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Bhopal:

The Crime and The Cover-up

The dimensions of Bhopal: the Indian press reports more than 3,000 dead and approximately 200,000 injured, at least 10-20 percent of them permanently disabled. This is a ruthless mass murder perpetrated by the system of international imperialism and its current top-dog, America.

Whenever a crime of this magnitude is unleashed on the world, it brings with it an avalanche of lies and coverups. The Bhopal massacre is no exception. If anything, it is even more the case since so many of the ugliest features of imperialism and its barbaric ravaging of the world are concentrated in it.

Lies

Union Carbide has protested its innocence from the moment the gas leak began. At first company officials claimed to know nothing; they swore that there was "nothing unusual" about the Bhopal plant and that they had no inkling at all about its potential danger. Then, on December 10, somber-faced officials at Union Carbide's headquarters in Danbury, Connecticut, released four documents concerning a 1982 inspection tour of the Bhopal factory undertaken by Union Carbide itself. The first document, entitled "Operational Safety Survey," listed at least ten major safety problems inside the plant. According to the *Washington Post*, an Indian journalist

who had seen copies of the secret report back in 1982 claimed that it actually listed 50 different observations about dangerous conditions inside the Bhopal plant. This report stated that there was "serious potential for sizeable releases of toxic materials in the phosgene/MIC (methyl isocyanate) unit and storage area either due to equipment failures, operational problems or maintenance problems." Among the problems cited were: frequent pressure gauge failure in all parts of the plant; leaky control and safety valves; maintenance problems; substandard condition of a Sevin methyl isocyanate tank; no fixed water spray for fire protection or vapor dispersal in the areas working with methyl isocyanate and the potential for contamination of methyl isocyanate storage tanks due to a backwash of water vapor from other parts of the production process. In other words, they admittedly knew about the specific dangers for at least two years.

Union Carbide released three other later documents claiming everything had been corrected in Bhopal. The "mishap," as the *New York Times* called

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Excerpts from:

**A Horrible End,
or
An End To The Horror?**

by Bob Avakian

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The Calculators

The Bhopal mass murder was met with cold-blooded calculations in the U.S. In the following excerpts from a December 7 Wall Street Journal article, reaction in financial circles speaks for itself.

Unexpected calamity and uncertain corporate liability are taking their toll on shares of Union Carbide.

Investors in the giant chemicals and plastics company dumped more than six million shares on the market yesterday as the stock suffered its worst drop since this week's gas leak in India. But as is usual in such situations, more than a few money managers sensed another market over-reaction in the works and scooped up the cascading shares at what they think are bargain prices.

At the moment, the downward pressure on the stock indicates that the prevailing mood is that Union Carbide isn't a stock worth holding on faith. One money manager, who sold her entire stake yesterday, probably reflected the views of many when she explained to a client, "You don't need the aggravation. This could be another Manville, and who needs that?" (Johns Manville claimed bankruptcy due to lawsuits over asbestos-related health problems of workers — RW).

Union Carbide officials vigorously asserted at a news conference yesterday that the company isn't financially endangered by the accident and that there isn't any likelihood that they would seek bankruptcy-law protection.

Analysts and portfolio managers were debating yesterday what the company's total liability might be. Based on calculations they conceded were distasteful, however, several asserted that the potential liability for actual damages was manageable.

"I'm inclined to think this thing isn't of the same proportions" as Manville, said one money manager who has bought more than one million shares of Union Carbide since the accident. Among other

things, he notes that the compensation to victims will be lower because of the lower standard of living in India.

William Young, a chemicals analyst at Dean Witter Reynolds, estimates Carbide has more than \$200 million in insurance coverage and that claims for actual damages will amount to only about \$100 million. Even if the company had to pay punitive damages of \$200 million, which might not be covered by insurance, Mr. Young estimates the payment would reduce the company's net income by only \$1.50 a share.

"When rational analysis is used," says Mr. Young, Union Carbide stock is worth more than its current price. The analyst isn't officially recommending the stock, however.

Jay R. Harris of Goldsmith & Harris, an investment research concern, also thinks the market has overreacted. Mr. Harris says he has told a few institutional clients that Carbide is an "attractive speculation" but no more than that because of the unpredictability of developments.

A number of institutions that were major holders of stock before the accident say they don't currently plan to sell. "It's almost inappropriate to be talking about the stock now," says James Severance, an investment director at the Wisconsin Investment Board, but he states that he would probably be increasing his stake now if he didn't already hold such a substantial position.

Dean LeBaron of Batterymarch Financial Management says his firm has been reducing its Union Carbide stake for other reasons, and he isn't sure whether more will be sold. "We don't, in general, tend to respond to spot news. It's my impression that in the aggregate spot news is likely to be overreacted to," says Mr. LeBaron.

P.S. In case the reader is wondering if we've omitted even fleeting references to a "tragedy" having taken place, the answer is no.

Statement To The People of Bhopal

The following internationalist message was written and circulated by the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade in the Boston area. Initial signatories include several student activists at Brown University; Chris Ferguson, co-sponsor of the "suicide pill" referendum at Brown; a Dallas War Chest "Tourist"; Rachael Tension, an internationalist feminist; and a member of the band "Crisis at Central High."

To the people of Bhopal and the oppressed worldwide:

The disaster in Bhopal is a shocking example of the criminal economic, political and social relations that imperialism has forced upon the Third World — an example of the everyday horror this system means for millions worldwide. It is clear from the mass murders in India, Mexico

and Ethiopia what the U.S. imperialist's real concerns for the people in these countries are — rape, plunder and profit.

We do not plan to wait for the mass murder of nuclear war to struggle to understand what has brought the world to this situation and to act to change it. We are not glad that these "accidents" did not happen in America — we are outraged that they happened anywhere! We will not be "bought off" by the privileges of life in an imperialist country — privileges that came off the backs of the oppressed worldwide. We will not turn our backs like "good Germans" while the atrocities committed by this government grow. We want people in Bhopal and around the world to know that there are those of us who are working to end this madness as soon as possible — and that our numbers are growing!

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A HORRIBLE END or An End To The Horror?

by BOB
AVAKIAN

More Thoughts on the Basic Orientation Toward Proletarian Revolution

It might seem that we revolutionary communists are "back where we started," even hurled back to where we were after the defeat of the Paris Commune over 100 years ago, since today there are no socialist states and, worse, those that existed have experienced a restoration of capitalism. But this is a superficial view, refuted by materialist dialectics.

In terms of the objective factor — the objective world conditions — the contradictions of the world imperialist system and the struggles these give rise to, driven forward by the underlying fundamental contradiction of capitalism (between socialized production and private appropriation) and its laws of accumulation, have continued to propel things toward the resolution of these contradictions and the final elimination of capitalism (and all exploiting systems and relations). As a result, even though proletarian revolutions have been defeated or reversed, the material foundation for proletarian revolution has been strengthened and from a world-historic standpoint things have been brought closer to the achievement of communism, despite all the distortions and lopsidedness in world economic and political relations.¹⁸⁵ This of course is not to say that the motion toward world communism (alone among things in the universe) will proceed in a straight line, nor is it to deny the possibility of dramatic leaps *backward* at a given point. But with all that, the basic point that objectively the basis for communism is being strengthened, despite setbacks and reversals in the world proletarian revolution, remains true.

Of course it requires revolutionary struggle led by the proletariat to actually make the leap to socialism in different parts of the world and then to communism on the global level. And such revolutions greatly accentuate world contradictions and accelerate the motion toward the replacement of the epoch of capitalism with the epoch of world communism.

In terms of the subjective factor — that is, the conscious, organized forces of proletarian revolution — there is a great deal of accumulated experience, positive and negative, to learn from. There is a rich revolutionary legacy, which must be upheld at the same time as it is critically evaluated and critically assimilated. This corresponds to reality: the experience of proletarian revolutions so far should be mainly upheld and secondarily criticized, though criticized and dissected fearlessly, penetratingly, and thoroughly. And we have the scientific principles and methods to guide us — to enable us to synthesize the lessons more thoroughly and apply them systematically in the decisive period ahead — the science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, which is itself the theoretical reflection of the rich experience of the past 100 years and more of the world revolutionary movement as well as a basic comprehensive outlook and methodology. But we must not simply defend Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. We must apply it and further develop it, because it is, once again, a living science in which there is a unity and a constant interplay between upholding its basic principles and further enriching them through critically approaching, evaluating, and synthesizing new experiences and developments and the lessons which must be drawn from them.

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

¹⁸⁵ Here it is worth recalling the comment from our party's Central Committee Report, five years ago, that even if imperialism hangs on for several hundred years more, the world will then be that much riper for communist revolution and the predictions of Marx and Engels will be vindicated (see "The Prospects for Revolution and the Urgent Tasks in the Decade Ahead, Documents from the Third Plenary Session of the Second Central Committee of the RCP, USA," *Revolution*, Vol. 4, Nos. 10-11 [October/November 1979], p. 15).

This week the Revolutionary Worker presents the ninth 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?* This excerpt concludes the series in the RW. The entire book is being serialized weekly in Spanish in *Obrero Revolucionario*. And the book is available at local Revolution Bookstores and outlets, through RCP Publications, and at some other locations.

This week's excerpt includes two sections from Chapter IV, "The Future of Humanity: Certain Questions of Historical Importance and Urgent Application for the International Communist Movement and Others Seeking to Radically Change the World." Other sections in this chapter include:

Again on the Importance of Grasping the Spiral/Conjuncture Motion of Imperialism

Some Questions to Ponder

Some Thoughts About the Special Problems of Revolution in Revisionist Countries

Finally, as discussed before, the "revolutions gone sour" — in particular the defeat and reversal in the Soviet Union and then in China — are bitter losses, but they are only *part* of the overall development of this spiral toward its explosive concentration point (conjuncture). They are not the end of the spiral — or the "end of the story."

The fact is we are not back to "nothing" and everything should not be called into question. Nor again is this the time for "quiet reflection" or "slow patient work"! The formation and the *Declaration* of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement represent a great victory, a great weapon for the international proletariat and the international communist movement in approaching this conjuncture and a powerful refutation of such erroneous views.

Taking Responsibility for the Future of Humanity

Changing the international political map and striving to prevent world war through revolution: actually seizing power through mass revolutionary struggle in as many places as possible — even making a revolutionary breakthrough to seize power in one country or another — is the crucial step that will reverberate throughout the globe like an earthquake under the whole structure of world relations. This is the key link in setting off a whole "chain reaction" in these world relations — which will not only batter and shake the entire edifice of world imperialism at its foundations but as a particular aspect of this will also be a powerful force stimulating revolutionary struggle toward the overthrow of the ruling bourgeoisie in the revisionist countries (in particular of the Soviet social-imperialist bloc but including China and others as well), undermining their whole "logic," their *raison d'être* and the basis of their "practical" appeal to many revolutionary or potentially revolutionary forces.

All this is a very important application of the statement by Marx that while theory is crucial and revolutionary ideas taken up by the masses can become a tremendous material force, still material force must be defeated by material force and the weapon of criticism can never equal the criticism of weapons.

If, on the other hand, we (the international communist movement and the international proletariat) are not able to prevent world war through revolution and there is massive nuclear destruction, there will still be — and in some ways in concentrated form — the question of the future of humanity. This will then be a question acutely posed for resolution and will be resolved through armed conflict between forces representing diametrically and antagonistically opposed directions: back to the old relations, institutions, values, and ideologies to "reconstitute and rebuild" — *back to the same thing that led to this in the first place* — or on a radically new road, beginning on a primitive level but having learned more deeply and searingly where the old road leads, and embarking on a completely different course.

They are already preparing for this "aftermath" — yes, on top of all their plans that will lead to this devastation in the first place if they're not stopped! — and we must prepare for it too. But in fact our preparation is precisely the revolutionary work and revolutionary struggle being carried out by the international communist movement, waging revolutionary armed struggle where things are at that point and preparing for it where that is not yet the case. It is this that represents the real hope for humanity. Meeting the challenge to carry out and accelerate revolution and under all circumstances see the struggle through to the abolition of this monster, imperialism and all systems based on exploitation and enforced by murder and destruction — this is the meaning of taking responsibility for the future of humanity. It is a task that must be shouldered by the international proletariat and the international communist movement.

Dallas: Greg "Joey" Johnson Tried And Sentenced To One Year

On Thursday, December 13, Greg "Joey" Johnson, a member of the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade, was convicted and sentenced to the maximum punishment possible on a Class A misdemeanor charge of "desecrating a venerated object" (the U.S. flag). He now faces one year in jail and a two thousand dollar fine. It was a fitting continuation of the Neuremburg rally atmosphere that had prevailed in Dallas during the Republican National Convention last August. The fact that even the extensive videotapes made by pigs and the pig "eyewitnesses" themselves *could not link Joey* (or any other particular individual, for that matter) with the righteous flagburning that had taken place in front of Dallas' City Hall as the Republican War Chest Tour concluded on the Convention's third day was not terribly relevant to the state's case. This trial was being conducted by the thought-police, and permeating every aspect of this brutal and hypocritical farce was the central premise in the prosecution's argument: this is a *political* trial, and this youth is a criminal in the eyes of the state precisely for his revolutionary communist politics, not for any specific, alleged, actions.

Not only did the state expend a cursory effort to tie Joey in with the torching of the flag, prosecutor Mike Gillette and Judge John Hendrick even "joked" about and flaunted the flimsiness of their "evidence." During the pretrial motion hearings on December 7, in response to a motion that the defense be allowed to view the videotapes the prosecution intended to present as evidence, Hendrick sneered to Gillette, "If they see what you've got before the hearing it may change what they want to do, they might confess, or plead guilty." Gillette laughed at this "wit" and openly admitted, "No judge, the pictures aren't that good."

Indeed they weren't, but no matter. To make clear exactly what was being tried in this court, Gillette on two occasions ordered Joey to stand so that the jury could have a good view of his T-shirt: on the front it read "Revolutionary Com-

munist Youth Brigade," and on the back, "I was born in the sewer called capitalism, but now I'm living for revolution."

As Joey said in a press statement released in Dallas on December 10, the opening day of the trial, "Exactly because of the political blow they were dealt, the authorities are lashing out for what can only be called blatant revenge. . . . I am being prosecuted at a time when more than ever they need the allegiance of millions. Their flag burning statute is a clear statement that the First Amendment and the Constitution, all that crap really means is that you can protest only as long as you bow down before the American flag and follow it anywhere."

A key element in the state's case against Joey was a law called the "Law of Parties." Passages from this law were included in the charge prepared by the prosecutors, including a section which reads "a person is criminally responsible for an offense committed by the conduct of another if . . . acting with intent to promote or assist the commission of the offense, he solicits, encourages, directs, aids, or attempts to aid another person who commits the offense."

Feeble, and contradictory, evidence was presented by three undercover cops trying to connect Joey with the actual flag burning. But the prosecuting attorneys continually referred to some of the slogans that were chanted throughout the Tour, and spraypainted around the walls and sidewalks of the corporate lobbies the Tour visited, as supposed "proof" that a plot had been hatched by "leaders" of the Tour, a plot whose climax was alleged to be the flagburning at City Hall. To this end, prosecutors showed videotapes of some of the die-ins, and alleged that Joey was yelling "Fuck America." They then showed that "Fuck America" was later spraypainted on a wall.

The state also submitted as evidence a chant sheet that had been prepared by the RCYB. The last chant on it is "red, white and blue, we spit on you, you stand for plunder, you must go under." This, ac-

cording to Assistant DA Gillette, was supposed to indicate that the Tour was intended to conclude with the actual flagburning.

Political police in Dallas from various agencies had long been readying themselves for protests during the Republican Convention. They were stunned and shocked by their inability to control the War Chest Tour, and eager to lash out in revenge. A Dallas Police Department (DPD) captain, Ray Hawkins, gave some of this away in August when he said of the youth who went on the Tour, "These people are no idiots. I saw some of these same people in San Francisco. They were schooled and well trained when they were there. They've been doing this a lot longer than we have." Another DPD spokesman referred to this when he said, "We were led to believe by our intelligence reports that they would go by these places (the sites targeted by the War Chest Tour), knock on windows and try to scare people, then lie down in the hallways in front of the buildings. Instead it became a hit-and-run disruptive kind of thing."

None of the higher-levels pigs who are in on the decision making in Dallas, who studied films of the War Chest Tours in San Francisco, and compiled hit lists of individuals and organizations, were originally scheduled to testify in Joey's trial. The state left that to three low-level pigs who ordinarily are in the vice division, and who said they were assigned to the demonstrations only a week before the Convention.

These three cops, who were able to view the videotapes when they were shown during the pretrial motion hearings, and who were carefully guided in their testimony by the prosecutors, still could not manage to straighten out their various stories.

Despite viewing the tapes, and no doubt drilling for their testimony, the pigs presented conflicting stories of the flagburning itself. One said she really couldn't see what happened, but said Joey "could have been crouching" near it, so he "could have done" the burning. Another pig, who claimed to be "five feet

away" from the flag when it was set on fire, said the whole episode was "stuck in his mind" because he had only seen something like this previously on TV, when it happened in Iran. His version was that Joey and the young woman held the flag together and then burned it. All this fantasy to the contrary, the tape presented by the prosecution itself showed the flag in scraps at 2:23 p.m. and with the camera remaining on the smoldering ruins of the rag, Joey coming in from out of range of the camera to view what was happening at 2:26 p.m.

Terry Stover, one of the "vice squad" pigs who had gone along watching the entire Tour, contradicted the prosecutor and said that the Tour seemed "spontaneous." This exchange took place between her and the defense attorney.

"Did you see Greg spraypainting?"

"No sir."

"Did he tell people to spraypaint?"

"No sir."

"Did he tell people what to do over the bullhorn?"

"No sir."

"Would you say it was all spontaneous?"

"Yes sir."

"Did you hear Greg advise people to do anything illegal?"

"No sir, he was just making a speech."

In fact, Joey was initially charged with disorderly conduct, as were the vast majority of arrested Tourists, and it was only later, as the political police went through the names of those in their clutches, that they slapped heavier charges on him in an attempt to pin him as a "leader who is responsible." Still, given the flimsiness of the state's witnesses, as manifested in testimony like that quoted above, the D.A.'s office felt compelled to bring in some better-trained cops, more capable of telling the tale they wanted.

To this end the aforementioned Captain Hawkins came to the stand after both the prosecution and defense had rested. Hawkins said he had been in San Francisco and watched that War Chest Tours there but that "most of the people in San Francisco I didn't expect to be

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To Those Who Held Their Noses And Voted Anyway

What Are You Gonna Do Now?

We remember well that sign which read: "VOTE FOR MONDALE — AT LEAST YOU'LL LIVE TO REGRET IT!" What a shame it is when righteous alarm over world events gets twisted into supporting the official Democratic nonopposition.

"We are living in the inch between Mondale and Reagan," they said, as the world watched that "inch of difference" shrivel to nothingness.

"We understand that the Democrats are no fundamental solution, but still *only* Mondale can replace Reagan. Dumping Reagan will buy time to build a *truly* alternative movement..."

In the name of "realism," of "effective" politics, of "practical" stop-gaps, people who should have known better had a sordid little fling with loyal opposition. Held their nose and pulled the lever. Doesn't it all stink even more now? Have you "lived to regret it"?

You voted for a warmongering imperialist candidate to "dump" the warmongering imperialist incumbent. And what did this act of self-humiliation get you? Not only did this promote the worst illusions about the institutions of this system... *you didn't even have the slightest impact on the election!* So much for arguments about "effective" politics!

The imperialists wanted a landslide for their preferred candidate, and they produced one. It's *their* system after all.

A Challenge

But now, the future is more to the point. The election is over. The button-pusher is in. The weapons are in place. The war alliances (on both sides) are poised. Reagan dabbles with the "arms control/peace talks" mode which Mondale was so fond of playing. And the momentum toward Armageddon rumbles on unbroken.

We have a question to those who understand that the fate of the Earth will be decided in the coming years, specifically those who voted for Mondale out of a misguided attempt to stave off disaster. The worst (*from your own perspective*) has now happened. The "lesser evil" strategy lies in the shambles of defeat. A grotesque American Hitler prepares for his next coronation.

Our question:

"WHAT ARE YOU GONNA DO NOW?"

Are you going to prove that the Mondale campaign was after all — post mortem — an effective imperialist strategy

for legitimizing its political system, channeling opposition, and upholding all its terrible crimes, past, present, and especially future? Does a short-term desperation fling at "lesser evil" bourgeois politics now become a long-term, reformist political coffin?

Make no mistake, those who are heavily invested in loyal opposition politics have their plans for you. Having seduced (or terrified) you this fall, they want the logic followed through to the bitter end. There are the straight-out imperialist spokesmen, the Jesse Jacksons; there are the revisionists and social democrats who, whatever bloc they owe allegiance to, have all along utilized loyal oppositionism as a part of their real, hidden agendas. The next phase of the "Anti-Reagan Front" is filled with calls for a "progressive/liberal coalition to form a permanent foundation for a new Democratic Party," to "find suitable candidates to back in 1986," and to "settle in for the long haul with all eyes on 1988." Hasn't a couple of *months* of this gar-

bage already made you sick?

Even in more radical corners, some are insisting that while demonstrations and "grassroots organizing" are the order of the day, these must be at all costs geared to mainstream sensibilities, to project responsible and loyal "concern"... concern about plans to incinerate a good part of the planet! Where is the slightest evidence that large-scale displays of "concern," no matter how well intentioned and well reasoned, will cause the imperialists to change their stripes, when the very survival of their empire is at stake?

In short, what'll it be? The dead-end, long-haul meatgrinder of bourgeois politics — leading straight to WW3? Or taking the political action which is required and necessary in these times? We welcome those (and they are many) who have been saying, "This election makes me sick! If this is what America wants, then where do I go to resign from America?" Yes, resign indeed from what America stands for and take up the program that is the only appropriate answer

to the extreme criminal madness that is imperialism's immediate future.

In a country where a bunch of moonie-eyed, designer-brained youth cheer for nukes, and where jokes about bombing Russia are declared normal (and win elections!), then why be normal? How can *this* be met by "voter registration" and soupy appeals to mainstream respectability? When this insanity is law and order, then an outlaw spirit is needed, an orientation of politically creating great disorder everywhere! This spirit is not only the necessary answer to what the imperialists are right now planning — it is a crucial ingredient in preparing for a situation in which it is possible to launch the actual, coordinated mass uprising... revolution!

No one denies that revolution is a long shot. But the simple fact is that it is our best and only shot. And that is a truly "realistic" statement of truly "effective" politics. □



A scene in the New York City garment district a few days before the elections.

Brown's Sweet Revenge Turns Sour

On Wednesday, December 5, sixty-eight students at Brown University in Providence, Rhode Island, were brought up before the University Council on Student Affairs (UCSA). The charge: "behavior which disrupts or materially interferes with the exercise by others of the basic rights to which they are entitled on University property or at University functions." The "basic rights" Brown University was so eager to defend concerned those of a highly organized, infamous death squad, toppler of governments, spies and political assassinations, better known as the CIA. For exposing the crimes of the CIA at an attempted Agency recruiting session at Brown on November 26, sixty-eight students were put on trial and threatened with expulsion from the university.

As reported in *RW* No. 283, students stood up during a CIA recruiting meeting and read off a list of CIA violations of international and national law and a history of bloody CIA crimes including most recently the mining of Nicaragua's harbor and the CIA training manual provided to the U.S.-sponsored Contras. The students' statement at the meeting concluded by saying, "We place you under citizens' arrest today as representatives of the Central Intelligence Agency. The CIA

must stop its illegal murderous activities. The CIA must be stopped. It must be made accountable.

"*New York Times* columnist Anthony Lewis wrote of the CIA's covert war in Nicaragua last week (November 12, 1984), 'the buck doesn't stop.'

"Well, the buck stops here."

The university has charged further that the sixty-eight students violated the right of other students to hear and be recruited by the CIA. Beneath all this posturing of "free speech" Brown University is making their position quite clear — Brown is open territory for the CIA. Indeed, one of the recruiters who showed up is a Brown graduate and it is now also common knowledge that a former president of the university functioned as a CIA operative during his term. As far back as the late 1960s, Brown hired a retired top CIA official as a professor and deliberately put him in the limelight, scheduling special meetings of students to be addressed by him, and granting him an honorary degree. And clearly, Brown University is still considered prime recruiting ground for the CIA.

The protest over the CIA session was a very controversial issue at Brown. The university clamored about free speech, a backlash of conservative students

developed, and a couple hundred of them signed a petition protesting the infringement of their rights. The sixty-eight students and their supporters went on the offensive. Leaflets went out. Discussions and debate went on and the exposure of the hypocrisy of the "free speech" issue and the crimes of the CIA stepped up. All this eruption of protest and debate over the CIA and the exposure of its bloody crimes was not at all welcomed by the administration. The university aimed to dispense with it all in a simple and non-political trial of the sixty-eight "disrupters" — the CIA recruiters had been disrupted; case closed.

The trial did not turn out quite that way.

Trial: Resistance, Exposure

The trial took place on December 5 as students were supposed to be preparing for exams. Over six hundred students, a number of faculty as well as parents came to the trial which went on for eight hours until 1:30 in the morning. Anyone who came to the trial was forbidden to clap or utter a sound (so much for free speech) and so students took to raising their fists to show support.

The university presented its "clear-cut case." Students took this on in three

ways: exposing the issue of free speech, defending the citizens' arrest, and exposing the CIA. Witnesses for the students included six faculty members, two attorneys (one of them from the Center for Constitutional Rights in New York), a couple of students themselves and a former CIA agent, a critic of the CIA and author of *In Search of Enemies*, John Stockwell. The so-called free speech the university was so hot to champion was exposed, as testimony exposed that when students had proposed an open debate with the CIA recruiters, the university gave a flat-out no. Testimony also revealed that two hours before the recruiting session, two students were informed by the university that certain questions of the CIA would not be permitted.

The students also pointed to 1968 university guidelines which read, "Our tradition is one of freedom, and the university cherishes the right to peaceful assembly, free exchange of ideas and orderly protest, which include the student freedom both to consult with such representatives and also to express their views about the institutions represented." The students upheld the citizens' arrest, arguing that a felony was about to be committed since CIA recruiters

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On Hijackings and The Elementary Standards of Imperialism

With the airline hijacking in Tehran providing the dramatic backdrop, the U.S. campaign against "terrorism" crescendoed to new decibel levels this week. The hijacking was seized upon to amplify and lend further "urgency" to a mounting theme within the Reagan administration — the need to "combat terrorism" through escalating military force. Government officials and media pundits alike joined in providing a steady stream of bellicose commentary, filling the airwaves and news columns. On ABC's *Nightline*, the *McNeil-Lehrer Report*, and elsewhere, the assembled experts all agreed: "terrorism," as selectively defined by the U.S., must be met with U.S. military power — the sooner the better.

Time magazine's Dec. 17th issue announced that "once again, it seemed, the world was being held hostage by a small and fanatic band of terrorists bent on wresting political concessions by menacing innocents." No, *Time* was not describing the U.S.-Soviet nuclear war dance, which truly represents the state of the art, the "last word," in "holding the world hostage." As for "wresting political concessions by menacing innocents," this aptly characterizes the U.S. Contra campaign in Central America, the Israeli invasion and occupation of Lebanon, or the marauding butchery of the South African regime throughout southern Africa. Indeed, "menacing innocents" is standard operating procedure for imperialism and the reactionary classes it maintains in

power the world over.

Most of the world's peoples would have undoubtedly been surprised to learn that they had been "held hostage" by the hijackers aboard the Kuwaiti Airways passenger plane. While U.S. officials were railing against this "atrocious," the "gruesome, terrible scene" at the Tehran airport, there was no shortage of genuine atrocities elsewhere in the world this past week. The area around Bhopal was still thick with the smoke from some 2,500 funeral pyres, while in Sri Lanka, government soldiers, with U.S. backing and Israeli advisors in the field, were murdering more than 100 members of the Tamil minority. Famine death stalks Ethiopia and 20 other African nations. The dungeons and detention centers in Pinochet's Chile were filled with the screams of the tortured and abused, as several thousand new political prisoners arrested in recent weeks were being "interrogated." In South Africa, more were killed in the streets by police, and a Catholic Bishops' report was made public, citing among other things the kind of violence used by the state against black miners last Sept. during a one-day legal strike — how they were beaten in their sleep by riot police breaking into their homes, while attack dogs, rubber bullets, and live ammunition were used against them in the streets.

Much of the above did not make headlines last week, much less occasion an outcry from the molders of public opinion. This is a very different picture than that offered by the mainline media, the

accumulation of horrors under imperialism, the pervasiveness of a brutal, systematic terror upon which imperialist rule and relations rest. For the most part, such things do not qualify as "news" in the first place, and when they do, we receive only the flickering of shadows, disfigured representations filtered through the lens of imperialist interest, worldview, and prejudice.

All of this provides a necessary context in which to view the U.S. campaign against "terror." It is not simply that the U.S. maintains a duplicitous standard, or even that "one man's freedom fighter is another man's terrorist," as some liberals allow. By any objective standard, the U.S. stands as the foremost source of anti-civilian terror in the world (if the Soviets, presiding over a smaller sphere of influence, rate second, it isn't for lack of trying, as the war in Afghanistan and activities elsewhere show). This is not simply a matter of a depraved policy (though it is certainly that), but one of imperialism's very survival. Brutal Third World regimes have always been a mainstay of imperialist domination; as imperialism's crisis intensifies, the application of increasingly systematic, widespread terror becomes more central still to maintaining these relations. And as imperialism confronts its only real "solution" to its crisis, a third world war, it comes ever closer to unleashing the ultimate thermonuclear terror in its arsenals. In the interim, in active preparation for global, toe-to-toe confrontation, we have the proliferation of covert wars, the Contra campaign against Nicaragua, the U.S.-South African ventures in Namibia, Angola, etc.

That the U.S. could be hoisting the banner of "antiterrorism," even as it has intensified its own export of the same, attests to the hypocrisy and duplicity of its rulers, and the gullibility (or cultivated cynicism) of its more respectable citizenry. But more is involved here than malignant fantasy. A Pentagon document earlier this year stated that terrorism had become "tantamount to an act of war," and the campaign against terrorism has itself become virtually tantamount to a generalized declaration of war.

This campaign stems from a number of imperatives — the growing difficulties of the U.S. in the Middle East, where anti-American sentiment is running high, where the U.S. has begun to reap a small part of what it has sown, in Lebanon and elsewhere. Its diplomatic installations have earned a burgeoning popularity as targets for attack — and *this*, in the words of George Shultz, represents "a brutal challenge to the international community as well as the most elementary standards of justice and humanity."

The crusade against "terror" resonates well with the overall imperatives of U.S. imperialism, locked in mortal conflict with the Soviet Union — for "terror" is portrayed as being as congenial to the method and outlook of the Evil Empire as it is supposedly repugnant to the Great American Way. And the antiterror campaign, with its growing emphasis on "preemptive strikes" against presumed "terrorist" targets, reflects the need by the U.S. to remove remaining obstacles in deploying its own military force across the globe — certainly in the Middle East, where the U.S. is determined that its present difficulties do not translate into significant Soviet gain.

This campaign has been given increasing definition and weight over the past year, with Sec. of State Shultz leading the charge. Addressing the subject on Oct. 25, Shultz called for a "strategy" of

preemption, retaliation, and surprise, emphasizing the need to strike against terrorists even if it meant the killing of innocent civilians. While Shultz's remarks here and elsewhere have mainly targeted the "terrorist states" of Iran, Libya, and Syria as particular objects of concern, the general principles here, and the lingo — "preemptive and retaliatory strikes," etc. — are no less applicable to nuclear warfighting. And in an administration marked by its quest to present a "nukem till they glow" Armageddon as the fulfillment of Judeo-Christian prophecy, Shultz has not been remiss in appropriating the required religious justification for his position. Examining the "moral" dimensions of the antiterrorism crusade on Dec. 9, he invoked the Talmud as providing the "universal law of self-defense," quoting the passage, "If one comes to kill you, make haste and kill him first." A lofty principle indeed, and one that translates conveniently into today's world — "Shoot first, invent a pretext later." And make no mistake, Shultz is talking about something bigger than more effective covert counterterrorist activities — "We will need the capability to act on a moment's notice. There will not be time for a renewed national debate after every terrorist attack."

As for the hijacking in Tehran, it ended Dec. 9 when Iranian troops stormed the plane and freed the remaining hostages. But the file is far from closed. One of the returning Americans, along with a British pilot aboard the plane, refuted charges that Iran had acted in concert with the hijackers, and spoke favorably of the Iranian rescue effort. But the dominant theme being sounded in Washington is something else again.

Open, pointed speculation over Iranian complicity with the hijackers had been sounded earlier, while the hijacking was still in progress. A "senior official" told the press that "The Iranians seem very sympathetic to the hijackers. They certainly have made no move to capture them." Other commentators have pointed, with barely disguised anger, at the large sign on the international terminal at Mehrabad Airport, "Death to the USA," concluding that the Iranians, at the very least, were showing undue "sympathy" towards the gunmen.

By these standards, it is instructive to look again at the McDonald's mass killing last July in San Ysidro, California (see *RW* No. 270 for details), where the SWAT team waited an hour and ten minutes before shooting James Huberty, who all the while continued to shoot his victims, some for a second or third time, inside the building. (One could say that the cops were certainly in sympathy with Huberty — almost all the victims were Mexican or Mexican-American — if not in outright complicity.)

In any event, since the release of the hostages, such publicly aired American doubts have turned to open accusations. Certainly the hijacking put Iran's rulers in a difficult place — caught as they were between the hard edges of their "anti-imperialist" posture on the one hand, and the demonstrated desire of Iran's leaders, more manifest in recent months, to improve relations with the West on the other. The U.S. appears determined to keep the issue alive and kicking, at the very least in an attempt to intensify this contradiction further. More, the bellicosity of current U.S. denunciations shows it to be actively stoking the fires. "Antiterrorist" strikes, whether preemptive or retaliatory, from the foremost terrorist power on earth, loom more ominously on the horizon. □

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'Slaughter Sikhs!'

**— Congress(I)'s Tribute
to Mrs. Gandhi**

The following are major excerpts from an article in the November issue of Mass Line, a revolutionary internationalist newspaper in India. The article is an on-the-spot exposure of the hand of the Congress-I Party, the Indian police and the army in the brutal attacks on Sikhs following the death of Indira Gandhi.

respective areas detailing shops and houses of the Sikhs. Those staying as renters were thrown out, chased, stoned and clobbered. Some were killed. The Cong-I was awarded three field days, starting 1 November (later proved by further evidence) and they systematically went around burning gurdwaras, shops and houses; Sikhs were lynched. Sikh drivers were burnt alive along with their vehicles. Vehicles owned by Sikhs and driven by non-Sikhs — papers were checked — were made bonfires, after removing the drivers. Taxis carrying Sikhs were upturned and put to the torch, with the Sikhs inside. Even schools and institutions owned by Sikhs were not left out; factories owned or partnered by Sikhs were reduced to ash. Large-scale carnages were carried out in the resettlement colonies of Trilokpuri, Kalyanpuri, Jahangirpuri, Sultanpuri and Mongolpuri. In front of an onlooking, partisan police hundreds of people were roasted alive, Sikh passengers were pulled out from trains and brutally murdered. In some cases burnt alive, weeping children thrown into the roasting fire; in the case of others, dead bodies were run over by making trains move over. Throughout the Hindi belt this is the general picture of the events staged. Rumours, all against Sikhs, were deliberately spread, keeping alive the tempo of aggression — this up to 3rd November when Mrs. Gandhi's body was torched. This is how the Cong-I paid its rich tributes to Mrs. Gandhi, the giant killer — a sacrifice of two thousand lives in Delhi alone.

Inspired and led by Cong-I, riots broke out late afternoon of 31 October. The starting point was the premises of the All India Institute of Medical Sciences in which the Cong-I leadership, local councillors and MPs were able to meet. The official announcement of Mrs. Gandhi's death was consciously delayed (till Rajiv's succession was ensured), during which time plans and arrangements for the ensuing lynching were made. Thus no sooner was the announcement made, attacks were mounted on every Sikh in sight, their vehicles and shops burnt, smashed. This was the modus operandi of Cong-I to be followed throughout Delhi and adjoining areas with deadly effectiveness, for several successive days. Many other States also witnessed a similar pattern of bestial attack on the Sikh people.

Operation Blue Star-II was under way. The main differences from the first "operation" lay in this that the lieutenants now were the lumpen leaders of the ruling party itself and that the theatre of operation was shifted to areas outside Punjab; and the anti-Sikh passions of the Hindu population, systematically reared up by the government propaganda machinery in the last so many years, could be utilized to the hilt. The 31st's agenda was mainly stoning and killing. Meanwhile the local Cong-I stalwarts had completed their survey of

Behind the brutal massacre and massive loot no foreign hand was at work. It was an open assault organised by the communal government and the ruling party on a people. Evidences abound. The situation was hardly mysterious, rather it was clear as crystal with Cong-I communal fangs coming out into the open. Far from being passively communal, Delhi police was seen participating actively in the riots. The withdrawal of Sikh police personnel (who constitute 20% of DP) made DP even more communal, and this move on the part of the authorities is not in the least innocent. The inexplicable (and unexplained) long delays in coming to the rescue of the affected, telephone number 100 (published as the number for emergency police help) being "out of order" or engaged, dumping a large chunk of the armed forces in the Teen Murti Bhavan premises, etc. stand as accusing fingers to the government-Cong-I plot.

Opposition parties and the press argued that the riots should and could have been put down. As example they pointed out how during Janata rule the Cong-I riots (triggered by the arrest of Mrs. Gandhi) were checked. But they had missed the point: for now with Cong-I and the government itself jointly stagemanaging the "holocaust", who

was supposed to contain it? Out of the many names of Cong-I functionaries in Delhi cited by those attacked, those of Sajjan Kumar, Kamal Nath, HKL Bhagat (Union Minister for Information and Broadcasting), and Dharma Dass Shastri stand out. At All India Institute of Medical Sciences the local councillor and his followers had given the lead to start the attack. In Connaught Place and Rikabganj, Kamal Nath led the 'loot-mar' march, while HKL Bhagat, with his numerous cohorts, could rampage the trans-Yamuna colonies. In terms of the number of killings, Bhagat ranks first among the Cong-I leaders. The massacre conducted at Trilokpuri was the ghastliest and among all the killings that occurred throughout the country now the one in block 32 of this colony is the biggest. One thousand people were finished off in Trilokpuri. The chief men behind this gory undertaking: Rampal Saroj Dulichand, Sadar and Abdul Khan, a DTC bus conductor. These goons led Gujjars, poor people from the nearby village Chilla and municipality workers residing in a nearby block. Like in any other resettlement colony in Delhi, people here too are the forced slaves of Cong-I; from ration cards to the legal sanction for their jhuggies are provided by the Cong-I. This dependence turns them into the vote and rally banks of the ruling party, for whom mobilizing such a stratum for arsoning and rioting was the easiest thing to do. The assault in Kalyanpuri was led by one Dr Ashok, a Cong-I leader. In Shakarpur the local councillor and one Gupta a local ration shop owner held the reins. Gupta was giving kerosene free, and now he is under police protection. The same councillor, on 6 November approached the refugee camp set up in Shakarpur with a few blankets. As they saw him coming, the women and children of the camp started weeping and the men even challenged him. Instead of receiving his blankets they asked him to give some kerosene too! A few Sardars here told us that they were even ready to kill him, but that he never entered inside the gates and was guarded by the police. Blankets from Bhagat also were rejected here. In fact, Bhagat was stopped from entering any of the refugee camps by the inmates. The situation in the west side of Yamuna was no different. In Ashok Vihar, the local Youth Cong-I leader Sharad Agnihotri led a mob to burn down the house of Cong-I councillor Har-charan Singh Josh, as the latter was a Sikh. In Wazipur industrial area a dozen Sikh-owned factories were burnt.

Before sending blankets to the camp, HKL Bhagat was reported to have gone to Shahdara police station (on Nov 3) to get his people freed. Dharam Dass Shastri's intervention to have his men released in Karolbagh area was also widely reported. The fact that only the Cong-I leaders are pressing for the release of those arrested is enough to show their bloody hands. The Khadi-clad thugs were going around pointing out shops and houses to be razed. In Yamuna Vihar,

many of this scum made frequent visits in motor cycles and asked the rioters if everything was going fine or not! But the depth of their brutality came out when it was seen that they were among the first to organise "peace march" in Yamuna Vihar. Here the riots had been led by Harnautia from Ghonda who was notorious otherwise also. He was the one who had raped a poor girl in Delhi University hostel who was trying for a job. Many cases of rape have been reported in the present rioting; in Trilokpuri, women in large numbers were abducted and raped. In Sultanpuri and Mongolpuri, the Cong-I served liquor throughout a night, thus ensuring the killing spree of the following day. The link between many of many of the so-called mobs in rampage and Cong-I leaders was brought out clearly in Budh Vihar. There a group of reporters was surrounded by a mob and their writing pads were snatched off. On approaching the local police station they saw the local Cong-I seated there: the latter advised the reporters not to make an issue of the whole affair, assuring the return of their belongings from the mob.

Apart from Cong-I hands, the hands of the police have also been revealed by all national dailies. The part played by the police in spreading rumours of Sikh retaliation was crucial. Further, they aided the mobs in a variety of ways in looting and killing. In Bhajanpura the policemen passed matches to the killers to set some bodies afire. When the Yamunapuri police was telephoned for help the reply was: if they are 'mona' (Sikhs who wear their hair short, with no turban) they should keep quiet but if Sikh, "we are helpless". In the same police station some students happened to overhear a conversation between a police official and Cong-I hoodlums. This was on 4 November. The police official said, "Rajiv gave three days for you to do, but you haven't done much". As with the police so with the army that was deployed. An army personnel was reported to have told the mobs not to do anything in front of the troops but no one will bother them if they do anything anywhere else. Evidences of the police killing Sikhs, handing them over to killers are also there. Three Sikhs handed over to the police in Yamunapuri by people to ensure their safety were found dead on 2nd November morning near the police station.

When Guru Harkrishan Public School was set on fire under the leadership of the local Cong-I veterans of Munirka, Delhi police stood as an approving onlooker. Deep Cinema (owned by a Sikh) in Ashok Vihar was attacked thrice to raze it down; right in front is the local police station. Many instances of Sikh people pushed off police jeeps (in which they tried to escape from the mobs) are reported — e.g., Hardev Singh of Vikas Nagar, Gurdeep Singh of Nandnagari. Policemen themselves killed Sikhs in Sultanpuri, eg, by Hari Ram Bhatti, an

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Bhopal: The Crime and The Cover-up

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it, obviously disproved these reports. And despite all these reports, corporation officials would actually turn around and declare they had "no knowledge" of what was going on inside that plant, blaming it, moreover, on the Indian management! (Why were the reports released in the first place? Damage control. The incriminating document was in the hands of people in India none too friendly to Union Carbide, and would have been exposed anyway.)

This inspection tour was not carried out by people hostile to Union Carbide. In fact, the inspectors were sent from Union Carbide's headquarters and their report — or at least what has been made public — was accompanied by a cover which, incredibly enough, seemed to contradict the content of the report by declaring that the inspectors actually found nothing that posed "an immediate danger" or "required immediate correction." Union Carbide has seen to it that these inspectors are now conveniently unavailable for questioning.

The company has also been at a loss to offer more than the most superficial explanation for what might have caused the pressure buildup in the methyl isocyanate storage tank and the leakage of more than 3,000 gallons of the gas into the air. It was just "a mysterious chemical reaction." Apparently one is expected to believe that there is no connection at all between the conditions that existed in the factory in the years prior to the leak and the leak itself. Never mind that the inspection report directly points out the potential for contamination in the methyl isocyanate tank — an occurrence which would lead to a violent chemical reaction. According to one report in the New Delhi paper *The Patriot*, there were reports of an explosion heard up to one kilometer away from the plant on the night of the leak — a fact which would indicate that there was indeed a violent chemical reaction inside the storage tank.

Nor is Union Carbide all that eager to talk about the relationship between so much methyl isocyanate stored in Bhopal and the potential for a catastrophic gas leak that it represents. According to both Indian and British press reports, it is highly irregular for such large quantities of methyl isocyanate to be held in storage because of its extreme toxicity and volatility. (Storing large quantities clearly is dangerous. How irregularly this occurs is obviously questionable!) Pesticide producers, according to the story, keep just enough of the gas on hand for immediate use; and even then, when the gas is stored it is allegedly kept under elaborate safety conditions. In response to questions about this, Union Carbide officials stated that they stored the gas because the process of producing it was plagued with "breakdowns" and so, when the production ran smoothly, they simply produced lots of it.

What is left out here, however, is important given the subsequent "mysterious chemical reaction." When methyl isocyanate is stored there is a tendency for minuscule amounts of impurities in it to settle out and over a period of time form a sludge on the bottom of the tank which must then be cleaned out or it will react with the methyl isocyanate. In the case of the Bhopal plant the methyl isocyanate had been stored for over a month since the factory had stopped producing pesticides altogether in October due to "unfavorable market conditions." The stuff was simply allowed to sit there, a catastrophe waiting to happen, the people of Bhopal be damned!

Whatever may have happened to cause the initial reaction in the storage tank, there were at least supposed to be a couple of safety systems set up to deal with the effects of the reaction. In the days immediately following the leak, Union Carbide officials swore that these systems existed but were just overwhelmed by the unexpected onrush of leaking gas. One of these systems was a vent scrubber system designed to neutralize any escaping gas.

According to Union Carbide officials this system failed because it couldn't control such a large amount of gas at one time. Actually, the reason this system couldn't deal with the emergency was that one of the two existing vent scrubbers was *completely inoperable* and had been for weeks prior to the leak. The second safety system, a flare designed to burn off any unutilized escaping gas, simply failed to ignite. In addition, an important control panel which would have indicated the increasing pressure and temperature inside the storage tank to the workers before it reached a critical point was also inoperable.

During the first week after the leak none of this was revealed. Instead, it was covered over in the U.S. press by constant reports on Union Carbide's "excellent safety record." While initial reports spoke of at least one and maybe two previous accidents at the plant, by December 10 the U.S. press had to report on Indian press stories stating that there had been at least six accidents at the Bhopal plant since it was opened. Accounts of the number of deaths are contradictory. But it was stated that in one 1982 accident, thousands were forced to flee from the same slums covered by the deadly gas on December 3 of this year. Further, trade union spokesmen in Bhopal stated that gas leaks were quite common, and one worker reported that there had been a methyl isocyanate leak in the plant just a few days before the December 3 catastrophe. Other trade union officials said that the plant management constantly told them "not to worry" about the leaks. They were told that the gas "would only cause itching in the eyes and washing them in cold water was the immediate remedy."

Standards

At first, Union Carbide tried to deny the differences in safety standards between U.S. and Indian operations. No imperialism here! Within days, however, they dropped this farce, admitting significant differences, trying to say "rest easy, America." Meanwhile, all the more light was cast on their criminal activities in Bhopal.

Newsweek stated that in some plants in the U.S. and Europe there is not only a computerized early warning system in operation but a computer which "senses leaks when they occur, monitors their rate, concentration and toxicity, evaluates weather conditions and displays the anticipated cloud on a computer screen with the degree of danger for anything in its path." This same system can dial phone numbers and play recorded warning messages. All of this can be accomplished within five minutes. In French and West German plants using methyl isocyanate, elaborate and technologically advanced safety systems are the rule. In France the computerized warning system is sensitive enough to pick up a leak as small as 0.3 parts gas per million parts air. When a leak or temperature increase is detected, this system is capable of triggering off an elaborate sprinkler system which will then flood the storage drum with 80,000 gallons of water per hour. A West German plant employs a full-time fire brigade equipped with 50-foot-high mobile towers from which they can drench methyl isocyanate storage tanks with tremendous amounts of water. This plant also has a mobile chemical emergency unit which can smother a leaking storage tank in foam in eight minutes and then can suck up 46,000 gallons of leaking gas.

Not in Bhopal. There the plant was entirely dependent on manually operated safety systems and warning alarms. Methyl isocyanate tanks in Bhopal were easily overfilled since they were filled manually and not monitored by any other instruments. When the December 3 leak first broke out workers attempted to call a supervisor but the phones didn't work, so one worker had to run over six miles in order to get to the supervisor's house. Inside the plant the only backup safety system available was two workers with

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Poison and "Pro

The Bhopal death cloud has sharply focused attention on previously hidden sides of the U.S. imperialists' operations in the Third World. A front-page article in the *Wall Street Journal*, on December 13, quotes Whitman Bassow of the World Environment Center ("an industry-backed group in New York") saying, "We've gotten away with it so far because there have been only minor tragedies. But the Union Carbide accident has really torn apart the whole cover on this, and things will never be the same again."

It is perhaps inevitable that apologists for U.S. imperialism would sooner or later dredge up one of their classic and most bloodthirsty self-justifications and thrust it into the public debate: they dare to assert that such accidents, while regrettable, are ultimately acceptable and necessary costs of "development" in backward countries, and that such "tragedies" are far outweighed by the miracles wrought through Western technology and Western capital. The following criminal words are from an editorial statement of the *Wall Street Journal*:

"...with recriminations flying, it is worthwhile to remember that the Union Carbide insecticide plant and the people surrounding it were where they were for compelling reasons. India's agriculture had been thriving, bringing a better life to millions of rural people, and partly because of the use of modern agricultural technology that includes applications of insect killers..." The *Journal* quotes the Soviet press that the "mass poisoning of the people of Bhopal" was for — what else? — the 'pursuit of high profits.' *Pravda* and Tass of course neglect to mention that India's agricultural progress has enabled it to ship its food surpluses to the food-short Soviet Union.... Indians need technology. Calcutta-style scenes of human deprivation can be replaced as fast as the country imports the benefits of the West's industrial revolution and market economies....

"It is also true that economic progress is not without its risks. The saving grace is that the benefits outweigh the costs. As a Georgia Tech doctor told the *New York Times*, 'Of those people killed, half would not have been alive today if it weren't for that plant and the modern health standards made possible by wide use of pesticides.' We don't need cost-benefit analyses to know the truth of that."

The ravings here are naked: straddling the corpses of thousands, these apologists of U.S. imperialism are demanding that the people of the world simply accept such crimes as the necessary cost of their own "backwardness."

Not only is this vicious in the extreme, but every assertion about the positive effects of imperialist "development" is a cynical lie. In the wake of Bhopal, numerous examples of the actual effect of this development in the Third World have come to light, focusing on the introduction of pesticides in India and elsewhere, that provide a damning sketch of the realities these imperialists distort.

Ruin in the Wake of "Progress"

The fairy tale connected with American penetration is that the technologies introduced as part of such "development aid" are simply neutral "progress." The farmers are able to grow more crops thanks to new strains, machines, fertilizers and pesticides. They are not only able to eat better, but able to sell their new surpluses. The result is that wealth accumulates, debts are paid, and the benefits ripple through the economy in the form of investment funds. Thanks to a

little yankee know-how, given freely and generously, powerful bootstraps to progress are forged.

Reality is far different. From the "Green Revolution" of the late '60s until today, the technologies and the loans of imperialism have played a major role in changes taking place within the Indian countryside. The actual outcome for the broad masses of people has been that new forms of degradation and oppression have been heaped up, alongside the traditional brutality of feudal relations. Because these modern techniques demanded far more capital than previous farming, where these means were introduced they benefited rich farmers, who became more productive and able to undersell and ruin millions of smaller peasants. The result was the fattening of a new stratum of exploiter in the countryside, which based itself on these "modern" techniques instead of the stagnating "traditional" ones. Millions of landless peasants were driven into the shantytown slums surrounding the cities, exacerbating exactly those "Calcutta-style scenes of human deprivation" the *Wall Street Journal* claims to abhor. Millions of those who remained on the land were forced into the role of rural laborers for the new rich farmers.

In short, it is a lie to portray the injection of "modern" technologies (along with the Western capital behind them) as some neutral "progress" for the Indian countryside, let alone a liberating step for the masses of people. In those regions in which these modes of production have penetrated, the maddening oppression of the Indian peasant has been twisted into some new forms, which thrive alongside the old ones; while the country as a whole has had new financial ropes of debt and dependency applied, binding it more securely into its neocolonial status.

More Food at Least?

What about the lie raised above, that these technologies and investments have banished hunger in India by siring a modern agriculture, and even "producing a surplus" that is salable to the crisis-ridden Soviet Union?

First of all, hunger has hardly been banished. India has a per capita consumption of food that is far below the world average. Expressed another way: there is no doubt that India has a larger number of hungry people than any other single country on Earth, and that millions live permanently poised on the edge of starvation. Further, this is integrally related to the introduction of imperialist technology (including, of course, the extensive use of pesticides).

For one thing, the millions driven into the vast slums of the cities had been separated from any connection to the land and any possibility of raising even subsistence food themselves. Food would now have to be bought — and there is little doubt that for these urban poor, whole new and extreme dangers of starvation confronted them which had been more rare in their villages: there was that very "modern" form of starvation that comes from being forced to sell labor power, and being "free" to die if that sale is unsuccessful.

But even for those who remained in the countryside, and who applied new agricultural techniques as hired laborers or farmers, there was often an adverse effect on diet. Dr. Karim Ahmed (a Pakistani pesticide expert connected with the National Resource Defense Council) gave an example of this to the *RW*, pointing out that in one region of India, peasants had for centuries alternated one annual grain harvest with one annual legumes harvest,

Tomatoes being raised in Mexico for U.S. tables (and a workers' camp) sprayed with a cloud of weed-killer.

gress"

producing a traditional diet of complementary amino acids based on the two crops. With the introduction of new hybrid grains capable of having two crops a year, and with the intrusion of market forces compelling peasants to plant both annual harvests in grain only in order to meet new costs — legumes (and with them, essential vitamins) fell out of production, and therefore out of the diet, producing new malnutrition, even among farmers producing more grain than they ever had before!

Finally, by pointing to Indian grain exports, and labeling them "grain surpluses," the *Wall Street Journal* is displaying the cynical sleight-of-hand of "free enterprise" defenders. Certainly India now exports grain — but since when does that prove that there is a "surplus," i.e., that the Indian masses have more than enough to eat! From a hungry country, grain is now shipped abroad in exchange for arms and more capital goods. The fact that it is the Soviet Union receiving, is not a sign that the USSR relies on the "benefits of the West's industrial revolution and market economics" via Indian agriculture. It is merely one more example of the social-imperialists themselves practicing a little "free enterprise" of their own to bleed the Indian masses.

In fact, looking at the use of pesticides in the Third World more broadly than just India, all this becomes even more clear. According to David Weir, author of the book *Circle of Poison*, fully 70% of the crops grown with pesticides in the Third World are used for export, not to feed the people in those countries. In his words, pesticides are a "link in the integration of these countries into a modern, agricultural supermarket" — and far from expanding their ability to feed their own populations, it transforms many countries into food importers for the first time and binds them all the more tightly within the murderous coils of the imperialist world system.

One food activist interviewed by the *RW*, Greta Goldenman, gave a particularly gruesome example of the present state of affairs in India. She cited a study of the Thanjavur District where rice yields have climbed to three times the national Indian average, at least in part due

to technologies like pesticides and chemical fertilizers. Meanwhile, two-thirds of the agricultural labor became landless, and as many as 50% were forced to leave the area. Among those who remain on the land, she told us, studies show that their major source of protein is now the rats who live among the granaries.

Poisoning the Third World

Alongside these socioeconomic effects of "modern" technique comes the mass poisoning by these newly introduced agricultural chemicals. Imperialism nowhere has the slightest concern for human life,

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Bhopal: The Crime and The Cover-up

Continued from page 8

hoses attempting to spray water on the gas and disperse or neutralize it before it escaped. When all attempts to control the leak failed one worker ended up having to literally crawl up onto the tank and attempt to manually plug the leak.

The "division of standards" is not accidental: it is the product of a basic division in the world between oppressor and oppressed countries. So are events in the wake of the disaster.

Many people in Bhopal are dying because of a paucity of medical care. The hospitals in Bhopal have been filled to capacity with only a tiny fraction of those affected by the gas being served. 10-20,000 of the 200,000 treated for injuries require hospitalized observation, but there is only room for about 2,000 of them. Literally everything is in short supply: basics like oxygen, respirators and medication have to be shipped into the area. In lieu of medication people are being treated with whatever is available including antacid, stomach pills, glucose and pain killers.

But Union Carbide's man, Jackson Browning, can still declare the corporation — and America — innocent. After all, he insisted, Union Carbide trained local doctors in India in "how to deal with toxic poisoning but how they communicated with their local residents I don't know." In fact, according to the doctors in Bhopal, Union Carbide has not even informed them of exactly what gas leaked, what its chemical makeup is, or what its effects are and if there is any possible antidote for it. As a result, these doctors have been reduced to treating symptoms only and have little idea about the actual impact and effect of the gas on their patients. Interestingly enough, numerous scientists in India and Western Europe are convinced that methyl isocyanate was not the only gas involved in the leak. According to these scientists, all of the evidence available, including the symptoms in the victims and the effect of the gas on local vegetation, points to the involvement of phosgene. Given that phosgene was one of the first chemical weapons ever developed, it is not

too surprising that, for political reasons, neither Union Carbide nor the U.S. is too eager to admit that in fact this gas may have been involved.

It is also worth noting here that very few people living in the slums around the Bhopal plant had any idea of what was actually being produced in it. Some people were actually under the impression that it produced medicine! When the factory warning siren finally sounded on December 3, many people in the shantytowns thought that the factory was on fire and rushed towards it in order to help put out the flames.

Junior Partners in Crime

Naturally, the Indian government also attempted to cover up its role and cast the blame elsewhere. In a panic fueled by the extremely fragile position of the current regime, the regime has gone to great lengths to separate itself off from the gas leak and Union Carbide. Local authorities have strenuously professed their ignorance of any danger connected with the Bhopal plant and what it produced. Unfortunately for these officials, the record reads differently.

As early as 1975 an administrator of the Bhopal municipal commission and the architect of urban planning in the area began a campaign to stop the construction of the Union Carbide facility. Based on the potential danger of the factory, this individual recommended that it be built elsewhere. Instead of moving the factory the government transferred the troublemaker to the Department of Forestry. After the first accident at the plant, the state government formed a one-member commission of inquiry to investigate. The situation was so bad that even this farcical commission had to issue a report warning of a possible catastrophe and calling for a rigorous application of safety measures inside the plant. After a few other accidents, more commissions of inquiry were started only to have the results of each squelched by government officials. When the issue of the potential danger of the plant was raised to the state assembly in 1982, the labor minister promptly declared that there was

Experts

In response to Bhopal, American authorities were quick to promise that experts would be flown to India. True to their word! According to wire-service accounts, *chemical warfare* experts from the United States, West Germany and Britain are flooding into the Indian city. Making their calculations over the bodies of last week's victims, they are sharpening their skills for even greater crimes in the making.

no danger to Bhopal, that there never would be, and that safety measures at the plant were foolproof. He totally dismissed the idea of moving the plant based on it being a \$25 million investment and "not a little stone."

Also in 1982 an Indian journalist began publishing articles agitating against the factory and using the secret safety report mentioned above to back up his argument. This journalist's most recent article appeared in June of this year. The official government response to these articles was to denounce them as "alarmist." This journalist even wrote to the head of the state government but received no reply. In 1983 the state government renewed the factory's license to operate supposedly on the condition that the safety problems were rectified.

Now, however, the Indian government would prefer that people forget all this. In their rush to cover themselves, especially in light of the upcoming elections, the ruling regime has quickly turned on its old cronies at Union Carbide, especially those involved in the Indian subsidiary company. The Central Bureau of Investigation has issued a preliminary report which pins blame for the crime on Union Carbide. Five officials of Union Carbide have been held under house arrest since the day of the leak. And when Warren Anderson, the chairman of Union Carbide, came to Bhopal a few days after the leak, he was detained and held under house arrest as soon as he stepped off the plane. The Bhopal police have even gone so far as to seize all of the Bhopal factory's records and logbooks.

In addition to covering up their own involvement, the Indian government may very well have had other motives for arresting Anderson and other Union Carbide officials as well as for seizing the records. As Anderson himself put it, it seemed like it was done to protect him more than anything else. This would certainly explain why he was held in the posh guest house belonging to the Union Car-

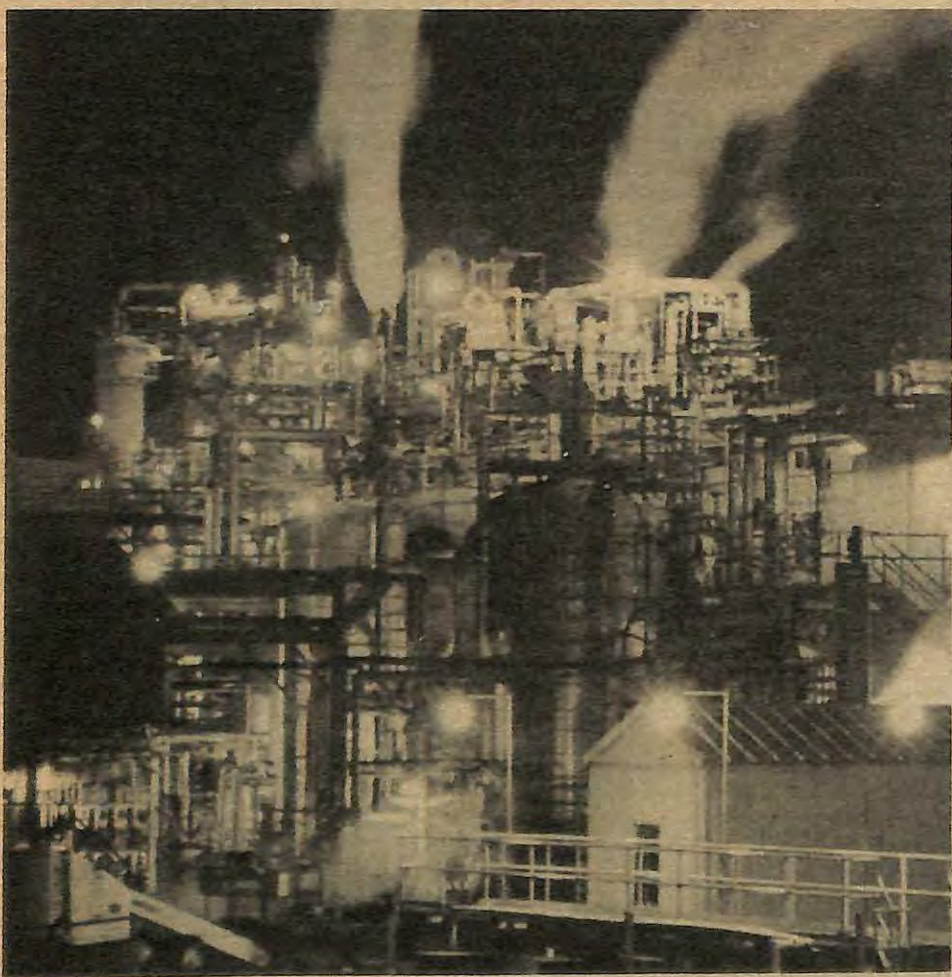
bide plant and was released six and a half hours later on a ridiculous bail of \$2,500 with the sole condition being that he leave the area because his presence might "provoke strong passions against him." The Bhopal police have admitted as much themselves. According to the State Director of Information, Anderson was held because the government could not guarantee his safety. This point was dramatically shown by the more than 100 demonstrators marching outside the Union Carbide guest house while Anderson was being held and carrying banners which militantly expressed their profound outrage. Also, the charges brought against the Union Carbide officials are, according to the Indian press, usually the charges that are brought against someone involved in a *car accident* in Bhopal and nothing more serious!

And in America...

In America, Anderson was handled differently — here was the gutsy exec-on-the-spot, braving "the storm," flying to India to personally "take things in hand." The whole world is denouncing Anderson & Co. as murderers — but in America, they're treated like heroes! Consistent with this is the posture of the leaders of state. Ronald Reagan went through an entire press conference without even mentioning Bhopal. Instead, Reagan, Shultz and the rest of them spent the week prattling about the "barbarity" of the hostage incident in Iran! Is there no limit?

It is U.S. imperialist political power that provides the international framework for these corporations, and the crimes. If the deafening silence is intended to cover this, it is a pitifully feeble effort, and an ugly self-exposure. If it is meant to cover the panic which has obviously set in over the "U.S. future" in India, then we should say, "Your problems are just beginning" — and as proof, point to the demonstration in Bhopal last week which demanded "no more factories like this here or anywhere in the world." □

...And in West Virginia



Over the last two weeks, since the Bhopal massacre, the U.S. has crowded over how good the American people have it. Thousands may die in India, but it could never happen here — and the case in point has been Union Carbide's sister plant in Institute, West Virginia, where methyl isocyanate is also being used. But imperialism churns up crimes of reaction here in the mother country as well.

When Union Carbide needed to convert one of its West Virginia plants from rubber to lethal toxins, they were careful to take the "human factor" into account. Their South Charleston plant (in a white suburb) remained with the more benign production. And the plant in Institute, then an all-Black town, was converted to poisons.

When confronted by outraged residents of the area this week complaining that they were never informed of the nature of the production, and were never given an evacuation plan, Union Carbide's spokesman Dick Henderson retorted that the residents of Institute were indeed fully informed, and he produced a 1952 newspaper article which mentioned what the factory produced and stored. Henderson quipped: "Do you want an update every six months that we're still making it?"

Despite the hush-hush treatment of details, however, life in the chemical belt of West Virginia's Kanawha Valley gives daily evidence of the noxious vapors being unleashed on inhabitants. Reports are now surfacing that people have been

waking up to find their cars pitted and corroded over night, and even of clothes stored in closets becoming suddenly faded because of substances in the air. One resident told the *RW* that it was impossible to sleep with open windows, even during the summer, because the cover of night was used to vent noxious gases. A 1981 survey has now surfaced that reveals that all 9 major chemical companies in the valley knowingly vented highly toxic carcinogens into the air routinely, and in massive amounts: 140 tons of chloroform annually, 100 tons of formaldehyde, 100 tons of methylene chloride, etc., etc.

The health statistics have also surfaced to hammer home the results of this: the Kanawha valley has a cancer rate 25% above the national average. And there are numerous cases of whole crews of workers in some parts of the chemical production dying of rare, job related cancers.

Here too the bourgeois press has tried to promote the grossest reaction. Daily in West Virginia they remind everyone that the state has the country's highest rate of unemployment, and that the chemical industry is the "only healthy employer around" — if a "healthy employer" requires dying inhabitants, there is no doubt of the choice the masses are supposed to make. Daily, idiots are promoted in the press who proclaim they would gladly die a slow, cancerous death in exchange for a secure job! Truly, they have great faith in America. □

A Really Grand Opening

On December 8 in New York City a very successful Grand Opening was held for the new and expanded Revolution Books. A crowd of approximately 300 people attended the opening throughout the afternoon. Punk haircuts were seen alongside greying heads as people of all ages and different nationalities, students, professors, musicians, writers, proletarians and people who own shops or live nearby came in. The store's bright new banner flying over 15th St. (halfway between busy 5th Ave. and Union Square) drew in many passersby. The Grand Opening was highlighted by a number of poets and authors who were scheduled to read from their works as part of the celebration.

Cherrie Moraga, of Kitchen Table: Women of Color Press, who is a poet and author of *Loving in the War Years* and co-editor of *This Bridge Called My Back* and *Cuentos: Stories by Latinas*, commented that many women come to New York to meet up with other women of color doing political work, and that she has "felt a great frustration saying, 'go to this bookstore for that and then to this one for that'... if there's a way that we can develop a sister-brother, sister-sister, whatever, people relationship in terms of being able to say yes, this is a place where you can be assured you will find the material, and if the material is not there they will get it for you. ... I feel that for anybody who at all sees books as part of political activism, it could really work out."

She then read some of her poems and several poems by Mila Aguilar, a Filipina poet who is now a political prisoner of the Marcos regime and whose poems will soon be published by Kitchen Table.

John Wiener, author of *Come Together: John Lennon in His Time*, talked about his efforts to uncover FBI and INS surveillance and harassment of Lennon during 1971 and 1972, as part of collecting material for his book. He also commented on the store, mentioning specifically that he was "pleased to see the bookstore has a section on Left-wing culture and the politics of culture. ... Just today, to research an article, I needed a copy of Marx's *Civil War in France* — this is a book you cannot get at B. Dalton's. So I'm very happy to see it right here at a good price; and if I ever needed Abbie Hoffman's *Dancing in the Ice Age*, I could get that here, too. So I think this bookstore is a great place and I'm delighted to see my book in such good company."

Several spoke of the difficulties in getting radical and progressive books published and distributed. Conrad Lynn, long-time activist and civil rights attorney, spoke of some of his experiences in writing his biography, *There is a Fountain*. Kassahun Checole, of Africa World Press, related how AWP had been formed to publish the works of African thinkers and revolutionaries which major publishers refused to touch. He mentioned that many of the authors published by AWP are now imprisoned, six in Kenya

alone, and that all their books are banned in South Africa.

Raymond Lotta, author of *America in Decline*, spoke briefly about the state of the world today and linked that with the importance of Revolution Books. "When you consider the enormity of problems that exist in the world and the enormous potential for revolutionary change and transformation, and when we look at what mainstream academia or bourgeois thought offers us, then this bookstore becomes that much more of a gem... and I think we all have to do everything in our power to preserve and build this bookstore and make sure others find out about it and use it."

Poetry readings by Pedro Pietri, author of *Puerto Rican Obituary* and *Lost in the Museum of Natural History*, and Luis Reyes Rivera, author of *This One's For You*, were enthusiastically received. The crowd listened, riveted, as Reyes concluded his reading with a not-yet-published poem which spoke of the "anger swelling up inside the heart of a poet" who longs to reach out and touch others.

The participation of these writers was a significant factor in the tremendous success of the Grand Opening as well as providing a taste of what Revolution Books plans to make a regular feature in its new location (which is four times larger than its previous storefront). Programs already planned for the next few months include a bilingual discussion on liberation theology with an author and an

editor from Orbis Books; a program on the Philippines with people from Kitchen Table Press and others; a discussion of the revolutionary war being waged today in Peru; and a poetry reading by Audre Lorde.

The need for more room to hold programs such as these was a major reason for the store's relocation, as was the need for room to display the more than 3,000 books and 140 periodicals which the store now carries. In the past year the staff has placed particular emphasis on expanding its selection of titles on Central America, the Caribbean and the Middle East, and has more than doubled its Spanish-language section, which now includes many hard-to-get books from Puerto Rican, Dominican and Central American publishers.

In the coming year they plan to further increase their stock to 4,000 titles, focusing immediately on expanding the section on the Philippines, the French, Arabic and Farsi sections and a children's books section.

The exciting atmosphere at this opening event, then, helped to set the tone for what Revolution Books hopes to become nationally, even internationally, known for: a center where progressive and revolutionary-minded people can find a broad array of literature, including the most radical, controversial and current titles, and the opportunity to discuss questions that are on the cutting edge of today's — and the future's — historic events. □

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Poison and "Progress"

Continued from page 9

and chemical death has certainly been widespread in the metropole countries as well — but the very lopsidedness of the world, and the oppressed condition of the Third World, all conspire to produce a massive chemical swath of death and injury in the path of this latest imperialist "progress."

Figures are sketchy. For example, Brazil, which is the Third World's largest consumer of such chemicals, simply does not compile national statistics on chemical poisoning. What is hidden below this statistical silence was indicated recently when the Bhopal accident prodded local officials in Parana (Brazil's leading farm state) to speak up. According to them, 64 people died in their state alone this year, and more than 3,000 have fallen ill from the toxins.

Independent researchers have been trying to obtain a global picture of the effects of pesticide use by piecing together their own data. According to figures given by David Weir, Africa, for example, has seen a quintupling of pesticide use in the last decade alone, a growth that is not atypical of other developing countries. Despite that growth, however, only one-sixth of pesticides are now used in the Third World. However, fully half of the 750,000 people who are poisoned annually are in the Third World. And of the almost 14,000 people who are estimated to be dying annually from such exposure, fully 10,000 (or 72%) are in the oppressed countries! And these, according to Weir, are carefully conservative estimates. The rate of death for people using pesticides in the Third World is therefore 10 times higher than it is in the advanced countries. And these figures for direct-contact poisonings don't include many long-range effects such as cancer and poisoning of food sources.

That these other poisonings are significant in their own right is revealed by another point raised by Weir: infamous chemicals like DDT and BHC which have been banned for domestic U.S. use and production, exactly because of their long-range effects, are still being widely applied in both India and Brazil (and throughout the oppressed countries) and

being produced there by both domestic and multinational companies.

Furthermore, in the production of toxic chemicals which takes place in the Third World, even the absurd "safety standards" afforded workers in the imperialist countries are totally absent. The *Wall Street Journal's* source, Mr. Bassow, commented that "It's doubtful that half the countries in Latin America even have an inspectorate" for state inspections of plants. And the *Wall Street Journal* further concedes that "some countries have occasionally provided a haven for hazardous industries. Romania and India... began making and exporting benzidine-based dyes after they were linked to cancer in the 1970s and U.S. production dropped off." Quoting Roger Moore, DuPont's director for Latin America: "In some countries, and I'd prefer not to name the countries, people have said, 'Pollution means progress.'"

Poisoning in the Third World Fields

The main exposure to these toxins, however, does not take place in production but rather in the countryside during and after their application to crops.

An article in the *New York Times* about Indonesian reactions to Bhopal mentioned almost incidentally that the dangers of pesticides were almost unknown among the hundreds of thousands of peasants applying them, and

West German poison tin being used as water container in Mexico.



that they had been promoted literally as a miracle cure-all for infestation problems. Add to that the simple fact that the printed warnings (if there are any!) on the containers of pesticides often have little meaning to the peasants of oppressed countries, where a multitude of different languages often are used in the rural areas, and where people often can't read anyway. And add the obvious fact that these people have little access to protective masks and clothing, and often little opportunity for thorough rinsing of the chemicals. A picture emerges of the widespread poisoning that takes place at the field level.

Dr. Karim Ahmed sketched the process of poisoning one step further when interviewed by the *RW*. You have to understand, he said, that these are economies where even disposable tin containers are extremely valuable. Given that the dangers of these chemicals are virtually unknown, such poison containers are widely reused, often after only a rinsing, and are beaten into roofing materials, or even applied to the transport of drinking water! This introduces the poisons to those villagers who may not work directly in the fields, and specifically contaminates children, who are especially vulnerable.

The "industry-backed" expert, Mr. Bassow, explained in the *Wall Street Jour-*

nal, that "We're thrusting 20th century technology into countries which aren't yet ready to deal with it." In fact, they are thrusting technology under certain specific social conditions: 20th-century imperialist relations.

The "development" here is the twisting, the degrading and the distorting of whole countries in the interests of international finance capital. And the principal result for the masses of people is the creation of new forms of oppression and misery. In the case of the "modern" techniques being discussed here, not only is there the massive ruination of millions of peasants, new forms of dependency forged through the linkages of loans and agricultural production for the international markets, but there is also the poisoning of almost a million people annually, with untold more who are going to show the cumulative effects only after decades of exposure and incubation.

Bhopal emerges as only the latest, the most massive, and the most visible peak in an iceberg of poisonings going on daily under the ministrations of imperialism. And poisoning as a whole is only one tiny piece in the far larger mosaic of imperialist crimes. Certainly every glimpse of these relations points out the urgent need for world revolution to abolish these relations between countries and between classes. What else can wrench the fate of billions of human beings from the grip of such utter vampires? □

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

Dear *RW*,

I am writing you this letter since it is my duty to reply to your call. I must be sincere. Firstly, the main thing for me is that the call is an act of the Revolutionary Communist Party (a participant in the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement) in their untiring task of preparing the masses and leading them in the revolutionary struggle for power and to thereby establish a socialist regime guided by the line of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

Here I would like to talk of the recent publication of the book, *A Horrible End, or An End to the Horror?*, written by Bob Avakian, the Chairman of the party. I can say that, in accordance with the political situation we face today and the necessity that exists today of raising the consciousness of the masses for that revolution, this new book becomes one more element to complement and assure that our revolution doesn't also fall or die a horrible end. At the same time and to emphasize further the content of the new book, let's examine it more closely. For example, as the imperialists desire to finish piece by piece their preparations for their longed-for nuclear war, the Revolutionary Com-

munist Party, USA also wants to finish piece by piece the preparations for a world revolutionary war with the proletariat as its base.

I am a supporter of this revolutionary party and as a Marxist proletarian, I have to say also that your recently distributed leaflet, "Let's End This Madness Before It Ends Us!", has been very effective for the masses and very offensive for the bourgeoisie, especially the part about "no business as usual." In fact, I distributed some leaflets and saw how it drew forth the revolutionary-minded people. In sum, it was a very strong call to the youth and all living beings with socialist ideals. But I must say that I feel a duty and I swear that I will fight not just for my people, but for all the many oppressed peoples of the world. And I know that victory is assured if we are united for revolution because things will change through struggle, not through the imperialist governments. But they must be struggles launched by the people that go forward towards socialism and lead me along.

A Salvadoran communist

(Translated from Spanish by the *RW*.)

Brown's Sweet Revenge Turns Sour

Continued from page 5

were soliciting students to violate international and national laws.

The testimony concerning the CIA came from one student who was part of a Witness for Peace delegation to Nicaragua last summer and who described the effects of the Contras' activities as witnessed in hospitals in Nicaragua. Stockwell's testimony pointed to both the CIA's history on college campuses — from covert recruiting to infiltrating political organizations — as well as details of CIA actions around the world: political assassinations, destabilizing and overthrowing governments and the U.S.'s latest CIA-sponsored activities in Nicaragua.

The *Brown Daily Herald (BDH)*, a campus paper, wrote that Stockwell "claimed the CIA has killed over one million Third World citizens living in 'targeted CIA battlefields.'" The paper continued, "in answer to a question asking whether all CIA employees must participate in illegal activities Stockwell likened anyone who works for the CIA in a minor capacity to the miners who supplied the coal for the railroad trains that took people to Auschwitz during World War 2."

Complicity

The trial of the sixty-eight students was successfully turned into an arena of ex-

posure of CIA atrocities as well as the fingering of Brown University complicity in its ardent protection of the CIA's "rights."

All sixty-eight students were found guilty — and actually eight of these students stated at the trial that they were not present during the protest but would have participated in it if they could have gotten inside the recruiting session. The students have been put on probation, meaning if they are found guilty of another university infraction they can be expelled. (Interestingly, one of those charged is a medical student who had a different set of "judges," three of whom wrote a seven-and-a-half page dissenting opinion arguing that the student should be found innocent.)

In protest over the verdict and to show that students would not be intimidated, a rally of three hundred students was held on campus on Monday, December 10 with students staging a silent walk at the administration offices.

News of the CIA protest and the trial at Brown University have been carried by the press in Rhode Island as well as picked up by major media such as the *Washington Post* and included interviews with students on Cable Network News. On the campus of old, respectable Brown, political protest continues to flame. □

U.S. Warships Call In China

A Disgraceful Return



In circumstances quite different than 35 years ago when U.S. imperialism was kicked out of China by the revolutionary army led by Mao Tsetung, an American warship will soon be making a port call at a Chinese port. The Secretary General of the Chinese Communist Party, Hu Yaobang, confirmed that China is opening its ports to the U.S. Navy, during a recent conversation with a group of Japanese and overseas Chinese businessmen.

According to a report published in the Chinese revisionists' English-language newspaper, *China Daily*, Hu said that although he ruled out a formal military alliance with the U.S., "American warships will be allowed to visit China's ports if they are on ceremonial call and the request is made through diplomatic channels."

It was a long-considered, highly symbolic move, first broached, some say, during Deng Xiaoping's trip to the U.S. in 1979. The possibility of such a port call has been brought up several times during the past year by U.S. officials, but this is the first time that a confirmation has come from a top Chinese official.

"Ceremonial"

No official details of the port call have been released. The *Far Eastern Economic Review*, however, revealed that a top-level Chinese naval delegation has been in the U.S. since mid-November and has been discussing, among other things, the visit by the U.S. Seventh Fleet. The *Review* also reported that Chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, General John Vessey, will visit China in January. The Vessey visit and the port call highlight the significant developments recently in China's military relations with the U.S., developments which have everything to do with the intense preparations for world war.

The port call has been described by both the American and Chinese sides as "ceremonial." It is true that this visit probably would not lead directly to regular U.S. Navy access to Chinese

ports, at least in the immediate future. However, a "ceremony" is often laden with symbolism, and the U.S. press has been quick to seize on, and gloat over, the historical significance of the port call. The *Los Angeles Times*, for instance, said that, "the U.S. Navy, which left Shanghai with a cruiser's gun trained on Communist troops as they took over the city in 1949, will return to China in 1985, showing off a destroyer...." The *Washington Post* pointed to "an interesting historical twist" to the return of U.S. warships to China: "the Seventh Fleet has long been a symbol of Sino-American hostility while it patrolled the Taiwan Straits from the Korean War to 1971, supposedly acting as a deterrent against an invasion of Taiwan." The Seventh Fleet, in fact, was attempting to strangle revolutionary China by setting up a naval blockade of the coast. That this very Seventh Fleet is now to be welcomed back should be enough to tear any remaining shreds of "anti-imperialist" veil off the face of the Deng regime.

But more than merely being the latest, and a most disgusting, display of the Chinese revisionists prostrating themselves at the feet of U.S. imperialism, the port call will be a dramatic signal of China's rapidly accelerating political and especially military integration into the U.S. war bloc. It's one thing to let Coca-Cola be sold all over China, to applaud U.S. efforts against "Soviet hegemonism," or even to discuss arms sales with Washington; it's quite another thing to open up a port to a U.S. destroyer possibly equipped with nuclear missiles (Seventh Fleet ships were fitted with nuclear and conventional Tomahawk cruise missiles earlier this year).

It is a move openly and directly spearheaded at the Soviet Union, as if to say, "Well, what are you going to do now?" The *Washington Post* cites military analysts who described the port call as "largely ceremonial" but then go on to let out some of the real intentions of the

visit: "as a strategic factor, however, it (the port call) would advance relations between Chinese and U.S. navies while underlining their common interests in offsetting the growing Soviet presence in the Pacific and Indian Oceans."

Fast-paced Events

But the port call is precisely a *signal*; actually in the past year or so, an intense and fast-paced development in the military relations between Washington and Peking has already been taking place. The trip to China by U.S. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger in September 1983 was described by one U.S. official as "the key" that cleared the way for closer military ties and a series of military exchanges. Weinberger is also said to have raised the question of port calls by U.S. Navy ships during his visit.

After the high-profile exchange visits by Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang and Ronald Reagan, Chinese Defense Minister Zhang Aiping traveled to the U.S. last June and reportedly reached an agreement in principle on U.S. weapons sales to China. Two months later, U.S. Navy Secretary John Lehman visited China and declared that his trip "laid the solid foundation for friendly relations and technical cooperation between the two navies, including future exchanges or visits and navy to navy staff talks."

High-level U.S. military training and logistics delegations have toured China and were allowed close looks at the operations of the Chinese army. A delegation of Chinese military officials also visited U.S. facilities. According to the *L.A. Times*, "cooperation between China and the U.S. on defense matters has advanced to the stage of regular, specific consultations and exchanges of information." The Japanese imperialists have also conducted similar exchange visits of military officials and delegations with China.

Chinese MIGs

While most of the talk about arms sales

naturally has been about sale of U.S. weapons to China, at least one arms transfer is going the other way. It was announced last July that the U.S. would buy Chinese-made MIG-21 jets. These MIGs are to be used by the U.S. Navy as "adversary aircraft" for "realistic air-combat training" for the pilots, and there has been a sizeable increase in the U.S. budget for their purchase.

All this, of course, is just the *public* exchanges and cooperation and does not cover the various covert military operations and intelligence efforts that are no doubt also being stepped up. For example, asked by the *L.A. Times* about Sino-American link-ups on surveillance of Soviet military activity in Vietnam, the U.S. embassy official in Peking declined comment but coyly remarked that, "The deployment of the Russian forces concerns both our countries. We are both concerned with the number of Russian units on any given day in Cam Ranh Bay, and our leaders have expressed concern about that."

It was while U.S. Navy Secretary Lehman was still in China that the *Washington Post* published a front-page article on August 20 headlined "China Said Willing to Open Port to U.S. Navy." The *Post* reported that, "discussions of a possible port call as early as next year highlighted the (mainland) visit" and that Chinese military officials "are known to have expressed interest in the idea, dropping earlier reservations."

The day after the *Post* article appeared, a Chinese government spokesman declared that "we are not aware of any plans to let U.S. warships visit China next year." He did, however, admit that the question was discussed when Weinberger was in Peking and Zhang Aiping in Washington. Then on October 29 this year, a spokesman for the U.S. Seventh Fleet announced that the U.S. and China were discussing the possibility of a U.S. warship visiting Qingdao. The Chinese government this time issued no confirmation or denial. Around the same time, however, the China News Agency reported that China deemed acceptable the idea of opening up the naval port at Qingdao — which has been expanded to allow docking of aircraft carriers — to visits by foreign warships by next year. (Qingdao is located right across the China Sea from North Korea. According to the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, the U.S. Navy will most likely call on Shanghai instead of Qingdao because "China must also keep in mind North Korea sensibility." Although the first port call may be at Shanghai, the discussion of Qingdao as the possible site in itself was a clear signal to North Korea, which has been attempting to sit on the fence between China and the Soviet Union.)

Extortion

From this back and forth over the question of the port call, it appears fairly clear that the idea was first formulated and then aggressively pushed by the U.S. imperialists, while the Chinese were more or less extorted into going along. This is a reflection of the differing positions of the two countries in the war bloc and the differing contradictions they face. But it is not that the Chinese revisionists have been forced to agree to the port call completely against their will. After all, the dominant view within the current regime is that their present interests as well as dreams of future expansion are best served by linking up with the West. Moreover, the Chinese navy has been assigned a sort of a model role in the revisionist campaign to "modernize" and "professionalize" the armed forces based on the fact that the navy in general employs more advanced technology and specialized personnel than the ground forces. Already in recent years, the revisionists have tried to promote contact with various imperialist navies by allowing warships from France, England, Canada, Australia and other Western powers to dock at Shanghai. A port call by the Seventh Fleet, the revisionists hope, would lend further prestige to the navy and allow it to play its role.

For various reasons, however, the Chinese revisionists do not want to loudly advertise their growing intimacy with the U.S. war bloc, particularly in the military arena. Because of the tremendous pressure exerted by Soviet forces poised along the northern border (and with an

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Reprinted From Mass Line

Indira's Legacy

The following is an editorial on the death of Indira Gandhi, reprinted from the November issue of Mass Line, a revolutionary internationalist newspaper in India.

The assassination of Indira Gandhi in itself would have been a major shock for the ruling classes in India. But her death at the hands of her own bodyguards is a trauma from which they will take a long time to recover. If Mrs. Gandhi was the epitome of their India then the hail of bullets that ripped her apart also symbolized the deep cracks in the very pillars holding this India up. Agitations and movements antagonistic to this India have already made their forceful impact. The mutiny of Sikh soldiers in June had gone a step further by bringing out into the open the inherent flaw in the colossal machinery built up to retain this India. In the meantime the perceptive leader had already made the shift from 'socialism' to 'national integration'. Integration vs. disintegration had come to be the central theme in ruling class politics. An even greater fascist centralisation as opposed to winning over sections of regional bourgeois forces, via 'more powers to the States'—this was the crux of the conflict. But the debates could go on for some more time. The movements were far off from the citadel and containable. The movements are still containable from a purely military angle. And there is still room for partial political solutions. But the shots which smashed into Mrs. Gandhi have brought a violent end to any com-

placency. The opposition as well as the media are telling the plain truth for once when they cry out about the 'national calamity' that has struck India. It is not only the loss of an able representative but the very way in which the loss came about that gives this 'calamity' its particular stamp.

For India this is the second assassination of a major bourgeois leader and many have been quick to draw parallels with MK Gandhi's death at the hands of Hindu fanatics. Typical of the vulgarisation of Indian politics through the past decades, this parallel has touched the ridiculous height of calling for naming Mrs. Gandhi 'Rashtra Mata'. In a certain sense, this is quite in keeping with the spirit of the times. Gandhi was supposed to be the 'Father of the Nation', and the myth of a saint untainted with the evils of bourgeois politics was useful as a model of reference. Today the challenges are different. The ruling class is no longer in its self-confident youth, capable of permitting the luxury of morals, democracy and idealistic visions. It is in its decadence, drunk with the power and wealth it has amassed. Narrow self-seeking has reached to the extent of pursuing sectional interests in opposition to the overall class interest. And it is aware of the grave threat to the very structure it claims to represent yet unable to unify its ranks. What it needs today is not morals or even hypocritical idealism but ruthless steadfastness, the self-seeking dictator who satisfies both decadence and the need for an iron hand. The 'era' that has ended was the 'era' of transition from

hypocrisy to vulgar reality. She entered the pinnacle of bourgeois politics when its 'ideal' figures had already fallen. But the haze of "clean politics" still lingered on. With her ruthless determination she swept it away. The charisma of her father was a creation of the long drawn out struggle against British rule. He had been taken at his words and had proved bankrupt and the gap could only be closed with vulgar populism, self-adulation and dictatorial dynastic rule. It is to Mrs. Gandhi's credit that she realised this far better than any of her adversaries and stuck to this realisation throughout her career.

Quite often, this has been overlooked by her critics. For them, she was the cause of degeneration rather than its natural product. And so they wait to see how the heir will perform, for despite his mother's grooming, he is still an unknown. But the inexorable laws which propel Indian society do not at this stage give any room for a reversion to the 'ideals' of the past. Of course, somebody could very well attempt this. But it will only be a sign of weakness, speeding up the process of degeneration. On the other hand a continuation of Mrs. Gandhi's policies and style will also run into equally tough problems. The stoked up communal carnage and its aftermath following her death is a case in point. The unifying effect of her sudden death, and its favourable impact in the Cong-I's electoral prospects will not last long. But the crises being thrown up will, and what is more—they will go on intensifying. For their roots lie in the particular socio-economic structure in-

herited from the 'era that has ended'. Starting with the green revolution of the mid-'60s, this period saw the growth of penetration by western imperialist interests culminating in the '80s in the IMF loan when this penetration assumed aggressive dimensions. While retaining the Soviet link, this trend was also increasingly shaking the Soviet monopoly grip, even in the defense sector. A host of black laws and acts (ESMA, NSA, 'Terrorist' acts, etc.) were also brought in to ensure the suppression of the working class, which was starting to stir against the increasing onslaughts of capital.

Objective development is going to make increasing demands on the ruling classes whose political leadership is considerably weakened. The national aspirations of various peoples of India and their struggle for self-determination, the struggle of the working class and peasantry for their emancipation in the face of the particular pattern of economic 'development' are all bound to rise—necessitating more fascist steps from the ruling classes to keep their India together. The weakening in the political leadership of the ruling classes will doubtless encourage the two blocs to step up their manoeuvres. While the Soviets have the advantage that their regional interests coincide with those of the Indian ruling classes, the US bloc knows that India badly needs economic 'aid' which only the western agencies can meet. Feverish moves are already on and the coming months will only see such efforts getting intensified. □

Greg "Joey" Johnson Tried And Sentenced

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here, because I examined their cars and didn't think they'd make it." He added that, despite this, "We were expecting arrests in Dallas. I had gotten possession of a lot of literature that was getting out broadly in Dallas...."

When the defense presented its case, eyewitnesses were able to state definitely and emphatically what the tapes had already indicated—that Joey did not actually burn the flag. A lawyer who said he was acting as a "liaison" between demonstrators and the "DPD, FBI, and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms," said he was at City Hall right at the spot where the flag was burned looking vainly for the police liaison when the flag was torched. He also said, "Greg was on the other side of the crowd. Greg wasn't the one who did it if that's what you're asking." He also said he told this

to "Hawkins and the police," who responded that they were "not arresting Greg for burning the flag."

As to the question of leaders who allegedly manipulated and schemed to dupe the other youth throughout the Tour, another witness, who was also a liaison, testified: "There were no leaders at all, these people don't have any. I mean, it was so frustrating, you had to get approval from the whole group to do anything. For instance when I talked to one of them once, she said I had to get the whole group together and ask."

Actually, it was precisely for the revolutionary internationalist politics Joey put forward in the intense battle at the Convention and the War Chest Tour that he was tried and found guilty by the bourgeois state. Gillette made this plain to all in his closing arguments when he said, "All of us, some time or another, are going to be called on to protect the

colors of our country. I only hope that I do well. I have had to defend the integrity of the police, the district attorney's office, and this country. As God is my witness I have done my best to defend the integrity of all the above. There are two defendants here. One is Gregory Johnson, and one, our flag... cannot speak for itself, so I am here speaking for it."

Joey remained defiant and unrepentant throughout the trial. On the courthouse steps Monday he stated that he is "not guilty of the state's allegations," but added that he "fully supports the events of the War Chest Tour protest, including the burning of the American flag outside the Republican Convention. It was great to see the American flag go up in flames, a symbol of international plunder and murder reduced to ashes."

In a powerful and moving statement made to the jury, Joey said "It's sure to say from viewing the video that the War Chest Tour protest, with its rowdy participants, was slightly embarrassing to the sparkling city of Dallas. An American flag was burned as Ronald Reagan was being renominated for President. He is called champion of the 'new patriotism' by the *Dallas Times Herald*.... What a juxtaposition—new patriotism and no patriotism!"

As this battle was sharply joined, many youth, proletarians and others in Dallas and elsewhere rallied to Joey's defense. Several times the courtroom was full of supporters, including a high school civics class from a Dallas suburb who wanted to view *this* trial, and on one occasion knots of people in heated debates spilled into the hallways during a recess. Messages to Judge Hendrick were sent from cities like Seattle and Los Angeles, and statements drawn up in both English and Spanish by different circles of proletarians in Houston circulated in South Dallas and other proletarian districts in Dallas, and were signed by over 50 people before being sent to the judge.

This outrageous conviction will not go unopposed. Defense of the youth who boldly pierced the chauvinist warmongering celebration in Dallas with timely and courageous actions must continue to spread, and the inspiring examples of Joey and the other revolutionary youth must continue to be learned from. To the death-bound imperialist bourgeoisie, youth like Joey may indeed be among the most hated of "criminals": this is a label to be worn as a badge of honor. But to the revolutionary international proletariat, they are precious rebels against the blood-drenched system, revolutionaries to uphold and defend. □

A Disgraceful Return

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eye to maintaining some maneuvering room with the West), the Deng regime wants to avoid getting into a formal military alliance with the U.S. bloc. The revisionists are also desperate to keep up a semblance of "independence" as they attempt to increase their leverage internationally by posing as a leader of the "Third World" and "nonaligned nations." And domestically, the Seventh Fleet is a particularly onerous reminder of U.S.-imperialist aggression, as alluded to by the *Washington Post*. Thus the farce played out by Hu Yaobang, and his solemn single condition, that the U.S. will have to first file a "request" for a port call, using "diplomatic procedures." Obviously, the issue has been decided already in high-level meetings behind closed doors.

Primary U.S. Concern

As for the U.S., it faces the urgent necessity to solidify the alliance for actual warfighting. The U.S. imperialists are not unaware of the contradictions that the Deng regime faces. But what is of primary concern to the U.S. are the overall needs, problems and readiness of the bloc and its war machine. The U.S. cannot afford to allow China to stand in some kind of neutralist position (not to speak of jump to the Soviet bloc) as world war approaches and actually breaks out.

One of the aims of the U.S. imperialists in pushing China to accept the Seventh Fleet visit is to make Peking more openly commit to closer ties with the U.S. bloc, thus cutting away at the Deng regime's maneuvering room within the U.S.-Soviet contention. Like every major

step in war preparations within the U.S.-led alliance, it is a move which contains its own dangers; since it might dangerously erode Deng's credibility and give openings to forces opposed to the current leadership, including the pro-Soviet trend in the revisionists' hierarchy. Still, it is a necessary step, and the U.S. imperialists and Chinese clearly mean to carry it through.

There are also practical military considerations. Although the U.S. imperialists have no intention of backing a major build-up of the Chinese navy, they do want to step up coordination between various allied naval forces in the Pacific (including Japan and Australia). Although technologically antiquated compared to the Seventh Fleet or the Japanese navy, the Chinese navy is se-

cond largest in the world in terms of the sheer number of vessels. Teamed up with the more modern and lethal imperialist navies, the increasing integration of the Chinese navy into the Pacific forces of the U.S. bloc could mean a major tightening of the naval chokehold that the West is trying to put on the Soviets.

This naval port call on China is a perfect example of the hypocrisy and big-power arrogance of the U.S. imperialists. A fabricated story of a Soviet ship supposedly loaded with MIGs headed towards Nicaragua becomes cause for rabid denunciations of "Soviet aggression." But the reopening of Chinese ports to the Seventh Fleet is said to be find indeed, nothing but a "natural" resumption of U.S. imperialist gunslinging in that part of the world. □

Tribute to Mrs. Gandhi

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SHO. When a 50-strong mob killed six men near the fly-over in Ashram (South Delhi), 20 armed policemen stood just watching the fun. But in Ramnagar Extension, they went a step further — they played the guide to the mob. All over Delhi the police were hurling threats to anyone — be he Sikh or Hindu — daring to complain. Many refugees told us how the police was reluctant in taking down evidences given to them; instead the complainants were threatened that they too would meet with a similar fate. The telephone reply from the police control room to a Jehangirpuri resident who had sheltered some Sikhs was: "hand them over to the mob"....

The Delhi Administration spared nothing to encourage the communal madness. Truckloads of people instructed to do sloganeering and commit hooliganism were taken to Teen Murti. They formed a big chunk of the mob which took charge in Connaught Place. Slogans were not only 'Long Live Indira' but 'blood will be avenged by blood' also — the TV flashed these slogans being shouted. The authorities who took great pains to see that no newspapers reached inside Punjab, broadcast over AIR during the riot days itself items like '20 people shot dead by a retired army personnel', or '3 people killed by firing from inside a religious shrine', and so on. The point is that such news would not cause harm in Punjab whereas in Delhi it most certainly will. The Delhi administration gave all facilities to the mobs — in some cases, even maps earmarking Sikh apartments. For instance, in Maharani-bagh persons with no mournful signs about them went around attacking Sikh residences — carrying such maps in their hands.

Other states in the Hindu belt present almost an identical picture. In UP, Cong-I legislators led the bloody events. Posters calling for revenge appeared overnight. Again the unholy alliance of Cong-I and the police oversaw the proceedings. The rumour that Hindu dead bodies are coming in by 6 Down Punjab Mail was spread, and in no time the Charbagh railway station in Lucknow witnessed a small gang of marauders on a killing spree. The spree went ahead cheered on by some bystanders and under the gaze of the Railway police. The situation grew graver when the Cong-I demonstrations raising slogans of 'blood for blood' were given much coverage on TV. Kanpur and Ghaziabad, the industrial belt accounts for the bigger share of bloodletting in

UP. After Delhi, Bihar ranks the highest in killings recorded. Here the Chief Minister C S Singh himself was forced to order the arrest of one Cong-I 'leader' in Patna for his involvement in the violence. The role of Cong-I as well as the police in leading the mobs has been widely reported here also. So too was it in Haryana and MP. In Faridabad (Haryana), Gujjars hired from Dharamvir Nagar and JP Nagar were acting at the behest of the Cong-I district chieftains. They were divided into different gangs and sent out to various areas. While looting, burning and killing they did remember to raise 'Indira Gandhi Zindabad' slogans as per instructions. An INTUC member from Faridabad (who was totally opposed to all this) told us that the Gujjars were smiling when they raised the slogan because politically they are not pro-Indira in the least. Sikh passengers passing via Faridabad were also made targets of the mad attack.

Rumours were consciously set afloat — all with the intent of finishing off the Sikhs. Stories that trains or trucks with heaps of Hindu bodies with heads and limbs chopped off are arriving or have arrived, that Sikhs are celebrating or moving in to retaliate or that they have poisoned drinking water, etc, etc, were repeated. Delhi police spread some such stories through their loudspeakers. The effect was natural — the attacking mood was intensified. The concrete result of this was witnessed for instance in Trilokpuri. However Cong-I guardians like MMK Wali have different explanations for such massacres. Wali's considered view (taken up and propagated forcefully by many journalists) is that killings increased from 2nd November on (incidentally, this is a fact) — why so? Because people — all lumpens! — who came back with the loot were seen by the Sikhs living in the same colonies. To destroy evidence (as the Sikhs are now witness to their crime) the "lumpens" decided to kill all the Sikhs!! But can the Cong-I be saved with such a blatant lie? One point that they put forward is that it was the lumpen elements who were behind the riots. Another is that people from resettlement colonies were behind the attacks. Both these are partially — but only partially — true. First of all, the lumpens are Cong-I lumpens, and their ring leaders Cong-I chieftains. And in any such riot in any city in India the lumpen proletariat and its products — the goondas and criminals — will surely be a force. But the crucial question is: who used them politically now? Secondly, it was not just the lumpens who were on a spree. Middle class people influenced by the years-long policy of communalist propaganda by the Cong-I and the government were an active party to the whole show. Market complexes near urban villages (like Munirka, Katwaria

Sarai, etc) were attacked. Sikh-owned shops were handpicked and looted with mass participation, though the real systematic breaking, burning and destruction were done by the Cong-I core in the mob....

The real reason why the killings went up from 2nd Nov. on is what Mr Wali wants to hide: people saw that they have the political backing to do this. Several police officers are said to have told the mobs that Rajiv has given them "three days to do whatever you want". And Rajiv did make his position clear in his first public appearance after the assassination. On 19 November addressing the Boat Club rally he noted that the violence following Mrs Gandhi's death is a natural reflection of the anger and anguish of the people and that the "disturbances" were just like tremours that the fall of a giant tree creates; on the whole he felt happy about the role played by the people. The fact of the matter is that for the Cong-I leadership the violence was really a sign of tribute to Mrs Gandhi. The Cong-I organised the gruesome killings and projected them as a sign of people's love for Mrs. Gandhi! The hands of all Cong-I leaders including Rajiv are dripping with blood. This is precisely why Rajiv is not going in for a judicial enquiry into the riots.

All the Sikh people staying in camps with whom we talked told us that it was the Cong-I who attacked them....

... For the Sikhs in Delhi this kind of reaction was something unexpected. To put it in the words of a Sikh woman who faced stoning and arsoning, some took the approaching mob as a mourning procession. Many said that not even during Partition was such madness witnessed. Generally the Sikhs were left to fend for themselves. One Sikh told us that if 10% of the Hindus had helped, it would have prevented all that had happened. But there are some exceptions to this. Many Sikhs were rescued by Hindus. Actually due to such help, many Hindus got attacked and were looted. In UP, one Hindu was lynched because he tried to rescue some Sikhs. While such exceptional examples are to be commended, the press is now projecting them to show the Hindu-Sikh amity during the riots. So too there are exceptions in the case of police officers — some tried their level best to prevent attacks. In some areas Hindus and Sikhs joined hands to resist the attack. For instance in Pandavnagar (trans-Yamuna), barring a few damages the whole colony was able to escape from attacks. Here, the Sikhs themselves told us that the police officer as well as the local Youth Cong-I leader helped them. However, newspaper reports about people's committees, it must be noted, were misleading. Barring a few committees in which Sikhs had a dominant role and those in a few upper class residential areas, all the so-called peace or people's committees meant to rescue the village/residential colony were committees meant to kill the Sikhs. They were the aftermath of the rumours of Sikh retaliation. For example, in Munirka village, where the Mass Line office is located, the villagers who had already thrown out and beaten up the Sikh tenants and looted the Sikh shops and engaged in widescale anti-Sikh retaliation — aggravated by the rumours too. Almost the entire village kept awake, squads with big lathis and stones keeping night watch. Appearance of a turban-clad head at that time would have revealed the real nature of this peace committee. Even the 'defence work' taken up by the JNU Students Union and Teachers' Association (as the JNU was in danger!) only betrayed cowardice, and it was meant to turn back students who were ready to go out and help the needy in the hour of need. There was a considerable section of students who refused to be hand-tied by such antics and their spirit and activity of going against the tide is truly laudable. During relief operations too this section was extremely active, but now all kinds of forces had stepped in "to help".

Why was the communal divide so gaping and deadly as witnessed in the riots? The propaganda work carried out by the government, especially after the military attack on Golden Temple was distinctly Hindu-communal in character. The TV, AIR and the entire machinery of Cong-I were openly propagating that Sikhs are

murdering Hindus. The reality, however, was that even at the peak of fundamentalism and fanaticism of both sections, Punjab villages had shown a remarkable bond of indivisible communal amity. And it was the Central government under Mrs Gandhi which had alienated the Sikh population by her usual fascist methods. Exceptional, random killings were projected by TV, AIR, etc as acts supported or defended by the whole Sikh population, in this way stoking anti-Sikh feelings. And now the Cong-I utilized these feelings, building them up to fanatic frenzy. This fanaticism was allowed to run berserk in Cong-I ruled States and Delhi — mainly in the so-called Hindi belt. There are many who took this as the fight between secularism and communalism, or between unity and separatism. It is easy for many to equate Hindu feelings with secularism, and they criticize the feelings of minorities as communal or separatist. If this Hindu fascism is taken to be the sign of secularism and patriotism, it is better that India be divided. The trend of equating Hindu fascism with unity and integrity of India is receiving all-out encouragement. The 19 Nov. Delhi meeting saw the New Delhi mayor Mohinder Singh Saathi being booed by the audience, while Mr Rajiv Gandhi was seen at that same function praising the "sagacity and wisdom" shown by the "masses" in picking up broken threads! If this is the way of picking up threads, how can anyone censure the call to the Sikhs issued by one Sikh religious group to go back to Punjab? Even though the majority of Sikhs in Delhi doesn't have any roots in present day Punjab, all Sikhs feel insecure outside Punjab and it is natural that they think of returning, especially after the nightmarish experience following the giant tree's (!) fall. Even to think in this way has been criticized as separatist by the business houses. The fanatic integrity pledges witnessed at the Boat Club recently can only alienate the minorities — why only Sikhs!

The Cong-I riots point to another development of the party itself — the development of Cong-I from a mass party to a cadre-based one, the cadres being groomed in fascist style and meant as a supplementary armed force, for effectively implementing its fascist aims. All monopoly houses accept Cong-I as the political force capable of keeping the all India market undivided. This is why they all rallied behind the leadership of Cong-I and the slogan of 'national integration'. The Cong-I Seva Dal trained on RSS lines proved its mettle in the riots, and Rajiv deserves the credit as Seva Dal was under his portfolio when he was the Cong-I general secretary. Not only this, the riots have helped Cong-I to get a good section of intelligentsia (mainly Hindus, though they are famous as progressives, socialists, leftists, communists, so on and so forth) under their broad banner of 'integrated India'. The post-riots statements and seminars point at this: Military is taken as the saviour of peace loving people. Police is ineffectual, and only the military can ensure the safety of the rational and secular. So also, it is the military that can really help the minorities. The deployment of the army in Delhi was like a god-send to the marooned Sikhs. With the Golden Temple attack the Sikhs had grown to hate the military, now let them shed it. At least now the people have understood that Indira's talk of the foreign hand is not a gimmick. It is a reality. The need of the hour is a strong state to counter chaos. We need discipline too (ESMA is all right! so too with NSA!) — so on and on. Some even went to the extent of calling for a ban on talk of identity. Bipin Chandra of JNU at a seminar on communal holocaust, in a convincing manner for an ordinary concerned citizen, equated the question of identity with communalism. For him, integrity alone can protect secularism!

With the riots, on the whole the Cong-I could ensure a more than safe electoral victory. All Hindu chauvinist votes are now in its bag. Rajiv's succession has become smoother still. The monopoly houses' evaluation of Cong-I as their sole political representative is upheld with more firmness. Having rallied the frightened intelligentsia over to its side the Cong-I is getting all set for a further crackdown on the people.

— R Sugatan, A K Ramakrishnan, S S Khanolkar

"I trust that this pamphlet will help the reader to understand the fundamental economic question, viz., the question of the economic essence of imperialism, for unless this is studied, it will be impossible to understand and appraise modern war and modern politics."

V. I. Lenin

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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.