arise against U.S. imperialism. Along with renewed domestic uprisings have come the incursions of a new international rival fishing in troubled waters: Soviet social-imperialism. While the U.S. has stepped up its training of domestic butchers to handle rebellions, there has come an increased pressure on the U.S. to directly reintroduce its own forces to preserve its grip on this key part of the global U.S. empire. In many ways, "U.S. invasion" of the region exists already. Puerto Rico, the Panama Canal Zone, and more recently Honduras have been heavily militarized, making them into huge U.S. staging grounds. The region is dotted by other bases, like Guantanamo Bay on Cuba.

The U.S. charges that "Nicaragua is getting ready to invade" led us to look for examples of aggressions in the region which were *not* by U.S. troops and lackeys. However we have to confess that we were not able to find a single example of any invasion that was not directly in the service of the United States.

1823 Monroe Doctrine pronounced.

1. **1824 Puerto Rico** (then Spanish territory). Commodore David Porter with a landing party attacks the town of Fajardo which had harbored "pirates" and insulted American naval officers. He lands with 200 men in November and forces an apology.
2. **1836 Mexico**. So-called Texan War of Independence. Huge pieces of Mexico north of the Rio Grande are seized by invading American ranchers and slave-owners. After temporary independence as the "Lone Star Republic" under Sam Houston, American General Gaines occupies Nacagdoches, Texas during war of independence, under guise of an imagined threat of "Indian outbreak."
3. **1842 Mexican California**. Commodore T.A.C. Jones, in command of a squadron long cruising off California, occupies Monterey, Calif. on October 19, believing that war had come. He discovers he is premature, and withdraws. A similar incident occurs a week later at San Diego.
4. **1844 Mexico**. President Tyler deploys U.S. forces to protect Texas from Mexico pending Senate approval of a treaty of annexation.
5. **1846-8 Mexico**. United States declares war with Mexico with President Polk occupying disputed territory between Nueces and Rio Grande to provoke it. California, New Mexico, Colorado, Nevada, Texas and parts of other states are secured for the U.S. Mexico City itself (the Halls of Montezuma) is secured through bitter fighting.
6. **1853 Nicaragua**. March 11 through 13. Troops land "to protect American interests during a revolution."
7. **1854 Nicaragua**. July 9 through 15. San Juan del Norte (Greytown) is destroyed to avenge an insult to the American Minister to Nicaragua.
8. **1856 Republic of New Grenada (now Panama)**. Troops land to protect American interests during an insurrection. Sept. 19-22.
9. **1857 Nicaragua**. U.S. forces land twice.
10. **1859 Mexico**. 200 soldiers cross the Rio Grande in pursuit of the Mexican, Cortina.
11. **1860 Colombia (the Bay of Panama)**. Troops land to protect American interests during a revolution. September 27-October 8.
12. **1865 Panama**. March 9 and 10. Troops land to protect American interests during a revolution.
13. **1866 Mexico**. To protect American residents, General Sedgwick and 100 men obtain the surrender of Matamoros; he is ordered to withdraw after success, and his action "officially repudiated by the President."
14. **1868 Colombia**. April 7. Troops land "to protect passengers and treasure" in transit during political disturbances following the death of the President of Colombia.
15. **1873 Colombia (Bay of Panama)**. May 7 through 22, September 23 to Oct. 9. Troops land to protect American interests during hostilities over the possessions of the government of the State of Panama.
16. **1876 Mexico**. May 18. Troops enter Mexico to "police the town of Matamoros temporarily while it was without other government."
17. **1885 Panama (Colón)**. January 18 and 19. To guard the valuables in transit over the Panama railway, and the safes and vaults of the company during revolutionary activity. In the months of March, April and May in the cities of Colón and Panama to "reestablish freedom of transit" during political disturbances.
18. **1888 Haiti**. December 20 — "to persuade the Haitian Government to give up an American steamer which had been seized on the charge of breach of blockade."
- 1890 The United States organizes the "Pan-American Union" to hasten its plans to transform Latin America into its own "backyard."
19. **1891 Haiti**. "To protect American lives and property on Navassa Island when Negro laborers got out of control."
20. **1894 Nicaragua**. July 6 to August 7. To protect American interests in Bluefields following a change of power.
21. **1896 Nicaragua**. May 2 to 4. To protect American interests in Corinto during political unrest.
22. **1898 Nicaragua**. Feb. 7 and 8. To protect San Juan del Sur.
23. **1898 Spanish-American War declared**. United States seizes Cuba, Puerto Rico from Spain (not to mention colonies like the Philippines in other regions of the world).
24. **1898-1902 Cuba**. U.S. troops occupy Cuba, suppressing the anti-Spanish nationalist forces they supposedly went in to support, and establishing colonial rule by the United States.



Invasions In the "Neighborhood"

25. **1901 Puerto Rico**. U.S. troops occupy the island after the defeat of the Spanish colonialists.
26. **1899 Nicaragua**. To protect American interests at San Juan del Norte, February 22 to March 5, and at Bluefields a few weeks later in connection with internal political disturbances. . . in this case a military coup.
27. **1901 Colombia (the State of Panama)**. November 20 to Dec. 4. To protect American property on the Isthmus and to keep transit lines open during quite serious political disturbances.
28. **1902 Colombia**. April 16-23. To protect American lives and property at Bocas del Toro during civil war.
29. **1902 Colombia (State of Panama)**. September 17 to November 18. Troops land to place armed guards on all trains crossing the Isthmus and to keep the railroad line open.
30. **1903 Honduras**. March 23 to 31. To protect the American consulate and the steamship wharf at Puerto Cortés during a period of political disturbances.
31. **1903 Dominican Republic**. March 30 to April 21. To protect American interests in the city of Santo Domingo.
32. **1903 Panama**. A U.S.-instigated coup d'état leads to a "declaration of independence" from Colombia. Hardly by coincidence, the U.S. cruiser *Nashville*, sent days earlier from California, arrives to back up the "rebellion." Source of dispute is Colombia's terms for an Isthmus Canal. U.S. troops occupy Panama for eleven years with only brief interruptions. Canal Zone is still occupied territory.
33. **1904 Dominican Republic**. January 2 to Feb. 11. Troops land in Puerto Plata, Susua and Santo Domingo.
34. **1904 Panama**. Nov. 17-24. Troops land at Ancon.
35. **1905 Honduras**. U.S. troops land at Puerto Cortés.
36. **1906-09 Cuba**. Troops land "to restore order, protect foreigners and establish a stable government."
37. **1907 Honduras**. March through June. Troops land to protect American interests during a war between Honduras and Nicaragua; troops are stationed in Trujillo, Ceiba, Puerto Cortés, San Pedro, Laguna and Choloma.
38. **1910 Nicaragua**. February 22. Troops land at Corinto to get information on the political conditions prevailing in the country following a civil war. And from May 19 to Sept. 4 to protect American interests at Bluefields.
39. **1911 Honduras**. January 26, lasting for several weeks. Troops land to protect American interests during political disturbances. President Taft has meanwhile forced both Nicaragua and Honduras to hand over rights to custom duties, railway and steamship transportation between the two oceans.
40. **1912 Honduras**. A small force lands to prevent seizure by the government of an American-owned railroad at Puerto Cortés.
41. **1912 Panama**. American troops supervise the elections being held outside the Canal Zone.
42. **1912 Cuba**. June 5 to August 5. Troops land to protect American interests occupying the province of Oriente and Havana.
43. **1912-25 Nicaragua**. Landing of 2700 Marines "to protect American interests during an attempted revolution" — in this case, American troops stay as a tripwire, or as the U.S. government put it, "as a promoter of peace and government stability" for thirteen years. They were to be gone less than two years before returning.
44. **1913 Mexico**. September 5 to 7. Marines landed at Claris Estero to aid in evacuating American citizens and others from Yaqui Valley, made dangerous because of "civil strife."
- 1914 Panama Canal is completed.
45. **1914 Haiti**. January 29 to Feb. 9 and again February 20-21, and again Oct. 19. U.S. troops land three times "to protect American nationals in a time of dangerous unrest." Soon they return, to stay decades.
46. **1914 Dominican Republic**. June and July. "During a revolutionary movement, the United States naval forces by gunfire stopped the bombardment of Puerto Plata and by threat of force maintained Santo Domingo City as a neutral zone."
47. **1914-1917 Mexico**. The United States wages a campaign of undeclared hostilities aimed at the growing Mexican Revolution. Twice (in 1914 and 1916) major incursions occur. Veracruz is seized. And General Pershing conducts invasions of northern Mexico, hunting the revolutionary Villa.
48. **1915-34 Haiti**. A nineteen-year occupation starts with the landing of U.S. troops to end "a period of chronic and threatened insurrection."
49. **1916-24 Dominican Republic**. Eight-year occupation, using the same description of "chronic and threatened insurrection" in today's U.S. government documents.
50. **1917 Virgin Islands**. The United States invades.
51. **1917-33 Cuba**. A sixteen-year occupation of Cuba to protect American interests during times of "unsettled conditions."
52. **1918-19 Mexico**. After the withdrawal of the Pershing expedition, U.S. troops enter Mexico at least three times in 1918 and six times in 1919 "in pursuit of bandits," a name commonly given to revolutionary Mexican forces. In August 1918, American troops engage Mexican forces at Nogales.
53. **1918-20 Panama**. U.S. troops land "for police duty according to treaty stipulations" at Chiriqui — to maintain control during elections.
54. **1919 Honduras**. September 8 to 12. "A landing force was sent ashore to maintain order in a neutral zone during an attempted revolution." Occupation of Honduras' major ports.



Above: U.S. Marines in Nicaragua, 1913.

Left: Troops under command of Lt. Lee, U.S.M.C., display heads of Nicaraguan rebels.



55. 1920 **Guatemala.** April 9 to 27. To protect American interests, including the cable station, during fighting between Unionists and the government of Guatemala.
56. 1921 **Panama and Costa Rica.** American naval squadrons appear on both sides of the Isthmus to place pressure on both of the countries involved in a boundary dispute.
57. 1924 **Honduras.** February 28 to March 31, September 10 to 15. U.S. troops land "to protect American lives and interests" during elections.
58. 1925 **Honduras.** April 19-21. Troops land "to protect foreigners at La Ceiba during a political upheaval."
59. 1925 **Panama.** October 12 to 23. "Strikes and rent riots led to the landing of about 600 American troops to keep order and protect American interests."
60. 1926-1933 **Nicaragua.** An upheaval of revolutionary activity leads to the landing of 5,000 American Marines "to protect the interests of the United States." The National Guard of the Somoza family is established to rule into the future. American forces engage in major operations against the revolutionary Sandino in 1928. After their withdrawal, Sandino is deceived and finally assassinated by the American-trained Somoza forces in 1934. The consolidated military dictatorship rules for 45 years.
61. 1932 **El Salvador.** American warships stand off the coast during El Salvador's *matanza* (massacre). In the first weeks, army and paramilitary forces kill over 30,000 people. By the time it's over, 4% of population has been murdered. The suppression of this uprising leads to a military dictatorship that ruled almost unchallenged for over 30 years.
- 1933 **Roosevelt announces "Good Neighbor" policy.** In the following period, U.S. investment in Latin America as a whole rises rapidly, reaching \$1.54 billion, and making up 35% of total U.S. foreign investment in 1936.
62. 1933 **Cuba.** U.S. naval forces organize a "demonstration" of 30 warships off the Cuban coast during a challenge to the power of President Gerardo Machado.
63. 1937 **Puerto Rico.** Major massacre of Puerto Ricans demonstrating against U.S. authorities.
64. 1940 **Throughout the Caribbean.** As part of the World War 2 Anglo-American imperialist alliance, U.S. troops are sent to guard air and naval bases formerly controlled by Britain on Bermuda, St. Lucia, Bahamas, Jamaica, Antigua, Trinidad and British Guiana.
- 1948 **Organization of American States is founded.**
65. 1954 **Guatemala.** The CIA overthrow of a government daring to expropriate some land owned by the United Fruit Company requires the use of invading force. Right-wing exiles are forged into an army for invading Guatemala, while the ground forces are backed up with aerial bombing of Guatemala City. The bombing triggers an internal coup, based in U.S.-trained military forces and the church.

In 1927, the then Under Secretary of State, Robert Olds, used a State Department memorandum to describe the "traditional role" played in Central America by ambassadors from the United States:

"Our ministers accredited to the five little republics, stretched from the Mexican border to Panama. . . have been advisors whose advice has been accepted virtually as law in the capitals where they respectively reside. . . . We do control the destinies of Central America and we do so for the simple reason that the national interest absolutely dictates such a course. . . . Until now Central America has always understood that governments which we recognize and support stay in power, while those we do not recognize and support fall."

- 1959 **Cuba.** Revolution against Batista, Castro comes to power.
- 1960 **Central American Common Market is established.**
66. 1961 **Cuba.** Abortive CIA-backed Bay of Pigs invasion. Uncounted landings on the island since then by CIA forces to sabotage, conduct bacteriological warfare, assassinate, contact internal operatives, and carry out other armed and hostile acts.
- 1961 **Alliance for Progress is signed.**
67. 1962 **Cuba.** The Cuban Missile Crisis, centered around an American naval blockade to force the withdrawal of Soviet medium-range missiles. Backed by the threat of all-out invasion.
68. 1965 **Dominican Republic.** 20,000 U.S. Marines invade in May (only a month after the first landing of regular U.S. troops in South Vietnam), to suppress a revolutionary uprising. An estimated 2,500 civilians killed.
69. 1966 **Guatemala.** The first Death Squads appear, closely linked with the United States. Between 1966 and 1976 they are responsible for at least 20,000 deaths. (This is standard operating procedure throughout the region.)
70. 1979 **Nicaragua.** Following the overthrow of Somoza, regroupment starts of what is to become a U.S.-led and -trained army of counterrevolutionaries based in neighboring Honduras and Costa Rica.
- 1979 **Caribbean Joint Task force is set up in Florida.**
71. 1981 **El Salvador.** Along with increased U.S. military assistance to the puppet government fighting revolutionary forces, U.S. military "advisors" start arriving in increasing numbers.
72. 1980-84 **Honduras.** U.S. turns Honduras into U.S. military base.
73. 1983 **Grenada.** U.S. invasion 4 years after the New Jewel Movement overthrew the U.S.-backed Gairy government. The occupation still continues to date.

Fela Kuti Sentenced To Five Years

Dear RW,

On November 8, Nigerian Afrobeat musician Fela Anikulapo Kuti was sentenced to five years in jail, on charges of "currency trafficking," by the Nigerian Foreign Exchange & Sabotage Tribunal (a court which reportedly has no jury, one military judge and prosecutor, and no right of appeal). Fela is currently said to be held in a one-room cell with 80 other prisoners.

As has been mentioned in earlier letters on Fela, this episode is one in a long string of assaults by the powers-that-be in Nigeria and certainly involving interested parties in the U.S. However, this is the first conviction and prison sentence (although he has been held in jail many times in the past) — and this incident came just when Fela was on his way to his first U.S. tour since 1969.

In the last few days, facts about the actual charge have come to light which reveal the whole attack as even more bogus and sinister. Fela had brought 1600 English pounds (about 2000 dollars) to the airport and declared this amount to customs on behalf of his forty-person entourage. This amounted to forty pounds per person, well within the limit of eighty pounds per person which Nigerian law has set as the amount of foreign currency a citizen can take out of the country. Everything was perfectly legal, and this was even verified in writing by the airport customs. Fela was then again on his way to the airplane when an undercover customs official, posing as a fan, stepped out from the crowd of cheering onlookers at the airport and begged

Fela for twenty Nigerian naira (a frequent occurrence for Fela who is known among the Nigerian masses to be very generous in this way). This time Fela apologized, saying he no longer had any naira and couldn't spare any of the British pounds he was carrying. At this point the "fan" reportedly accused Fela of bribing him, and ordered Fela to the customs detention room. Fela was then held at the airport for three days, his passport confiscated. Finally the currency charges were dropped, he was released, then rearrested the same day for "defamation of the government" after he held a press conference. Later, the currency charges were reinstated, even though there was utterly no basis for them under Nigerian law. The details of the trial beyond the conviction and

five-years sentence are not yet known. The Nigerian consulate in New York claims to have no information.

The stakes are very high... the November 10th *London Times* reported: "As judgment was delivered, Fela's music, known for its anti-establishment lyrics blared from a bar, near the court." Even before this final conviction, it was reported in *New African* magazine that, picking up the gauntlet, hundreds of Nigerian youths took over the race course in Lagos to demand Fela's release from prison.

A Correspondent from New York Editors Note: Watch the RW for an upcoming article which will go into Fela's artistic contributions as well as the context for the outrageous persecution of this world-class musician.

San Francisco Telegram Protests Conviction of Fela Kuti

The following telegram is being circulated in the San Francisco Bay Area among artists. To date it has been signed by those listed.

To the government of Nigeria:

We protest the preposterous sentence of Fela Anikulapo Kuti (to five years in prison) in the latest attempt to silence his music and wall him off from the rest of the world. In your eyes, Fela's real "crime" is his music, the currency laws being only one way that his vibrant music has been denied access abroad.

We demand Fela's immediate release. His music is treasured as a voice of the oppressed and we will defend it and bend every effort to make sure this voice be heard.

FREE FELA ANIKULAPO KUTI NOW.

Signed,
Sonny Okosun — Nigerian performer
Dewey Redman — jazz musician
Paul Antony Hickey (DJ/KRE radio station)*
Tsepo Mokone — South African Obie Award-winning actor
CK Ladzekpo
David McBurnie (DJ/KPFA)*
Mubi Mathunjwa (U-Zulu Dance Theater of South Africa)*
Sechaba Mokoena (U-Zulu Dance Theater of South Africa)*
Laura Grer — Red Flag Theater*

*Organizations for identification purposes only

A KRE Sunday afternoon program *Strictly for Rockers* made announcements on the air this past Sunday about Fela's situation, and this coming Sunday will have a section of the program dedicated to Fela, plus give an address where people can send telegrams and letters of protest.

Editor's note: In addition to the signatures on the telegram published last week in the RW from New York City, the following signatures were added: Sharon Smithline and Amy Wachtel. □

Correction

Apologies to David Parsons, Secret Spot/Ratcage Records for the misspelling of his name as signatory on the New York telegram demanding the release of Fela Kuti in RW No. 280, p. 10.

Marauders & the Monroe Doctrine: '80s Style

Continued from page 1

of "international law." A recent example in the *New York Times* quoted one of these experts saying that it is "absolutely clear" that the U.S. has the legal right to invade Nicaragua based on the principle of "collective self-defense," declaring that Nicaragua was *already* attacking El Salvador and threatening the other U.S. neocolonies; this same professor decided that the Monroe Doctrine was also "very fundamental" to international law, since the U.S. takes a "dim view of nations seeking to impose by force of arms their kinds of political system on nations in this hemisphere." That is the sole legal right of U.S. imperialism — enforced by coups, death squads and U.S. Marines.

(And to drive home the point, at the same time that all this was going on, the CIA Manual that trained the Contras in assassinations, murders, kidnappings and blackmail was declared fully "legal" in the U.S. by the administration.)

Meanwhile, the true believers are being readied for the slaughter — such as on a recent edition of the bornagain *700 Club* on TV. The show featured a larger-than-life map of Nicaragua spotlighting the various airstrips (with a reminder of how threatening the Grenada airstrip was to American national interests) and scenarios of Nicaragua-based Soviet aircraft attacking Chicago. Facts, evidence and especially any signs of rationality are clearly irrelevant to the mobilization of millions of good American fanatics being actively primed to respond to their government's call to glory — whatever the stated pretext.

At the same time, and in a highly related development, concrete U.S. military preparations in the form of numerous maneuvers and exercises in Central America, any or all of which could be quickly transformed into war operations (and are designed with that capability in mind) should the U.S. so decide, are taking place. A recent article in the *Washington Post*, while clearly understating the number of participants and extent of the activity, ran down a list of such exercises:

— A company of 120 U.S. Army Engineers building roads and "resurfacing and building dirt airstrips" at Palmerola Air Base in Honduras.

— A medical clearing company from Ft. Stewart, Georgia, in Honduras for training in triage, the battlefield medical process where the wounded are divided up into those who need immediate attention, those who don't and those who are about to die no matter what.

— 120-180 infantry troops from Ft. Hood, Texas, conducting patrolling exercises in Honduras.

— "King's Guard" naval exercises involving U.S. officers on the ground in Honduras and El Salvador, and a U.S. ship along with the Salvadoran and Honduran navies operating in the Gulf of Fonseca, the body of water where Nicaragua, El Salvador and Honduras come together.

— Air Force exercises involving A-37

attack planes from the Pennsylvania National Guard (perhaps a reserve call-up practice run) and O-2A observer planes from Howard Air Force Base in Panama taking place simultaneously at the Honduran air bases at Palmerola (near the Salvadoran border), La Mesa (near the Guatemalan border) and San Lorenzo (near the Nicaraguan border).

— Special forces (Green Beret) units from Ft. Bragg, North Carolina, and Ft. Gulick, Panama, engaging in counterinsurgency exercises with Honduran troops.

— Army preventive medicine teams involved in 2-week tours at Palmerola Air Base.

All this is in addition to the 15,000 troop, rapid call-up maneuver called Quick Thrust, scheduled to take place starting November 30 at Ft. Stewart, Georgia (not in Honduras as incorrectly stated in last week's RW, but just as readily available for a switch from exercise to real thing). And the above list also does not include the Caribbean naval maneuvers involving 25 U.S. ships, including the renovated battleship *Iowa*, several cruisers and a flock of destroyers, frigates, minesweepers, auxiliary vessels, an ammunition ship and two attack submarines. Lest anyone fail to get the message, the *New York Times* headlined its article on the naval maneuvers, "Twenty-five U.S. Warships in Caribbean, in Easy Reach of Nicaragua."

While all these exercises are indeed training for something concrete (and as noted, the participants could immediately be tested on how well they learned their lessons), they are also major acts of aggression in themselves, and have already had serious consequences for Nicaragua. They have forced the country to go on a war-footing and Sandinista leaders have called an all-out alert. Among other things, this has forced the cancellation of a scheduled mobilization of students to help with the coffee harvest, thus further exacerbating the difficulties faced by Nicaragua's dependent economy. More significantly, the constant pressure and threats of imminent bloodletting have had their psychological effects on the population, effects which the U.S. has deliberately sought to intensify with the continuous sonic booms created by SR-71 spy planes violating Nicaraguan air space. And the media has been simply crowing about this bullying — with special reports on the "fastest plane in the world" and sentences like the following: "You Americans still know how to throw a little country into turmoil," (a Latin American diplomat) said with grudging admiration." This gem from the *New York Times* was so popular, the newspaper repeated it in its coverage of Central America on several different days.

All this is once again providing, as it has so many times before, especially in Central America, a vivid picture of the noble cause that is summed up in the phrase "U.S. national interests" —

brutal imperialist domination, with as much mass murder and bloodshed as is necessary to enforce it. And whether it is put in terms of the Monroe Doctrine, as it has been lately, or couched in the familiar "freedom and democracy" rhetoric that is also a favorite "justification" for U.S. bloodletting in Central America, it is this "right" to commit naked imperialist aggression that is the essence of the defense of that national interest.

The U.S. bullyboys continued through the week to draw upon the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis as a kind of reference point in public discussion of Central America. The idea of quarantining Nicaragua — if not to "stop MIGs" then to "stop the massive Soviet arms flow" — is ever present, and often quite casually discussed. A quarantine would be an act of war, and, in the event, not just against Nicaragua. Should the U.S. actually try to prevent a Soviet ship from reaching a Nicaraguan port, the potential for rapid escalation is obviously quite high. The U.S. is well aware of this fact — well aware that such a quarantine could take things to the brink of world war, and over the brink.

The U.S. points its guns at Nicaragua, and its nukes at the whole world. Such is the nature of America's "great leaders" — and the system they lead. □

On Board For Reaction

Continued from page 7

with truly berserk bloodlust over the "bold and dangerous Soviet thrust" into Nicaragua, put the whole question of congressional opposition in a fitting light: "While opposing modest covert actions as fighting dirty, American congressmen have repeatedly assured us that they would support strong U.S. action if the problem ever became serious. They may now have the chance they professed to seek. Sen. Moynihan went on board for a reaction, saying it has been agreed in Washington what to do if MIGs are unloaded, and Sen. Dodd does not rule out the use of force."

The liberal Democrats, of course, have been "on board" for reaction for a long time. Their differences with Reagan over Central America concern tactical matters; they share in full the same reactionary agenda. Their complaints over the "secret war" waged by the CIA stem from tactical concerns — is this, they ask, the best way to regain control in Nicaragua? At all costs, they agree, Central America must be kept the privileged preserve of U.S. imperialism; at all costs indigenous opposition and broader upheavals must be brought under heel; at all costs the Soviets must be prevented from gaining a foothold. And as the manufactured "MIG crisis" this past week threatened to replay the Cuban Missile Crisis — in today's far more volatile and dangerous world situation — they were found ready, "on board" for action. □

With the unveiling of the new addition to the Vietnam War Memorial in Washington, D.C. last week, we thought it was timely to reprint a statement from Vietnam-era veterans which was made at the time of the unveiling of the original monument in 1982. The statement, which is even more to the point today, was signed and circulated among Vietnam vets and appeared in a special November 1982 issue of *About Face*, a newspaper put out by the Vietnam

Veterans Against the War (Anti-Imperialist) (see RW No. 179, special supplement). The VVAW (A-I) also called for and led an "about face" protest at the unveiling of the monument. The signatures which appear below appeared on the original statement and were among many who signed this statement at the time.

STATEMENT FROM VIETNAM ERA VETERANS

They want to call us heroes for serving the country. They offer us recognition and honor, even a national monument. Heroes for serving a country that burned down villages and shot anything that moved. Recognition for being the pawns and agents of a ruthless death machine that systematically tortured and butchered civilians, that rained flaming jelly gasoline, toxic Agent Orange and other poison chemicals on everything from old people to children. Receiving a past due debt of honor for using the most advanced, blood curdling and flesh-tearing weapons of terror the world has ever known. A monument for being the tools of a modern imperialist army that vainly attempted for over ten years to crush, grind and pulverize the people and land of Vietnam into the Stone Age, for being in an army that finally sank to a well deserved defeat at the hands of a just and determined peoples' war and in the eyes of an outraged world. Should we pin medals on the chests of the guards at Auschwitz! Should there be a cheering ticker-tape parade for the flight crews that dropped atomic death on Hiroshima and Nagasaki or fire-bombed Dresden! Perhaps we should build a monument to the nun-murdering troops of the Salvadoran National Guard or to the National Guard at Kent State!

They want us to be proud of what we did for them. Never. We are proud, but not of these crimes, not of the things we were forced and suckered into by this barbaric monstrosity of a system called America. We are proud of our resistance. We are proud of our opposition to that war and its father, imperialism. We are proud of the tens of thousands of us who began to learn the truth and found the ways to resist and rebel: Those who wrote for, supported, read and distributed any of the over 200 anti-war and revolutionary GI newspapers all over the world; those who circulated petitions and leaflets in the field and on the ships; those who refused to fight or deserted, some joining the other side; those whole companies and naval units who mutinied and disobeyed orders; those who taught gung-ho officers profound and sometimes fatal lessons; and those who contributed in countless ways to the almost complete collapse of the fighting capacity of the U.S. ground forces. Those who

returned home to join with the powerful anti-war and anti-imperialist movements, including revolutionary upsurges against national oppression, those who told the story of what we had seen and what we had done, and those who stunned and inspired the world in 1971 when we took off our medals for service to country, our "badges of honor," our "symbols of recognition," and hurled them clattering to the Capitol steps amid epithets and speeches of fury and anger. These are the real heroics of the Vietnam GIs and veterans and this is what we are proud to be recognized for.

They want us to forget the truth, to cease all opposition and rejoin the fold, to puff up our chests and play *Deer Hunter*. They are desperate to reverse the criminal verdict stamped in blood on the U.S. role in Vietnam and they would honor us to honor the war, to prettify and rekindle patriotism, to buy us off and enlist our aid. And why? Why would they now call us unrecognized heroes rather than crazed dopers? Because they have another war coming, a war with their Soviet rivals which will make the last pitiful in comparison — a giant horror for the glory of profit and empire. They fear our resistance. They need us to cheer on and train the next generation of cannonfodder, to applaud and participate in the next round of flag waving parades and nationalistic speeches, to support their war moves from Central America to the Middle East, to help smooth over the memory and bury the lessons of Vietnam and pave the way into hell. But nothing will make us sink so low. Not dozens of books, movies and TV shows. Not patriotic Vietnam veterans begging for a parade or a pat on the back. Not a monumental obscenity in Washington, D.C.

No. We have other plans. We will not abandon lessons learned in blood. We will not be bought off and we will never betray the international struggle against any imperialist oppressor, either East or West. At the Capitol in 1971 we swore: "If we have to fight again, it will be to take these steps." Today in 1982, we swear: "The fight is on!"



Joe Urgo—GI antiwar activist in Vietnam, 1968; former national officer of Vietnam Veterans Against the War; organizer for Winter Soldier Investigation and Dewey Canyon 3, 1971; first Vietnam vet to travel to Hanoi in support of the revolutionary struggle of the Vietnamese people; member of VVAW (Anti-Imperialist)

Carl Dix—Black member of Fort Lewis 6 — GIs who refused orders to Vietnam in 1970 — sent to Leavenworth Military Prison for two years; national panel moderator for the 1981 Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunal; member of VVAW(AI); member of the Revolutionary Communist Party.

Randy Rowland—Army medic, refused to go to Vietnam; one of 27 GIs in the 1968 San Francisco Presidio stockade mutiny, spent a year and a half in military prison.

Father Roy Bourgeois—U.S. Navy, Vietnam; Catholic priest who supports the revolutionary struggle in Central America; spent time with the guerrilla movement in El Salvador in 1981.

Harold Appel, M.D.—Military conscientious objector during Vietnam era; former member of Concerned Officers Movement.

Melvyn D. Escueta—Vietnam veteran and author of anti-Vietnam War play, *Honeybucket*.

Rich Bangert—Vietnam veteran; former national officer VVAW ('73-'74); served six months in federal prison camp for burning an American flag in support of the Iranian takeover of the U.S. embassy.

George Veasey—Marine Vietnam veteran; member of the Trident Nein, a group of nine militant pacifists of the Atlantic Life Community who boarded the Trident submarine the *U.S.S. Florida*, "remodeled" two missile firing tubes, two sonar domes, and with paint and blood rechristened it the *U.S.S. Auschwitz*.

W.B. Ehrhart—Former Marine Sergeant and Vietnam veteran; author of *The Awkward Silence*; co-editor of *Demilitarized Zones: Veterans After Vietnam*; contributor to *Winning Hearts and Minds: War Poems by Vietnam Veterans* and *Peace Is Our Profession: Poems and Passages of War Protest*.

Patrick Finnegan—Vietnam veteran 1st Bn. 173rd Airborne Brigade; refused to go to the field after six months; lost a brother in Vietnam; vice-president of the Albany chapter of the Vietnam Veterans of America.

Darnell Summers—Black Vietnam veteran and former member of VVAW; revolutionary musician; recently extradited from W. Germany on trumped-up charges of murdering a Michigan state police officer in the 1960s.

Walter Burney—Black Vietnam era vet; 1979 Washington Monument seizure in solidarity with Iranian revolution; Fort McPherson 2 defendant from 1982 occupation of FORSCOM headquarters, Atlanta.

Anatomy of A Preemptive Strike

In a scene right out of *State of Siege*, three to four hundred New York City cops along with 100 FBI agents under the direction of the Joint Terrorist Task Force (JTTF) staged a series of coordinated, predawn raids on October 18th, arresting nine Black political activists in New York City. Eight of those picked up have been charged, while one has suspiciously "disappeared," according to authorities.

Targeted people were swooped up off the streets, at a restaurant, at a well-known jazz club in Harlem; others awoke to find their front door smashed in with shotgun-toting cops rushing in. At one of the defendants' homes the police trained a spotlight on the house, surrounded it with fifty cops in bulletproof vests and guns drawn, called out the defendants' names and ordered them out of the house.

The raids took place in predominantly Black neighborhoods in Brooklyn and Queens with the Gestapo tactics of the JTTF aimed at not only terrorizing the defendants but everyone else. Newspaper accounts tell of a neighbor of some of the defendants who, upon hearing loud banging, opened his front door to find a hallway of cops who told him, "get inside! It's dangerous!" Later, in court, it was revealed that orders had been given to detain *any* female leaving or entering the home of defendant Viola Plummer. The police in fact grabbed one of Viola Plummer's daughters, handcuffed her, took her away to a police van and continued to hold her even after the police realized she was not the person they were supposed to arrest.

The police knocked on Viola Plummer's front door and waited a total of 60 seconds before breaking it down and rushing in with guns drawn. Viola Plummer and her family were ordered to lie face down on a living room floor for an hour while the police did a sweep of the house. A one-year-old baby in an upstairs crib was at some point brought downstairs, but not before the police had pointed a gun at the baby's head (other children were also threatened elsewhere during the raid) and had searched for weapons under the crib!

"Preemptive"

Within hours of conducting a virtual search-and-destroy mission, the political police got on the airwaves boasting of their "preemptive" actions. The defendants have been charged with conspiracy to commit armed robbery and accused of planning to free Kwasi Balagoon, a former Brinks defendant, from a Bronx courthouse, and a number of other crimes which never occurred. But not every alleged conspiracy receives such widespread publicity. The political police were eager to brand this as no ordinary

case, accusing the defendants of constituting a "military unit." *Newsday*, a New York daily, reported, "The arrests — made without incident by about 500 police officers and FBI agents — broke the back of the military unit of a radical Black group which seeks a separate nation for Blacks, prosecutors said."

The criminal charges being levelled against the defendants are but a thin cover for political assault. The defendants have a long history in the Black liberation struggle and the civil rights movement. The defendants, Coltrane Chimerenga, Roger Wareham, Viola Plummer, Omawale Clay, Yvette Kelley, Lateefah Carter, Colette Pean and Robert Taylor, have issued a statement saying, "As revolutionary Marxist-Leninists we are eight Black men and women who are political prisoners, captured by the Joint Terrorist Task Force under the fascist bourgeois democratic State and a new government conspiracy because we have for the major portion of our adult lives, twenty years, fought for the liberation of our people, the independence for our nation and socialism; we have organized, mobilized and educated our people to the very real condition of our oppression... we are resolved on our determination to fight; and we will win..."

Clearly when those the system oppresses dare to speak about ending that oppression and dare to speak about holding political power, they are to be hunted down, dragged into the streets in the middle of the night and branded as dangerous, violent criminals.

What has come out so far in court and in 400 pages of government documents only begins to disclose the extensive spying, information gathering and attacks on revolutionary Black nationalists by the political police. The government has also let it be known that the charges against the defendants will escalate to a RICO indictment.

Already the government has begun using the case to cast its nets further. So far subpoenas have been issued for twelve people, some of them secret. In addition, government documents list one person, a public spokesman for the New African Peoples Organization and for the National Committee to Defend New African Freedom Fighters, as a "suspected member" of the "military unit"... but he is not charged with anything!

Gestapo Tactics

The defendants were held for nearly three weeks at the Metropolitan Correctional Center in "administrative detention." For several days after their arrest they were denied all visitors, clean clothes for court appearances, money, and access to things like a bar of soap. They were kept in isolation when not in court.

The government first held them without bail, having invoked the newly passed Bail Reform Act with the prosecutor arguing that the defendants are a "danger to the community" and if bailed out might flee. It was not accidental that the government chose the first use of this new bail law against political activists — a highly political move indeed.

On November 7, a federal magistrate ruled that one defendant must continue to be held without bail, while others were given terms of release on bail. But these terms, also a product of the new bail law, amount to a further attack: Viola Plummer, for example, must pay \$90,000 cash, and four pieces of property; others have similar cash terms; all defendants must obey a nighttime curfew and are subject to surprise checkup visits by the authorities.

The legal challenges which were mounted against invoking the Bail Reform Act, together with four-hundred pages of government documents and evidence from other sources, starkly reveal the aims and message of the political police.

The coordinated gestapo-like tactics of the JTTF appeared to have been aimed at arresting first those who they considered the leadership while surveillance teams kept other defendants under close watch. Once the "leader" was arrested the police move in to arrest others. Most of this action occurred in the early hours of the morning. By seven o'clock of the same morning FBI agents were using confiscated private phone books to call, visit, intimidate and harass people listed in the phone books.

A key element in the government's attack is the "links to Brinks." In the wake of the attempted expropriation of a Brinks armored car, on October 20, 1981 in Nanuet, New York, the political police announced a major investigation of radical groups, an investigation which remains quite active and ongoing. The government used the broad, sweeping powers of the RICO statute to spy on, hound and arrest a number of activists, targeting in particular the Republic of New Afrika, former Black Panther Party members and suspected Black Liberation Army members. The government is continuing to use the Brinks investigation to justify further and escalating attacks and to go after more and more people. Establishing the "links to Brinks" is critical to the current arrests since the government is arguing that the defendants are the "successors" of the Brinks defendants and that the defendants constitute a "military unit."

An important part of the government's attack in the Brinks case was to take physical evidence they had seized and have its meaning and purpose "explained" by people who turned informer. Hearsay evidence was fully admissible in the RICO trial, and in the current case, hearsay evidence is used with wild abandon, especially that based on the testimony of an informer, a habitual liar and drug addict, Peter Middleton. The JTTF writes that "Middleton has advised the JTTF about the likely membership and method of operation of the post-Nanuet military unit." The government says that Middleton has told the JTTF that one of the defendants, Chimerenga, had visited Sekou Odinga, one of the Brinks defendants, while he was in prison in New York City. How does this establish guilt of anything, even if it is true? The JTTF explains: "the possible significance of these continuing contacts may be discovered from Odinga's statement at his April 19, 1984 sentencing in Queen's Criminal Court... Odinga identified himself as a 'New Afrikan freedom fighter' and vowed that 'the struggle' must continue."

Another piece of such "evidence" is found in the story of the two defendants who were surveilled as they went to the offices of Attorney Leonard Boudin, a well-known defense lawyer, who also happens to be the father of Brinks defendant Kathy Boudin — presto! another "link to Brinks." There is also the highly incriminating use of... shoulder bags. It seems that government snitch Middleton claims that defendants in the Brinks case used shoulder bags to conceal weapons. Sure enough, even though a JTTF agent testified in court that the FBI has no idea what was in the shoulder bags carried by some defendants, the fact that they carried shoulder bags at all is adduced as suspicious behavior in the complaint!

Spying and Hounding

The spying, prying and hounding by the political police has, by the government's admission, been going on intensely for the past ten months. A JTTF agent stated in court that one hundred agents a day were deployed. Defendants' phones and homes were bugged (fully approved by the courts). Mail covers were ordered. A video camera was installed in the hallway of an apartment where a number of defendants were living which monitored who came and who went and when. This was a full-scale information-gathering operation.

In the complaint, an application for continued electronic surveillance lays out that "monitoring of these wire communications has advanced and will likely continue to advance the authorized object of the electronic surveillance on a number of significant fronts. To begin with, the JTTF's expanding ability to identify voices coupled with its continuing surveillance has enabled it to identify many of the participants in these coded telephone calls (more on this in a moment — RW). Periodic slip-ups in coding efforts, and occasionally transparent codes, have also aided this inquiry. The very fact that individuals engage in these extremely cryptic telephone calls is strong evidence of their membership in the criminal enterprise under investigation."

Some of the "strong evidence" which was extracted by all this spying and snooping included defendants arranging to get together for lunch! Defendants calling female defendants "sister" was also considered cryptic. Joggers beware — one document states "surveillance has also found jogging to be a regular activity of many unit members." Another act which the political police cited as indicative of suspicious behavior: "Simms has also been seen constantly placing telephone calls from pay phones throughout New York City."

The government goes on to list time after time when defendants called each other at home or at work or when defendants got together in parks, restaurants, and at each other's homes. Highly criminal stuff! Some of the "suspicious" telephone calls set out in the complaint went like this: "August 16, 1984 (a) at 7:15 p.m. a female believed to be Kelley called from the Carter/Kelley phone and spoke with a male on the Clay/Wareham phone believed to be W. Clay. Kelley asked (if) any of the 'sisters' were there and W. Clay said no." Another "suspicious" call: "At 10:45 p.m. an unidentified male called the Clay/Wareham phone and asked an unidentified female for messages. The male said not to expect him back that night, and then asked the female whether she knew where he was. She hesitated as if thinking and then guessed 'uptown.' He indicated that that was correct."

To cover up the absurd, the JTTF also bolsters its accusations by claiming that the defendants engaged in "counter-surveillance" measures in order to evade detection of what they were *really* up to. One piece of such suspicious behavior was that one of the defendants rented a car in her own name. Why was this suspicious? A JTTF agent stated in court that things like this were done as a cover, to "show that they rented things in their own names."

The bottom line on all this is that, after unabashedly enumerating the extensive snooping and information gathering techniques employed by the JTTF, from phone taps, bugged bathrooms, video cameras, phone beepers being monitored (of people who were not even arrested), people being surveilled at night splitting up bundles of political newspapers, the use of agents and cops in other cities to do more snooping and background checks right down to verifying marriage certificates and seizing typewriter samples, the political police come out and accuse those they have spied upon of being suspicious for allegedly trying to evade that spying!

Bail Reform Act

Of major importance in this attack is the government's use of the newly passed Bail Reform Act, a major rewrite of federal bail laws.

The Bail Reform Act holds that normal rules of evidence of a trial do not apply in a hearing to determine if a defendant should be detained without bail. So the government was in this case able to come

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Election Night Lynch Mob

An All-American lynch-mob mentality surfaced, appropriately enough, on election night in Chicago. Just as the democratic process was reaching its apex, a Black family was besieged in their apartment by 12 to 20 white youths throwing bricks and bottles and waving guns. Spencer Goffer, a 31-year-old auto mechanic, and Patricia Franklin and their 8-year-old son had recently moved into a white enclave of Chicago known as "The Island," which lies directly on the border of suburban Cicero. In a short time, said Goffer, "There were pistols waving and bricks and bottles and pipes and tire irons flying like rain."

It was typical American fightin' odds: two-dozen or so brainless racists against a family of three, attacking in the middle of the night while the family slept. In these circumstances the mob was confident. The first brick came crashing through the living room window at 2:00 a.m., awakening the terrified boy. Only a quick leap out of bed saved him from serious injury when the second brick smashed through his bedroom window and landed where he had been sleeping only seconds before. The family moved into the hallway and barricaded themselves behind some furniture for protection. They were unable to call for help because their telephone had not yet been connected. As for the Cicero police who came upon the scene about 3:00 a.m., according to Goffers they not only approved of the attack but joined in it.

"They had us trapped inside all night Tuesday because they were at the front and the back doors of the building," Goffer told Chicago's Black daily the *Defender*. "We didn't have anywhere to run because the mob apparently was attempting to chase us out the back door in the alley where another group was waiting for us."

The incident began when the youths, who had been drinking in two taverns across the street from the couple's apartment, poured into the street; one of the taverns was called "R's Only." They "called us niggers and other racial slurs as they stood in the street drinking beer and throwing rocks, bricks, bottles and pieces of iron through our windows," Goffer said. It only ended when enough people were out on the street going to work that the Goffers felt it was safe to leave. Taking whatever possessions they could carry, the family fled down an alley at 7:45 a.m. "Our son has been frightened out of his mind since the attack," said Goffers' wife. "He was sitting up crying last night, afraid the mob would come back."

Local newspaper accounts blared out the story for days afterwards, especially the support for this ugly incident among Goffers' white neighbors, as if to send out a message to Black people and all others who hate this racist shit that in today's climate such reactionary ravings are not only permissible but quite in fashion. As the *Chicago Tribune* put it, "Sympathies were clearly with the attacking white mob. For many of these long-time residents, The Island (bordered by all-Black ghettos on the north and east, integrated Oak Park to the west and Cicero to the south) is a last stand." In a similar vein, another article noted that The Island, like neighboring Cicero, is a "last refuge" for firemen, policemen, city workers, and the like. Cicero, in particular, has become synonymous for the redneck mobs who, in the 1960s, stood ready to lynch anyone who "threatened" their lily-white fortress of lawns and bungalows. Here, then, was the section of the people who are the social base for the new patriotism, their Klan-like mentality dusted off for the front pages of the newspapers.

Interestingly, and despite the news stories, the "sympathies" of the surrounding communities did not all go to the animals in the street. On less than 24-hours notice, one woman from Oak Park, which also borders The Island, pulled together an antiracism demonstration of about a hundred people from the adjacent integrated areas of Austin Street, in Chicago and Oak Park. And this time the brave rednecks of The



Island, who gathered a crowd actually outnumbering the antiracism demonstrators, did not act quite so boldly. They stood on a street corner — including about five or six Illinois Nazis, a group sporting jackets emblazoned "Southside Whiteman," and other garbage — and hooted and hollered and went home.

The woman organizer from Oak Park said:

"What motivated me to do it? There have been other racial incidents recently in Chicago. This wasn't the first. But then the night after the election I saw this on the national CBS news, this was turning into a national incident. This sense of powerlessness I've been feeling after the election made me feel that people should get together and make a difference."

There have indeed been a number of

serious racial attacks recently in Chicago — a Klan cross-burning and physical assaults on Black people on the North Side and a Black family attacked and driven from their home on the all-white East Side, all of which have gone unnoticed nationally. But the "Island" incident, right on election eve, was apparently too good of a "Reagan mandate" story to be passed up and was broadcast coast to coast. And, indeed, one can just imagine these junior Nazi-types emerging from the bars with a drunken swagger, pumped up by hours of the "Reagan landslide" coverage on TV, and ready to act out "the white males' revenge," as one newscaster dubbed the Reagan victory.

From beginning to end, this reactionary section of the people has not only received the full support of the authorities, but the whole incident was very likely manufactured as a familiar "blockbusting" tactic in the first place. Spencer Goffers says that the owner of the building, the First Bank of Oak Park, misled him into believing that he was moving into an integrated area like neighboring Oak Park. Once an unsuspecting Black family is moved into a white area in Chicago, typically real estate dealers and banks descend like vultures to make a profit-killing off the ensuing panic to "turnover" the neighborhood from white to Black. The fact that the other vacant apartment in the building was also rented to a Black family (who had not yet moved in) makes the bank's role doubly suspicious.

And what about the police, those guardians of law and order? Spencer Goffers reports that about 3:00 a.m., an hour into the siege, a Cicero squad car which regularly patrols the area arrived on the scene. "I was kneeling in the corner of the living room, peeping out the window, and I saw the police officer get out and greet these guys like he knew them" Goffers said. "This policeman saw their guns, saw they were throwing rocks while he was talking to them. He stayed about five minutes and then drove away."

Goffers also identified an undercover Cicero cop who aided and abetted the attacks. "A white man driving an orange Nova brought a trunk full of bricks into the area and the mob removed them and threw them into our windows," he told the *Defender*. While under siege, Goffers had the presence of mind to take down the license plate numbers of both the marked Cicero squad car and the orange Nova and it has been confirmed by the Cicero police that these licenses correspond to their department vehicles that were on duty the night of the attack.

And what about the role of the Chicago police, also responsible for patrolling the very street Goffers lives on (since it is the dividing line between Cicero and Chicago)? According to the district commander in charge of this area, his officers saw nothing during the entire period of a six-hour siege because they had been diverted into a "high crime" area — the Black community!

Other indicting evidence about the role of the Chicago police was brought to the attention of the *RW* by one of the few Island residents who joined the march and expressed her outrage over the incident. This woman's boyfriend, who lives several houses away from the Goffers, overheard two people underneath her window the night of the attack threatening to "get the niggers." When he reported their license number to the Chicago police, the officer in charge brushed him off, remarking, "What do you expect?" When he insisted on talking to a detective, the disinterested cop didn't even bother to take his name and address.

The Feds have moved on this incident in the past week, promising investigations by the U.S. Attorney and the FBI. Some of the community groups have jumped on this in the hopes that the guilty will be brought to trial. But given the track record of the Feds in working hand in hand with such reactionary forces, this is not a sign that justice will be done — but only a sign of the many ways the system will use to blunt and defuse the outrage of people at such vicious oppression. □

Correspondence On "Let's End This Madness Before It Ends Us!"

To whom it may concern:

I have read the leaflet and feel your cause is justified. Yet you say that it is extremely important that those "who have nothing to live for..." can be the solid core of a revolutionary struggle. You are fighting for a better way of life for everyone in the world. I want that too. I believe that everyone has something to lose no matter how far down on the totem pole you are. I don't like the crap the government dishes out, either, but I'm forced to eat it just like you are.

To avoid a severe case of indigestion, I would like to support the Revolutionary Communist Party. Something has to be done to stop the injustices of the world. Not just the rights of minors, minorities, but politics, the government itself has to be reckoned with.

You, the RCP, and I have a common interest (we both think world politics sucks). Needless to say I am interested in joining the movement. I would like more information about the RCP and friends.

To Whom It May Concern,

A fellow just gave me a copy of your leaflet because I have a *Clash* bumper sticker on my car; he said I might like to read it. Well he was right. I'm glad to see there are still people in this country who do not worship the almighty dollar. I was also beginning to think I was the only person who realized that the Russians are not communists; fascists maybe, but they don't have much in common with Marx.

Anyway I'm very interested in joining the RCP and am enclosing a donation to help out. I'd like to see U.S. missiles out of Europe and the C.I.A. leave the Sandinistas alone. Also could you tell me where to find the *Revolutionary Worker* in Miami, if at all. Thank you.

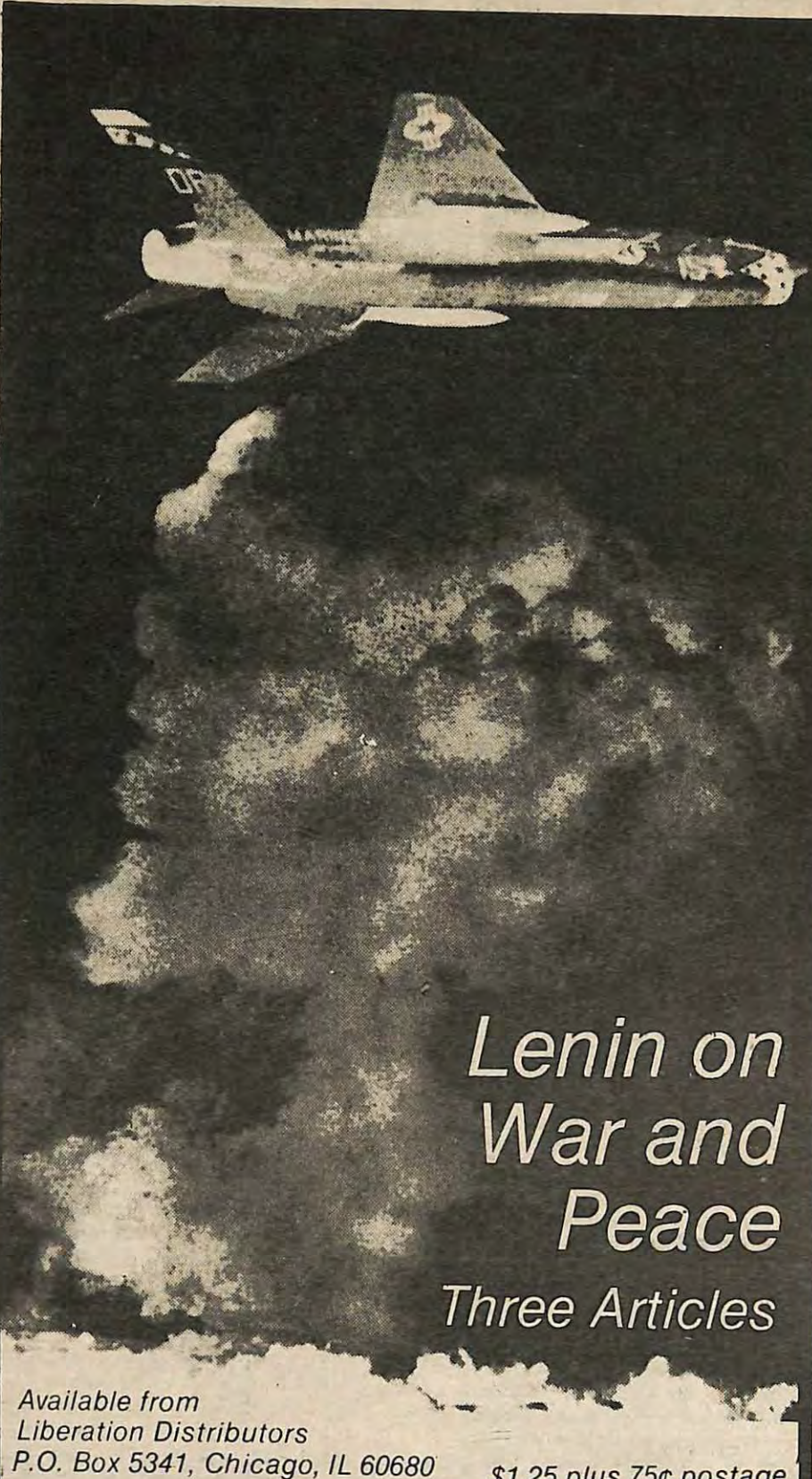
Miami, Fl.

Remember the Red Sea?

Who among ye can still recall the "mystery" of the Red Sea mines? Only last August, after the mysterious occurrence of 17 light explosions in Red Sea waters, a carefully modulated atmosphere of crisis prevailed. A steady diet of "informed" speculation targeting Iran and/or Libya filled the airwaves. More, the Red Sea became the site for the largest peace-time mine-clearing expedition in modern times. The U.S. dispatched its own naval force, accompanied by British and French minesweeping crews and vessels. The Italian and Dutch also jumped into the fray. In the initial flurry, Israel — which had shifted a third of its own naval force from the Mediterranean to its Red Sea port of Eilat only a few months before — sent along a team of "photographers" for good measure. Egyptian authorities balked at the Israeli overture, but otherwise provided the combined Western forces with a carte blanche for the whole undertaking.

After weeks of careful search, nothing conclusive was discovered, the minesweepers mostly departed, and the

"mystery mines" matter sank with barely a trace. But the episode had served its purpose — U.S. and NATO naval power had engaged in an unprecedented display and exercise in the Red Sea's waters. This fact was hardly lost on the Soviet Union, which had belatedly joined the mine-sweep free-for-all with a six-vessel naval force of its own. The experience seems to have left a lasting impression on Egyptian authorities as well. This week, they announced that, for the first time ever, an American nuclear-powered ship was to be allowed to pass through the Suez Canal. The U.S. vessel, the cruiser *Arkansas*, reportedly just happened to be trailing a Soviet ship passing through the Suez and requested permission for its own passage so as to maintain pursuit. Passage by U.S. nuclear-powered ships through the Suez Canal has long been sought by the Navy, eliminating as it does a great deal of travel time from Gibraltar to the Red Sea. So one more constraint on the projection of U.S. military power in this region has been removed. □



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A Horrible End, or An End To The Horror?

Continued from page 3

arguments. He acknowledges, "Of course, in what you call 'the spirit of internationalism,' you may argue in response that Americans should feel concern not only for Americans, but for all people of the world. In this way, one can claim that patriotism will have the bad effect of making Americans feel compassion only for their fellow citizens. This is a valid argument, but it is a bit unrealistic." Why? Because, he says, "It is difficult to feel compassion for those we cannot understand and who are in addition hostile towards us."

Here the writer falls into a series of contradictory notions and feelings, which combine some sense that people have reason to hate America for what it has done in the world with at best an incredibly naive clinging to long-since exposed myths, like the idea that "good, honest, compassionate young Americans join organizations such as the Peace Corps in an honest attempt to help the world's poor, only to often be regarded as nasty American imperialists..." Now, I would not deny that, especially at first (in the early '60s), many people did join the Peace Corps with such motivation, but has this writer really never heard of the many returned Peace Corps volunteers who learned what their real role was to be and who exposed the Peace Corps as in fact an arm of "nasty American imperialists" and their exploitation and oppression throughout the Third World?

At bottom this writer senses that something is fundamentally wrong with America but, still believing in its ideals, and its mythology, he seeks to cure the sickness with a watered-down version of the same "medicine" that the U.S. imperialists and their unleashed social base are trumpeting, from the White House to the Moral Majority, from Walter Mondale, Gary Hart, and Tip O'Neill to Jesse Jackson. If the fight is kept on this terrain the imperialists are bound to win, and they will turn to their service all attempts to center the fight there and wage it on the terms of who is the best patriot, what is real American patriotism.

What this writer fundamentally fails to grasp is not only the desirability of proletarian revolution — as part of the world revolutionary movement — to overthrow America (which is and can only be the same thing as U.S. im-

perialism), but also the fact that the deep signs of sickness that he cites and agonizes over are an indication of the ripening possibilities for a radical cure. This does mean the possibility of a radical right-wing "solution," it is true, but also of a revolution from the "left," or rather from the bottom: a revolution led by the proletariat to spring into the air and overturn all existing social conditions and relations and establish whole new ones and their corresponding values and ideals. Thus, when the writer argues that a resurgence of patriotism in the U.S. — of the kind he advocates — is "certainly better than the current situation in which people care for nothing but themselves" and in any case it is "about the best we can hope for at this moment," he is profoundly wrong.

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

I have discussed how right now is a difficult period in many ways, especially for the advanced, and in this light we should not only keep in mind but popularize what Mao emphasized during the Great Leap Forward in China, in the face of a torrent of opposition from bourgeois forces, including within the party: "If you want others to stand firm, you must first stand firm yourselves. If you want other people not to waver, you must not waver yourself."⁹⁸ Standing firm and boldly carrying out an ideological counteroffensive is a vital part of being able to unleash and rally many others who also hate all this but feel suffocated and intimidated.

⁹⁸ Mao Tsetung, "Speech at the Lushan Conference (July 23, 1959)," in Stuart Schram, ed., *Chairman Mao Talks to the People* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1974), p. 139.

Operation Urgent Fury I was the military code name for the U.S. invasion of Grenada in 1983. On Tuesday, November 13, over 150 demonstrators, part of "Operation Urgent Fury II," an action sponsored by the Disarm Now Action Group (DNA), disrupted early morning business at the Great Lakes Naval Base in North Chicago, concluding a Week of Resistance that had begun on election day. Protestors held banners and later surged onto Sheridan Road, attempting to take the main gate while blocking traffic for over a mile before snake dancing down the street along the base and back. Tens of thousands of leaflets and placards aimed at naval personnel were thrown over the base perimeter fence at various points. Twenty-two people were arrested, almost all charged with "mob action" and "resisting arrest."

The Week of Resistance began on election day with a small protest outside the gates of the base by some faculty and students from Latino Youth, an alternative high school in Chicago. Two were arrested. On Thursday, Nov. 8, a women's action was held to dramatize the slaughter of women and children in the world by the U.S. Navy and military. Life-like dummies representing the people of the world were hung under an overpass on a road through the base and some were dropped onto the road blocking traffic as slogans like "U.S. Out of Central America" were spraypainted on the bridge. Three women were arrested and later 20 women marched along the perimeter fence chanting in cadence: "We know what this base is for, murder in El Salvador" and "U.S. Navy, Off the Seas, Puerto Rico... Nicaragua... Philippines... Grenada... El Salvador will be free."

On Saturday, Nov. 10, a "War Zone Tour" of the base was held by 20-30 high school students and other youth.

Week of Resistance At Great Lakes

That Saturday night, November 10, someone paid the Navy an unannounced visit, cutting a hole in the fence and spray-painting "Get Out Now" in large letters on a supply building, storage tanks and a power boat before getting away undetected. On Monday night, however,

when an advance team of demonstrators began cutting other 5-foot holes in the fence for people to enter and exit they were spotted by military security and by the time various affinity groups arrived there were spotlights, guards with flashlights and gray military vehicles

marked "canine unit" throughout the area. Despite this, one person was able to get through the fence during the later part of the demonstration and was arrested on the base.

Then at dawn on Tuesday about 100 protestors gathered at the main gate of the base and formed a large picket line. Banners and homemade signs were everywhere: "U.S. Out of Central America," "Self Determination for all NOW," "War is Revolting — So Are We," "Stop the Pershing and Cruise," "Stick it to the Lifers." A group of religious activists crossed the street and began a prayer vigil.

After a time, people who had been foiled from busting through the fence returned in groups and the picket line grew to over 150; suddenly a group of protestors took the street, followed by just about everyone else, completely catching the police off guard. As a small group of mainly religious pacifists sat down blocking traffic, the crowd suddenly turned and quickly made a move on the main gate, sending military security into a scurry to physically block the action from going right onto the base and finally forcing the gate closed altogether. With the police off balance the demonstrators then began snaking down the street and back alongside the base, throwing leaflets written for the sailors onto the base before finally breaking up about an hour later.

The Week of Resistance was seen by many who participated as an answer to the elections mandate of the "Good Germans" for ignorance, chauvinism and war. The spirit of this answer was well captured by the remarks of a skinhead who ran in the front ranks of the action and was already making plans, should the U.S. invade Nicaragua: "If they blockade, we blockade," he said. "If they invade, we invade." □

Preemptive Strike

Continued from page 12

into court leveling all sorts of accusations, including hearsay evidence and testimony by a JTTF agent.

Just who can be ordered held without bail in this new law is rather broad in scope. A damning piece of evidence is nearly any suggestion that, as the Judiciary Committee of the Congress put it, the person is involved with "the possession or use of a destructive device" — any weapon.

There are, of course, all kinds of ways that the government can suggest that weapons might be involved with the offense. At the defendants' bail hearing the government piled up weapons on a courtroom table that they claimed to have seized from defendants' homes. They brought in a JTTF agent to testify about the alleged criminal conspiracy, including the "links to Brinks" theory and introduced JTTF transcribed conversations of defendants allegedly discussing plans to commit various crimes which never took place. Almost unintelligible surveillance tapes are described as documenting weapons instruction. In effect the government has had a free hand to use the very fact that it has brought

criminal charges against the defendants as the "proof" that the defendants should not be released.

An Assistant U.S. Attorney has described the defendants as "a highly organized, dedicated band of armed bandits," a description aptly applicable to his employer. This same Assistant U.S. Attorney stated in court that the JTTF has certain information (which could not be divulged, of course) that the defendants have links to so-called well-known terrorist groups. When a defense attorney replied that it could be shown that the Assistant U.S. Attorney and "his cohorts have links to a military organization waging war in various places around the world" she was told to hold her arguments until later, or in a word, to shut up. Indeed, just who are the defendants' accusers but world record holders in global plunder, who are currently raising their history of worldwide plunder and murder to the level of open and official policies with Secretary of State George Shultz recently stating U.S. intentions to stage preventive or retaliatory strikes against "terrorists" around the world, including openly stating its intentions to kill "innocent people" in the process. The current new attacks on revolutionary Black activists are not only terroristic — they are the grossest hypocrisy. □

Correspondence On "Let's End This Madness Before It Ends Us"

Nov. 1, '84

Dear RW:

On October 29, '84 I observed two banners hung on a fence, clearly visible to a busy freeway in San Ysidro, California. One banner was about 15 feet long and 4 feet high and read: "SOMOS TODOS ILEGALES" (We Are All Illegals). The other banner was about 45 feet long, 4 feet high and read: "¡ACABEMOS CON ESTA LOCURA ANTES QUE ACABE CON NOSTROS!" (Let's End This Madness Before It Ends Us!). One section of the long banner had torn loose from the fence and made half of the slogan illegible for about a day and a half, until someone retied it to the fence.

During this same time a lot of leaflets appeared on the streets of San Ysidro with the same slogan ("ACABEMOS...") speaking of the real

possibilities of preparing for revolution and also the real possibility of stopping nuclear madness with revolution.

The message was very clear, especially since the freeway runs south to Tijuana, one of the busiest border areas between an imperialist country and its dependency, and north to San Diego and one of the largest military installations in the world. This is an area where the INS captured over a million "ile-gales" last year alone.

The banners were hung on the fence bordering the (razed) site of one of the largest (death-squad) massacres in U.S. history at the San Ysidro McDonald's.

The banners have been up (even repaired) now for three days in the face of some pretty good odds against it not lasting at all. It's almost like it's being protected....

A Reader

Aquino

Continued from page 6

fighting within the Marcos camp.

In fact, there already are signs of intensifying contention within the regime. Ver has been replaced "temporarily" by General Fidel Ramos. According to some analysts, Ver and Ramos represent rival factions within the military. Ramos is said to head up the "professional faction," most of whom were educated at West Point or the Philippine Military Academy. They are said to have closer ties to the U.S. military circles than the Ver forces, who are supposedly more directly loyal to Marcos, and resent the fact that those like Ver have moved up mainly because of personal ties to Marcos. Such analysis can be taken too far. It must be said that, while Ver did not go to West Point, he hardly lacks U.S. connec-

tions. He received a Bachelor of Law degree from the University of Miami and a degree in police administration from the University of Louisville, and received further training with none other than the Los Angeles Police Department.

On the other side, Ramos and his ilk have stood steadfastly by Marcos through this current crisis (up to this point at least). However, there are real splits and factions within the regime, and specifically in the military. Perhaps an indication of this is the newspaper ad that appeared after Ver took his leave which declared "unwavering loyalty and support" for Ver. The ad was signed by 68 out of 83 generals in the armed forces — not including Ramos. Some in the bourgeois opposition have openly called for certain forces in the military to abandon Marcos and side with the opposition.

Several recent U.S. government studies warn of the serious erosion of Marcos'

power, the deteriorating economic situation and the growing strength of the CPP. Their common theme might be summarized as: things are going to hell, and there are no easy answers. One thing certain, however, is that the U.S. does not want to see a sudden and drastic undermining of Marcos' position at this point, especially in light of the lack of any viable replacement.

"Most U.S. officials now share a similar analysis of Marcos' predicament," notes *Newsweek* in its November 5 issue. "They believe he is on the defensive, but not on the way out. Barring a collapse of his uncertain health, he is likely to hold on at least until the end of his term in 1987. Trying to replace him is therefore not considered an option. The only hope, they maintain, is to work for reform through Marcos." This is, of course, the U.S.'s preferred scenario. What the U.S. imperialists are maneuver-

ing to bring about is as smooth a transition as possible to a reliable — and hopefully less politically exposed — pro-U.S. force to replace the present tattered regime.

Of course things rarely go so smoothly, especially in today's world. For one thing, while the ambiguity of the Agrava Commission's findings have served to quiet things temporarily and to a certain extent, a final decision on Ver still has to be made, with dangers inherent in whatever course of action is taken. There is the matter of Marcos' "uncertain health," and the economy which is threatened by a disastrous collapse. Up-surges and flareups in certain areas of the world may strain U.S. abilities to keep the lid on other places like the Philippines. The "smooth transition" scenario is not the only — or even the most likely — one that could be played out in the Philippines. □

An important new book by the Chairman of
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A HORRIBLE END or An End To The Horror?

by BOB
AVAKIAN

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

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

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

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