



# REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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## Revolutionary Warfare in Peru



The Communist Party of Peru — known as Sendero Luminoso or Shining Path in the bourgeois press — is waging a revolutionary war to liberate that country and serve the world proletarian revolution. This is a most welcome development and one which should be enthusiastically supported, particularly by those of us who live in the homeland of the Peruvian people's main oppressor, U.S. imperialism.

The war these comrades have been leading for over three years, a war which has increasingly drawn in the masses and opposed an ever greater number of enemy troops, is a rare and important thing in today's world. In theory and practice, the Communist Party of Peru (PCP) has upheld Marxism in its qualitative development up through Mao, an ideology whose name has been dragged through deep mud by all kinds of capitulators, especially since Mao's death and the counterrevolutionary coup in China. They have made important

changes on the political map of Peru and Latin America. The giant bonfires shining on the highest Andean peaks and on the hills overlooking the capital itself and the giant red banners these fires illuminate — symbols of the armed struggle and the revolutionary line that guides it — can be seen by the exploited and oppressed throughout the world. This revolutionary war and its line are also important in counterpoint to the guerrilla movements in Central America, where pro-Soviet revisionists and even somewhat pro-U.S. elements have taken up arms to serve reactionary imperialist interests and promulgate the line — powerfully refuted by these Peruvian comrades — that no oppressed people can liberate themselves without the agreement of one or another imperialism. Any serious struggle against imperialism must be supported, especially one aimed at the imperialist power whose belly we live in; but all the more refreshing, all the more invigorating, all the more welcome is the

news of these "Maoist guerrillas."

Of course the "news" about Peru as presented by the imperialists and their flunkies has been all "bad," with nothing good to say about the Communist Party of Peru and the struggle it is leading. On this point, Mao Tsetung wrote, "It is good if we are attacked by the enemy, since it proves that we have drawn a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves. It is still better if the enemy attacks us wildly and paints us as utterly black and without a single virtue; it demonstrates that we have not only drawn a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves but achieved a great deal in our work." Certainly these revolutionaries have achieved a great deal. We should have a two-sided attitude towards the lies and slanders reactionaries have hurled at them; on the one hand we must welcome these attacks and on the other we must refute and oppose them.

Particularly disgusting are the crocodile

tears about "violence" and bloodshed in Peru. In addition to the long-standing, all-too-"ordinary" violence of imperialist domination and rampant semifeudal conditions which for the majority, if they're lucky, mean death of old age in their forties, the armed forces and *Sinchi* counter-insurgency police troops have killed over a thousand people in Peru so far this year alone, according to Amnesty International. Murder by gunfire, bayonet and crucifixion, beating, torture, rape and every kind of abuse imaginable have been used to terrorize the masses and drive them away from the revolutionary fighters. The vast majority of those killed have been murdered outright and not killed in armed encounters. Even the government admits that in the countryside the armed forces don't often take prisoners. . . they just kill them. Yet some who like to pose as "people of good will" have the nerve to condemn the revolutionaries for the violence, or, in what

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# Lies and "Linkage" on the 007

Two weeks ago, an unnamed presidential aide discussed the impact of the downing of Korean jet liner 007 on the Geneva arms talks; he boasted: "The Russians are still very much on the defensive. They're still trapped by their initial lies concerning the KAL incident." This is presumably in contrast to the U.S. which continues to repeat its own initial lies concerning the incident with abandon.

The latest revelation of U.S. lies and distortions concern whether the Soviet SU-15 pilot knew he was shooting down an unarmed civilian airliner on September 1st. In the first weeks after the downing, Reagan himself said: "There is no way a pilot can mistake this for anything other than a civilian airliner." A National Security Agency official announced they had "hard evidence" that Soviet air defense officials knew it was a civilian airplane. The public was treated to diagrams of a simulated image of what was purported to be the Soviet pilot's view of the airliner that night. The size of the KAL Boeing 747 and a hump on top of its fuselage were said to unmistakably distinguish the 747 from the U.S. RC-135 reconnaissance plane — a refitted Boeing 707 airliner! — which was admitted to be in the area, at least from the close vantage point the Soviet pilot was claimed to have. UN Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick summed up the U.S. position: "The Soviets decided to shoot down a civilian airliner, shot it down, murdering the 269 on board, and lied about it."

It has now been revealed that U.S. intelligence officials are largely of the consensus that there is *no* indication that "Soviet air defense personnel knew before the attack that the target was a commercial airliner." Instead of a picture of the Soviet SU-15 pilot paralleling the KAL flight, a few hundred yards off, until it finally decided to down the airliner, it now appears fairly certain that the pilot fired from below and well behind the 747. In fact, intelligence sources now place the point of closest proximity of the Soviet fighter and the KAL plane at at least 1.2 miles, under conditions of nighttime visibility, leading them to seriously doubt the possibility of any identification. In an article in the *Chicago Tribune*, U.S. Vietnam veteran pilots told of the difficulties they had during that war in distinguishing between various types of planes. Unless there is some background besides the sky itself, a sense of perspective becomes illusive, and smaller planes appear quite similar to larger ones that are further away. Given this, what stands out all the more is that in the tapes of Soviet radio transmissions monitored and printed by the U.S.,

there's no reference anywhere to a civilian airliner. Instead, Soviet units referred to an "unidentified aircraft," the "intruder," and at least once to the "RC-135."

It has also now been confirmed, again in the *Chicago Tribune*, that not only does the RC-135 have the ability to project false radar images onto Soviet monitors, but that it *does this routinely*, presumably in order to test Soviet reaction capabilities. Then put this together with the Japanese radar station reports that the KAL transponder, which automatically flashes a civilian airliner's identity to anyone monitoring it with radar, was not on. What is left of the original U.S. version of a knowing, calculated Soviet gunning down of a civilian airliner? What do you have instead but a string of facts which point straight to the ability of the U.S., together with Japan and S. Korea, not only to have watched as the entire incident developed, with hands folded, but to have engineered the incident from the beginning?

These latest revelations have influenced the thrust of the U.S. campaign against the Soviets no more so than did the other exposures of their half-truths and distortions. At a State Dept. press conference the day after the intelligence officials' revelations were published, State Dept. spokesman Alan Romberg said that this didn't change the administration's main contention all along, that if the Soviets failed to identify the airliner they are guilty of "great negligence or incompetence or both," that it was still a barbaric act, that it is they who are responsible for the murder of the 269 aboard, etc. One State Dept.

official, obviously beside himself with anger at the turn of the questioning, blurted out, "It is just as abhorrent to shoot down an unarmed reconnaissance plane." Ooops, errr, of course not to imply that 007 was a spy plane... why of course not.

Just so with the U.S. claim that the Soviet fighter pilot failed to even fire the warning shots prescribed by international law — when that claim too was exposed in the "tape gap" episode, the item popped into the media one day, was gone the next, and the U.S.'s "main contention" continued to be churned out as if nothing had changed. Similarly with the number of other points about the incident: a charge, for instance, that the Soviet military jets had no radio apparatus capable of transmitting or receiving the international distress signals the KAL might have used — they do in fact have such devices. Or take Reagan's charge that Soviet commercial airliners have made "continual incursions" into U.S. airspace, including over "sensitive U.S. military facilities." In fact the chief of the Alaskan Air Defense Command, speaking last week before a congressional subcommittee, testified that there have been only seven such penetrations of U.S. airspace by Soviet commercial airliners since 1964. (That too failed to get media attention — and was considered quite secondary at the Senate hearings to the subcommittee head's concern about "how the Air Force could be sure some future Soviet plane wouldn't be carrying a nuclear bomb and whether it could fly all the way to Omaha without being shot down.") What is this but a threat to do just that to the next wayward Soviet-bloc airliner — only now the very argument which in the other side's hands was denounced as the logic of "paranoid tyrants," "barbarians," "beyond the pale of civilization" and so on, is suddenly transformed into the justifiable defense of the security of "the free

world."

When asked to comment on these various revelations, the White House refused. The Deputy Press Secretary confined himself to huffing that "We don't talk about intelligence or intelligence reporting." Perhaps at this point the subject is becoming a bit sensitive when concerning flight 007.

But if dissection of the particulars of the 007 incident are less appealing to the U.S. these days, nonetheless the general lessons desired by the U.S. imperialists from this incident continue to be drawn at every available opportunity.

These latest revelations have been of use vis-à-vis the Soviets at the European arms talks, as an indication of a new-found reasonableness and flexibility on the U.S.'s part. This is what they call "linkage," and it has been integral to their use of the KAL incident all along. It amounts to something like this: "See, why don't the Soviets just admit their mistake, that they perpetrated a vicious, savage act, and really, that they're barbarians." It is a maneuver calculated — as various administration officials have openly admitted — to force the Soviets to don the black hat. Andropov has uttered nary a word of regret over the KAL incident, and the editor of *Pravda* who while in the West was quoted as saying that the downing "should not have happened," now claims his words were twisted. Putting the Soviets in this position goes along with the U.S.'s overall effort to keep the Soviets at the arms talks table, and in a vulnerable position. Should the Soviets leave, then this also, no doubt, would be interpreted as an admission of their guilt in the KAL shooting. Thus the U.S.'s "linkage" consists in using the 269 dead to justify their deployment of nuclear missiles capable of killing millions. In fact, "linkage" has become even more universal than that: the downing now "proves" the need for U.S. marines in Lebanon, French paratroopers in Chad, etc. There is indeed something universal about *this "linkage"*: it demonstrates clearly the seriousness with which they are preparing for world war and the

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## CORRECTION

In last week's *RW* (No. 226), a typographical error in the form of a question mark inadvertently appeared in the final sentence of the article on page 3, entitled: "On France's Latest 'African Adventure'..."

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# World War Must Be Opposed With Revolution, Not Peace

by Bob Avakian

For a number of years our party has been drawing urgent attention to the danger of world war and concretely analyzing in many different details and from many different angles the active and accelerating preparations of both imperialist blocs for such a war. Because of this we have heard the accusation — especially a few years ago and less so recently — that we are being “alarmist” about the possibility of world war, that such a possibility, if it does really exist, is not in any sense an immediate one. As I said, this is a particular accusation we hear less of these days.

At the same time, we have consistently stressed that only revolution — only the seizure of power by the proletariat in large and/or strategic enough parts of the world to qualitatively alter the whole equation of world relations — can prevent world war, and on the other hand if world war does break out, with all its terrible destruction, that will in fact heighten the possibilities for revolution, which remains the only way forward out of all this madness and destruction. Because of this we have heard the accusation that we despair of the possibility of revolution unless there is world war and therefore, according to this perverse logic, we actually *want* world war. To this it must be replied that, first of all, we are no less aware than others what kind of devastation and long-term disasters would be unleashed in a world war that would almost certainly involve nuclear weapons — and this is something only truly deranged people would *want*. But that raises the more fundamental point: whether or not there is a world war will not depend on whether anybody, or any group or even any ruling class, *wants* it; it will break out, unless it is prevented by revolution, because in the world today the ruling classes of the imperialist blocs *need* such a war and their most class conscious and leading representatives *prefer* such a war to the alternative — to seeing their position in the world severely undermined and perhaps even overthrown by their rivals or by the revolutionary masses.

That is why the imperialist states (and their military alliances, puppet states and so on) are indeed carrying out active and accelerating preparations for just such a war. They can conceive of no other way out of the fundamental crisis of the whole world system of imperialism and the objective and deep-going conflict between the two blocs; indeed there is no other way out — except through the overthrow of the very imperialist system, with its basic economic relations and its corresponding social conditions and politics, of which these politicians and statesmen are the agents. Even though they have a basic sense of the potential destructive consequences, these gentlemen will issue the orders and push the buttons that will bring this about because for them and their system the world cannot much longer go on as it is anyway — it must be forcibly recast in order for that system to lurch ahead for a time once again and for their positions to be strengthened and secured at the expense of their rivals and of the masses of people in the world. To those who would tend to dismiss this as rhetoric or dogma I can only say that it is the opposite of that — it is a concrete and scientific determination based not only on observation of the major events in the world but on an analysis of the fundamental motive forces underlying all this — and especially given what is at stake here anyone who is awake and aware enough to be concerned about this question has the responsibility, I believe, to seriously study that analysis (and here I specifically urge study of the forthcoming *America in Decline: An Analysis of the Developments Toward War and Revolution, in the U.S. and Worldwide, in the 1980s*, Vol. 1, by Raymond Lotta with Frank Shannon [Chicago: Banner Press]).

But if this analysis — or at least part of it — is correct, if it is true that the imperialists will unleash World War Three unless this is prevented by revolution, then is there any real hope for preventing world war, in other words is there any realistic expectation that revolution can advance far enough fast enough in the world to prevent such a war? To this it must be straightforwardly answered that the trend toward war is more powerful than the trend toward revolution in the world at this time, and if there is a chance to prevent world war through revolution it will require intensified revolutionary work to accelerate the development of the revolutionary movement and to transform political awakening, protest and rebellion among masses into a conscious, determined revolutionary force. It will require the seizing on key events, especially sharp turns and the eruption of crises, even crises which do not yet represent the emergence of revolutionary conditions, whenever and wherever this occurs and particularly in strategic parts of the world and strategic situations. It is only work of this kind that holds the possibility of preventing world war through revolution, and it must be stressed again, precisely on the basis of a sober understanding of the destructive consequences of a world war, that if war does break out, it is only work for revolution and in the final analysis only proletarian revolution itself that represents a way forward out of such madness and devastation and toward a world where the underlying causes of this have been uprooted.

## Survivalism

In this connection it is important to speak about the question of survival and in particular “survivalism.” It is a fact that the ruling classes have made concrete plans and are constantly attempting to update and sharpen their plans for surviving a world war, even including major nuclear exchanges — surviving not just in the literal sense, but in the political sense as well, emerging from such a situation with the ability to enforce the economic, political and social relations and the outlook and values characteristic of their system. In the U.S. in particular, there is the phenomenon of sections of the imperialists’ social base also making active preparations for such survival — in general this is associated with the right-wing fundamentalist supporters of imperialism, among whom such “survivalist movements” have sprouted. At the same time, and more generally, it seems that one of the major themes being drummed into the populace in the U.S., through all different vehicles, including popular cultural works, is the notion of being a “survivor.” The concern of the ruling class here is not so much that everyone be prepared to survive world war, including nuclear exchanges. They recognize that this is not possible for everyone by any means and they don’t even consider it altogether desirable in the case of sections of the oppressed masses, precisely those who are most likely to be a social base for serious, even revolutionary opposition in a situation of tremendous social disruption and upheaval. Their plans include sacrificing millions of these masses, both as soldiers and as part of the equation of nuclear exchange and specifically the bombing of heavily populated urban areas (by both sides). What the ruling class is counting on, what they are setting up with the building up of “survivor” into a “spontaneous” part of the popular culture and mass consciousness in the U.S., is the fact that in the final analysis they must depend to a large degree on the “survival instinct” to motivate both troops and

civilians to make the necessary — even the ultimate — sacrifice (their military authorities openly acknowledge and discuss the implications of this); and they count on the fact that this will merge with “spontaneous” patriotism and the notion of fighting to defend your home (both your country and your home and family literally) to ensure that the “survival instinct” will direct the fire of the masses — both literally and figuratively, in the sense of political hatred — toward the “other side” in the war. With all this in mind it must be said that the worst thing about “survivalism” would be that only the imperialists and their social base thought and planned ahead for the rending and very possibly the rupturing of the existing social fabric that would accompany world war. As truly horrendous as world war would be, what would be even more horrible would be for such a war to take place and for the only people who came through it in a position to determine the future of society and enforce social relations and conditions to be the very imperialists responsible for it and their social base!

## Narrow Thinking

Another thing which must be bluntly stated is that in the emphasis that is given to the terrible destruction that a world war, including nuclear exchanges, would let loose, there is often a kind of imperio-centric chauvinism that is expressed, consciously or even unconsciously. It is the case that the main and most immediate destruction would be centered in the imperialist countries — or in what is generally referred to as the “Northern Hemisphere” — while in the “Southern Hemisphere,” where most of the world’s oppressed nations are concentrated, the destruction is likely to be less extensive, or certainly not as immediately devastating. Especially among the better-off strata in the imperialist countries, including the more bourgeoisified sections of the working class, there is a tendency to act as if all would be right with the world if only world war, especially major battles and nuclear exchanges, can be avoided in these countries and that on the other hand the worst possible thing would be for such battles and exchanges to take place *in these countries*. According to such a viewpoint, the situation, and daily agony, of the billions of people in the “third world,” under the most extreme form of imperialist oppression and exploitation, can just go on as it is, or at least must not be opposed in such a way as to drag the “advanced” countries into a devastating conflagration. Opposition to world war of this kind obviously runs counter to the advance of the revolutionary movement, in the “third world,” where in general the conditions are more favorable for revolution, and in the imperialist countries themselves, where the development of a genuine revolutionary mass struggle is even more difficult and can only be built by making the most radical rupture with chauvinism. And in running counter in this way to the advance of the revolutionary movement, *such* opposition to world war in fact runs counter to preventing world war.

On the other hand, a kind of fatalistic nationalist sentiment that arises among the oppressed peoples and nations finds expression in the notion that if the imperialists blow each other up and destroy much of their own homelands, so be it and perhaps the world will even be better off as a result. This is akin to a tendency Lenin fought among the socialists in countries that were not involved in (or not major belligerents in) World War I: “The petty striving of petty states to stand aside, the petty-bourgeois desire to keep as far away as possible from the great battles of world history...” (see “The War Programme of the Proletarian Revolution,” in *Lenin on War and Peace, Three Articles* [Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1966], p. 70; and Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 23, p. 86). The kind of fatalistic nationalism I am referring to here — part despairing, part self-seeking — is even self-defeating from the narrow, self-seeking point of view because in fact a world war and especially large-scale nuclear exchanges would, to some degree immediately and to a tremendous extent over time, bring devastation to the “Southern Hemisphere” as well, if for no other reason than the fact that the overall ecology, the weather and atmospheric conditions, etc., of the world as a whole would be radically altered, with disastrous consequences, leaving aside nuclear fallout and fallout “drifts” and so on. But more fundamentally, and from the point of view of the revolutionary proletariat, such an outlook and approach is not only narrow and shortsighted but extremely harmful because it leads to political paralysis if not to bourgeois-

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The "For A World Without Imperialism" contingent held press conferences on Friday, Oct. 14, in Berkeley, California and the next day in New York City, where statements from contingent members leaving for West Germany and from supporters were read to the press. The Organizing Committee for the contingent has now opened a new office in Berkeley and is working to send a second wave from the U.S. to West Germany to join those already there. The Organizing Committee has just begun to receive reports from W. Germany from the contingent. The contingent reports endorsements in W. Germany from the Federation of Workers from Turkey in Germany (ATIF), the revolutionary internationalist organ *Partizan*, and the revolutionary GI newspaper *FightBack*.

The following statements were read at the press conference in Berkeley:

Press Statement from Berkeley

Two years ago I decided it was pointless to pursue a career while this country builds first-strike nuclear weapons. During this past year I worked in the peace movement as the business manager and fundraiser for *Northwest Nuclear Xchange*, a monthly peace newspaper with a circulation of 15,000 in the state of Washington. I've also been organizing a boycott of General Electric, and I spent time in jail for helping to block the flow of arms to El Salvador. When I heard there was an anti-imperialist coalition going to West Germany I said "Great, I want to go."

I left my job at *Nuclear Xchange* and coordinated the Seattle "For A World Without Imperialism" contingent. As is the case for people joining this group from around the nation, people from Seattle held a variety of viewpoints. There's a feminist-pacifist, a revolutionary musician, a teenage woman who wants a future without imperialism, a revolutionary communist youth, and a woman who worked with the women's peace camp in Kent, Washington. Contingent members from across the United States are in Germany now and others will be going throughout this "hot autumn." Money for their trips came from fundraising efforts and from hundreds of people in the anti-nuclear and anti-imperialist communities.

A profound political crisis has developed in Germany. Masses of people from all walks of life are demanding

# Deserters Head For Frontlines



peace while their government prepares for a war. The people are opposed to the Pershing and cruise missiles, which are offensive, first-strike, destabilizing weapons. The government, backed by reactionaries, the German bourgeoisie, and the senior American imperialist gangsters, must put in the missiles because only a war can resolve their constantly deepening economic crisis.

The "For A World Without Imperialism" contingent is going to West Germany to join in this struggle. But we are not going simply to resist the new missiles. We are going because we see the motive force behind the arms race and war: imperialism, the need of the U.S., USSR, and other industrialized nations to exploit the resources and workers of foreign lands. This is the fundamental source of rivalry between nations. The Pershing missiles are evidence that a new stage in this rivalry has begun: the final preparations for a supposedly limited nuclear war to redivide the world. Forcing NATO to postpone deployment is not enough to prevent war. Only forsaking imperialism and creating non-imperialist governments can prevent nuclear war.

We are not going to Germany to participate in marching, civil disobedience, or stone-throwing. There are adequate numbers of people in Germany to do all these things. We are going to change the political terms of the conflict. We are not seeking a temporary extension of a peace that involves slavery for billions of people. We know that peace treaties between the great powers are simply a framework within which rival nations' ruling classes

compete with each other and prepare for new wars, which are in turn fought to gain economic advantage during the next period of peaceful exploitation.

We are going to change the political terms of the conflict. Germany is an imperialist country that works hand-in-glove with America to oppress people in the third world. We want to see Germany out of the Western bloc, but that does not mean we want to see them ally with the Russian imperialists. Nor do we need this independent, imperialist Germany. We do not want it to continue to abuse and exploit the Turkish people. We want to see a government that refuses to profit through monopoly and slavery, and in doing so refuses to be part of a system that leads inevitably to war.

It does not matter if Christian Democrats or social-democrats preside over German imperialism. It does not matter to people in South America, Africa and Asia whether a Democrat or Republican president of the United States acts as a frontman for the wealth that demands genocide for profit. It does not matter to them whether they are exploited by the Soviet Union, Japan or a European country. It does not matter to anyone which superpower is first compelled to launch a nuclear war.

Our contingent opposes war preparations both East and West. We oppose all imperialism, exploitation, and genocide. We do not care whether these are wrapped in the shell of democracy of the United States or a shell of socialism in the Soviet Union. We are going to the European frontlines to do political battle against the imperialists. We accept the

dangers: the alternative is nuclear war. The handwriting is on the wall. The weapons are being readied at breakneck speed. The banks and international trade are on the edge of collapse. A war is coming. We must make people around the world see this, because only by seeing it can it be avoided. We must encourage people to act. If people rally to defend their own nations the human race is doomed. It is time for people to resist their rulers everywhere, to abandon their own nation's warmongering, and to end war by removing the basis for a war.

Jack Straw

When two of us occupied an office in the heart of the "Pentagon of the South," Fort McPherson, and for a short time turned the headquarters building of the second most important U.S. military command center into a platform for the international proletariat to call on people to forge a very different future than is usually planned there, we put a hole in the myth that the imperialists and their military cannot be challenged.

Now, as I join with this contingent to "desert" and go to the European frontlines, I am going from the Eye of the Tiger to the Eye of the Storm. I am, and the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade is, proud to be part of this contingent going right in the face of a major step in imperialist war preparations. We are glad to be stepping across "sacred borders" (the proletariat has no country), deserting, and going into the whirlwinds stirred up by the deployment of this "new generation of nuclear missiles" in Europe.

In relation to the deployment of these missiles for winning a nuclear war, the *Wall Street Journal* states, "Western European and U.S. defense analysts call the deployment the most important test of Western solidarity since France withdrew from the military arm of NATO in 1966. . . . The ability of Western nations to make future nuclear defense decisions depends on how deftly they handle public opinion and peace activists now."

So they come right out and basically state that this "most important test" is a crucial step for the whole bloc in strengthening their unity as preparation for winning World War 3. And all the countries of the Western bloc are determined to carry through with that future. In fact, recent military maneuvers in Greece were named

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## Revolution

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aspiring opportunism; because it holds back the revolutionary struggle against imperialism, both in the "third world" and in the imperialist countries, where directly and indirectly (through the large number of immigrants driven to the imperialist citadels as well as through the influence in these citadels of revolutionary struggles in the oppressed nations) masses, especially revolutionary masses, from the "third world" can and must play a major role; and because therefore it strengthens the hand of the imperialists in shaping the future of the world and its people according to their monstrous nature and in their grotesque image.

### What is Needed

What is needed, what is urgently demanded in opposition to all this, is a revolutionary struggle against imperialism, based on a firm internationalist foundation. Specifically with regard again to the question of world war, there is no way to fundamentally oppose it except through building a revolutionary movement against imperialism and for its overthrow, and in the imperialist countries in particular this means directing the spearhead especially against "your own" imperialism while at the same time exposing the imperialist system as a whole and opposing all imperialisms. There is no way to really oppose world war without opposing your own imperialist bourgeoisie, your own government, in its preparations for war and, if war does break out, in its carrying out of that war. Almost literally everyone, including the leaders of the imperialist countries, are opposed to world war, and particularly nuclear war, in words and in the abstract; but these imperialist leaders are, and can only be, *in favor* of such a war in the *concrete*, faced with the actual world relations and contradictions that confront them.

A dramatic example of the principle involved here — and a powerful refutation of the politics of tailing the mainstream — was provided by the incident involving the Korean airliner double-0-7 and the events in its aftermath. Where, in a situation of a clearly contrived and pre-planned provocation by the U.S. government (working with the South Korean and Japanese governments), designed to elicit exactly the response it did from the rival gangsters in the Soviet Union — where in the U.S. was the outpouring of mass protest from the pacifists and others who hope to avoid nuclear war by persuading the ruling classes that it is insane, unwinnable and so on? Not long ago, at the time of the UN conference on disarmament, when everybody spoke out against nuclear war and ruling class representatives spoke at rallies to oppose nuclear war, hundreds of thousands of people came out; but when Reagan spoke at the UN recently, in the wake of — riding the crest of — the double-0-7 incident, where were those hundreds of thousands, why were they not out protesting and demonstrating all the more urgently against nuclear war? Or take the situation

in England recently. When the Falklands War was utilized by the ruling class there to make stepped-up preparation, materially and ideologically, for Britain's contribution to Western imperialism's showdown with the Soviet-led bloc, where then were the hundreds of thousands who had been protesting against the danger of nuclear war and especially against England's being involved in it, why were there only a small number protesting, why were not those hundreds of thousands out in mass exposing and opposing British imperialism in that concrete and very important act of gangsterism and preparation for world war? To a significant degree what is involved in these instances is the chauvinism with which large sections of the people in the imperialist countries have been saturated. But especially in regard to those who do oppose at least many of the crimes perpetrated by "their own" imperialist ruling class and who do oppose nuclear war mainly for reasons other than a desire to preserve a privileged existence for themselves, what is also of significance is the truth that Lenin stressed:

"People always were and always will be the foolish victims of deceit and self-deceit in politics until they learn to discover the *interests* of some class or other behind all moral, religious, political and social phrases, declarations and promises. The supporters of reforms and improvements will always be fooled by the defenders of the old order until they realize that every old institution, however barbarous and rotten it may appear to be, is maintained by the forces of some ruling classes." (Lenin, "The Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism," in *Marx Engels Marxism* [Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1978], p. 73, emphasis in original)

In the period ahead, with the gathering and exploding of the world contradictions of the imperialist system, it will not be possible, nor desirable, to avoid tremendous upheaval and radical ruptures in world relations and in many societies, nor can all this change come about any way except violently. But it may be possible to prevent through revolution a world war which would be senseless carnage and destruction of the greatest magnitude, unprecedented bloodletting and devastation solely in the interests of perpetuating the very system that has produced such a monstrosity, along with all the other evils deriving from and characteristic of such a system, and solely to determine which set of plunderers would preside over and gorge themselves on the aftermath. Even if we are not able to prevent world war through revolution, such a war will further expose and strain to the limit the imperialists on both sides and bring to the forefront as an urgent task the turning of imperialist war into revolutionary war against imperialism, to emerge from all this with the conquest of power by the proletariat in at least significant parts of the world and a greatly strengthened basis to carry forward the struggle to finally abolish all such monstrosities along with all the social relations and conditions of which they are a concentrated expression. □



# The U.S. Military Option In The Philippines

As the U.S. ruling circles maneuver feverishly to make certain that the interests of U.S. imperialism continue to reign in the Philippines, the Philippine military is an important part of any U.S. calculations. Whether those calculations include Marcos and/or involve an application of "democratic" paint on the neocolonial setup, the effectiveness of the comprador regime depends in any case on the barrel of the gun of the reactionary armed forces (with, of course, the big U.S. guns looming not far in the background). As the *Far Eastern Economic Review* said some months before the Aquino assassination, "It is sometimes suggested that the next (Philippine) president will be able to ride into power only on the coattails of the military. While this is by no means certain, there is a growing belief that the military may play an important role in the succession."

This is a fact well grasped also by forces in the bourgeois opposition who want to replace Marcos as caretakers for the U.S. in the Philippines. In the aftermath of the Aquino assassination several top opposition figures have openly suggested an alliance between them and sections of the military to oust Marcos. The most recent and upfront call for such an alliance was made by Eva Estrada Kalaw who, along with Aquino's widow, led a march of about 7,000 women on October 13th demanding that Marcos resign. Kalaw said that the demonstration was meant as an appeal to the military to abandon Marcos and declared that, "Once we get the military support, and that time will come, then Marcos, you will be alone." Kalaw was not making an idle threat; in fact Aquino, while still in the U.S., had already made some contact with certain forces in the Marcos military. A scenario of a power play by an alliance of solidly pro-U.S. opposition figures and sections of the Marcos clique, including, very importantly, forces in the military, is one of the options that the U.S. is considering in case the continuing deterioration of the Marcos regime necessitates more drastic measures.

A brief portrait of the Philippine military is in order. Two of its most salient characteristics are the tremendous increase in its size through the martial law years and its close relationship and interpenetration with the U.S. military. When Marcos dropped down the hammer of martial law in 1972, the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) consisted of 58,000 troops. Since then, it has grown to a force of about 150,000. Counting the national police and the paramilitary forces in the countryside, the number goes well beyond 200,000. There was an expansion in the military budget from \$82 million in 1972 to more than \$1 billion in 1980. The U.S. pumps in hundreds of millions of dollars in military aid — as well as in "economic aid," a big chunk of which goes to different structural projects in the countryside designed to enable the military to deal more effectively with the anti-government armed struggles waged by the Muslim people and the Communist Party of the Philippines and its New Peoples Army (NPA).

The roots of the modern-day Philippine military go back to the days of direct U.S. colonial rule before World War 2. The U.S. organized the Philippine Constabulary (PC), which today does the bulk of the fighting against the NPA and the Muslim rebels, in 1901 and the army in 1936. On the eve of Pearl Harbor, Franklin Roosevelt ordered the induction of all Filipino soldiers into the U.S. army. During the '60s, Philippine troops were sent into Indochina to boost the U.S. war effort. Ninety percent of the field-grade officers in the Philippine military today have had training — especially in counterinsurgency techniques — in the U.S. U.S. military advisors monitor and guide AFP planning and sometimes join military operations down to the company level. U.S. and Philippine troops regularly conduct joint military exercises in various parts of the Philippines, sometimes engaging in mock "invasions" of coastal areas.

During the early years of martial law, there was relative stability in the overall political and economic situation in the Philippines and, related to that, in the Marcos clique itself. But toward the late '70s, it became apparent that there was a power struggle within the ruling clique, notably over the question of the successor to Marcos. This was due to a combina-



Philippine soldiers

tion of domestic and, especially, international factors. Two clear factions have emerged within the ruling circles, including in the military. One faction is led by General Fabian Ver, a current armed forces chief of staff, and Imelda Marcos. Ver's rival in the military is said to be the head of the PC, General Fidel Ramos, who is allied with defense minister Juan Ponce Enrile. The Enrile-Ramos camp is also reportedly backed by the powerful banker and coconut industry czar, Eduardo Cojuangco, Jr.

The two top rivals in the military, Ver and Ramos, have both been known as handpicked and loyal Marcos men. But of the two, Ver is considered closer to Marcos. When Marcos first became president in 1965, he put Ver in charge of personal security. Ver clearly got the edge when he was chosen as chief of staff over Ramos in 1981. Ver was already the head of the national intelligence and security administration and the presidential security command. According to some analysts, Marcos has more trust in Ver, who has no political base outside of ties to Imelda, and therefore is totally dependent on Marcos' continued rule. Ramos, on the other hand, is a West Point graduate who "is favored by a large pro-U.S. bloc in Marcos' cabinet (including prime minister Dirata) and is reported to have strong U.S. connections," according to an article in the journal *Current History* by Belinda Aquino, director of Philippine Studies at the University of Hawaii. Of course, it is quite misleading to talk of a "pro-U.S. bloc in Marcos' cabinet," as if there were some "anti-U.S. bloc" within the Marcos clique. But there are no doubt real and sharpening conflicts as the factions haggle over the share of the spoils and jockey for position in preparation for life after

Marcos.

Besides the Ver-Ramos split in the military, there has also been some speculation about discontent with Marcos and the top generals among the younger elements of the officer corps. In an article in the Summer '81 issue of *Foreign Policy*, Carl Landé, a Philippines specialist at the University of Kansas, wrote: "In December 1979, it was reported, 13 officers and some enlisted men were arrested for plotting a coup. This recent event suggests that if the Marcos government began to falter, or if a successor government were beset by internal conflict or faced increasingly uncontrollable opposition, it might be toppled by a group of young officers who had not been closely associated with the Marcos regime. Some members of the democratic opposition, in fact, see in this possibility their only realistic hope for the restoration of democratic government." Landé makes clear in his article that what he means by "democratic opposition" is pro-U.S. bourgeois opposition.

Significantly, it was when the infighting within the clique and talk of Marcos' deteriorating health began to surface more prominently that the U.S. started to put pressure on Marcos to make some opening to the bourgeois opposition. An important aspect was the Carter administration's insistence that Marcos release Aquino from prison and allow him to go to the U.S. for heart surgery. Once in the U.S. Aquino was given asylum and fellowships at Harvard and MIT. The U.S. wanted Aquino around to keep up at least a semblance of an existence of a "democratic alternative" to Marcos. From a more long-term viewpoint, the U.S. wanted Aquino available as an ace up the sleeve, and ready to be dealt out as a possible

replacement for Marcos should the need arise.

During his stay in the U.S., Aquino kept in contact with fellow opposition leaders and traveled abroad to meet with the Archbishop of Manila and leaders of the Philippine Muslim groups. He also had contact with certain forces from the Marcos camp. Ken Kashiwahara, ABC Network newsmen and Aquino's brother-in-law, reveals in the October 16th issue of the *New York Times Magazine* that Aquino had been able to raise a large amount of money for the opposition while in the U.S.: "Many wealthy, pro-Marcos businessmen, obviously covering their political debts, have secretly pledged political capital."

In addition, Aquino apparently had some contacts with sections of the Marcos military. A Japanese weekly magazine recently published a talk between Wakamiya Kiyoshi, the Japanese freelance reporter who accompanied Aquino on his fateful trip to Manila, and Ishihara Shintaro, a member of Japan's ruling Liberal Democratic Party and the Diet (Parliament). In the talk, Ishihara, who is described as a close personal friend of Aquino, says that some military men came to Aquino in 1981 to "negotiate." The idea was that if Aquino pledged not to touch the military, they would support him. Wakamiya confirmed the story, saying that he heard Aquino remark that "there were generals willing to support me and become allies." Aquino refused the offer, apparently viewing such an alliance as unnecessary (and perhaps undesirable) at that point.

Ishihara does not make clear exactly who the military men that visited Aquino represented; however, it is said that defense minister Enrile kept lines of communications open with Aquino and the bourgeois opposition in general. Aquino also received information about the military from the head of intelligence of the PC (who was killed in a suspicious "accident" after the Aquino assassination). In an article a few days after the assassination, Australia's *Sidney Morning Herald* put forward that had Aquino been able to enter safely into the Philippines, he "would have been forced to combine his charisma with the guns and money of one of the ruling factions." The *Morning Herald* goes on to point out that Aquino's wife is the first cousin of Eduardo Cojuangco, and that "if anyone had provided Aquino with assurances of his security, it would probably have been Enrile, who supervised his seven years in military detention after martial law in 1972." All this seems to indicate that when Aquino decided to return to the Philippines, he expected, or at least had certain hopes for, support from the Enrile-Ramos forces. But Marcos had also been buttressing his fortress in the meantime. After June of this year when Aquino declared his intentions to return to the Philippines, Marcos moved to place the military more firmly under the control of General Ver, at the expense of the Enrile-Ramos faction. Direct control of the PC was taken away from Ramos and transferred to Ver, and a number of PC units were disbanded. Marcos also promoted 27 new generals, out of which 25 are reportedly allied with Ver. The *London Observer* quoted Marcos as saying that, "The minister of defense is nowhere in the chain of command. He cannot even order a single battalion from Cagayan to Ilocos." Enrile reportedly offered to resign because of these moves, but Marcos refused to accept the resignation. Perhaps Marcos felt that Enrile would be easier to control and keep an eye on within the government than outside of it.

According to the French press agency, Marcos, in dismissing the possibility of a military coup against him, boasted that Filipinos constitute the second largest nationality group of graduates, next to U.S. citizens, at West Point. Ironically for Marcos, this fact highlights even more the ability of the U.S. to utilize its widespread contacts within the Philippine military to organize a coup. Although a power play by an alliance of the pro-U.S. opposition and sections of the military to oust Marcos is an option that is undoubtedly being kept open, the U.S. is reluctant to go for such a solution at this point. A big question is whether the opposition is united and strong enough to be able to enforce its rule and keep U.S. interests intact.



# Revolutionary Warfare in Peru

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amounts to the same thing, to pretend to stand equally opposed to "senseless" revolutionary violence and counter-revolutionary violence.

What is happening in Peru is not a dinner party. It is the early stages of a war between revolution and counterrevolution, taking place in diverse locations around the country and centered in the countryside. The revolutionaries and their army have to confront and defeat the reactionary armed forces who represent the ruling classes and imperialism; and because every revolutionary struggle is a class struggle there is also a war between the various classes and their supporters. This means that the revolutionaries must also confront and deal with local small-time reactionaries, bullies and spies, and with paramilitary bands, especially those organized by the armed forces from among landlords and rich peasants and their supporters, retired military personnel and lumpen hirelings. When these paramilitary reactionary bands slaughter civilians or ambush guerrillas, the armed forces report it as a massacre committed by revolutionaries (or sometimes incidents of this kind are reported as "the people" attacking the revolutionaries), and when the revolutionaries confront and defeat these counterrevolutionaries, that too is reported as a slaughter by the revolutionaries.

A few exposures of the crimes committed by the authorities have escaped into circulation because of the lethal contention between rival elements within the Peruvian ruling classes — especially between the pro-Soviet forces centered in the army, and pro-U.S. forces grouped around civilian President Belaúnde. For instance, the revisionist press in Peru has concentrated some fire on the presidentially-appointed general in charge of antiguerrilla operations and on the presidentially-controlled *Sinchis*, but not on the armed forces as a whole despite the direct role played by all the armed forces in the repression. In situations of this kind the Soviets have been known, as one of their tactics, to try to influence or try to capitalize on the actions of revolutionary groups. It is very important that the PCP has taken a firm stand opposed to the Soviets and their agents. The interaction of all these different contradictions is another reason why there are frequent reports in the U.S. and European press indicating concern about the situation in Peru, even at this relatively early stage of the struggle.

## Legal "Left" vs. Armed Struggle

One thing that all the authorities in and out of power in Peru agree on is that the PCP should not have launched the armed struggle. Reactionaries in power simply declare that it is wrong to rebel. The legal "left" in Peru and revisionists and legality-loving "Marxists" abroad say what amounts to the same thing, but clothe it in shabby "Marxism": they voice the contention that they support rebellion in general and simply oppose this one in particular.

A very good example of this is provided by Horacio Zeballos, a leader of the pro-Deng Xiaoping Patria Roja and spokesman for the Izquierda Unida (United Left) coalition which embraces revisionists of all stripes, including the pro-Soviet forces. Zeballos used his seat in Peru's parliament to denounce the PCP and to demand the formation of a provisional government in Ayacucho, the department most affected by the guerrilla war — a government made up of "a cross-section of trade union forces of Ayacucho, people from the government and parliamentarians of that region (where the IU has some seats — RW) to pacify and rehabilitate that convulsed zone... Sendero would be excluded. Obviously those who are against pacification can't be in the government." When the interviewer from *Oiga* (the pro-government magazine where this interview appeared) asked Zeballos why, then, he had his picture taken carrying a rifle when he ran for president in 1980, he replied, "Strategically we are for a qualitative change in our society through confronting the owners of Peru and the

only way out is the practice of armed revolution. This is a universal law proven in China, in Nicaragua... (But) Sendero Luminoso is a premature movement. They don't understand that the time is not ripe for confronting the reactionary bourgeois state which is stronger in terms of the relations of forces and which can obviously liquidate the embryonic revolutionary movement we have initiated in our country."

Evidently, as long as there is some bourgeois democracy, even if it's the thinnest and most patently ridiculous variety that prevails in the countries dominated by imperialism, even if it consists of no more than a few parliamentary seats allotted to revisionists while the broad masses suffer under the most backward social relations and open government terror, then it is forbidden to make revolution. This opportunist's yak-yak about the "relations of forces" is absurd because the government is always stronger than the revolutionary forces at the beginning of the revolution.

It is revealing that this revisionist — and many others, including in the U.S. — considers it fine to wage armed struggle today in Central America, and wrong today in Peru. Why? Is it because the armed struggle in Central America, unlike in Peru, is being subordinated to imperialist interests, led not towards the objective of the revolutionary seizure of political power and the thorough transformation of social relations but rather an "historic compromise" coalition government between pro-Soviet and pro-Western forces? Is that why revisionists think it's OK to have armed struggle in El Salvador, for instance, but not in Peru where revisionism still has a few hopes for parliament and where Soviet guns have found willing hands in the Army? Can it be that the Zeballoses of this world consider the only good armed struggle one that imperialism has its hooks in? For the oppressed, are the only alternatives to open reaction either revisionist guerrilla war or revisionist social pacifism? The clarity of this parliamentary cretin's words and the fact that this false alternative has been so widely promulgated make it all the more clear what a contribution the PCP is making to the world revolution by opposing this revisionism with the weapons of criticism and the criticism of weapons.

Even in a backward country there is a social base for opportunists whose future is predicated on imperialist domination, but there is a potentially far more vast

social base for a revolutionary movement under the leadership of the proletariat and its party. Right now the opportunists can count on some votes and run a few unions. But the PCP is mobilizing poor peasants, who make up the huge majority in the countryside, and basic strata of the proletariat in armed struggle, to change the "relations of forces" guns in hand and "confront the reactionary bourgeois state" once and for all, and on that basis, together with the growing crisis in Peru, attracting growing support from other strata as well. To quote Marxism about the inevitability of the revolutionary overthrow of the state while failing to make that the central object of the proletariat's efforts is worthless and despicable.

The document *Basic Principles for the Unity of Marxist-Leninists and for the Line of the International Communist Movement*, written by leaders of the RCP of Chile and the RCP, USA, points out that: "While in the imperialist countries it is a general rule that it is only after a fairly long period of development of the objective and subjective conditions that the armed struggle becomes the main form of struggle — and then it must be carried out first in the form of mass insurrection in the cities — and while further it is the case that before then the armed struggle is not usually the major form of struggle, in the colonial and dependent countries it is more generally and more frequently the case that there is both the possibility and the necessity to wage armed struggle as a major form of struggle well before the time that nationwide political power can be won, and in some circumstances it is both possible and necessary to make the armed struggle the main form of struggle for a fairly protracted period leading up to the winning of nationwide political power." This is a basic strategic question. *Basic Principles* continues, "In sum, whether or under what conditions the armed struggle should proceed from the countryside to the cities or the other way around must be determined by concrete analysis, study and summation of experience. But in all cases the proletarian party should conduct its work and develop the mass struggle with the concrete aim of taking up armed struggle as the main form of struggle at the earliest possible time..."

This does not mean that it is *always* possible to launch the armed struggle in the oppressed nations, nor still less to develop it fully to the point of countrywide seizure of power. Those ques-

tions, as is said, must be concretely analyzed. Our party holds that "in the imperialist era developments in any one country are more determined by contradictions in the international arena than by contradictions internal to that country," to quote our most recent Central Committee report, and we've linked this "with our analysis of the historic conjuncture and the need to prepare especially for the qualitative sharpening of all the contradictions on a world scale." But this also does not mean that conditions for revolution, and still less conditions for launching the armed struggle and for making that the principal form of struggle, can *only* exist during such a moment of historic conjuncture or in conjunction with the interimperialist world war whose looming shadow is the sharpest expression of that all-around imperialist crisis. In fact, while the world arena has included revolutionary situations in particular countries even in comparatively peaceful times, today the development of revolutionary situations to one degree or another in a number of countries heralds the approach of a period of perhaps unprecedented opportunities on a world scale, including in the imperialist countries where such opportunities come more rarely than in the oppressed nations.

The armed struggle being waged by the Peruvian comrades is correct and right on time. It was preceded by a period of political preparations, including most importantly the rebuilding of the party itself which had been torn apart by opportunism. There is every indication that the repercussions of the imperialist economic crisis, which are particularly severe in Peru, the contention between the two imperialist blocs which is splitting Peru's ruling classes, and the overall political situation which all this has led to, have created a ripening situation for revolution. *Basing themselves on the strategy of protracted people's war*, these comrades have established and developed guerrilla zones and aim to further develop the struggle to create revolutionary base areas and an embryonic workers' and peasants' new-democratic state in the countryside. The Peruvian revolution still has important problems to solve and will face twists and turns. Our party has emphasized not only that revolutions involve twists and turns but has also focused on Mao's formulation, made in regard to the Chinese Revolution, of the necessity to struggle in such a way as to be "hastening or awaiting changes in the international situation and the internal collapse of the enemy." Today's armed struggle in Peru, even though the seizure of nationwide political power is not immediately possible, is the only way to accumulate fundamental revolutionary strength so as to hasten and prepare for the day when that does become possible. Further, this armed struggle in Peru also makes a contribution to preparing for and hastening revolutionary advances on a world scale.

## False Charges of Nationalism

Another hypocritical slander hurled at the PCP is that these comrades are guided by nationalism, either of the Peruvian or neo-Inca variety. For instance, linked to this charge of nationalism is the accusation that they are "Pol Potists." Without either accepting the imperialist slanders about communist massacres that this reference is meant to evoke or summing up Pol Pot here, it should be pointed out that the PCP criticizes the Kampuchean communists for very grave nationalist deviations in supporting the counterrevolutionary coup in China and in dissolving the Kampuchean communist party with the excuse of thus strengthening the armed struggle and the united front.

When PCP fighters hung a dead dog in front of the Chinese embassy in Lima in "honor" of Deng Xiaoping, some people complained that by utilizing this traditional Indian form of denouncing a traitor the PCP was somehow trying to appeal to "Indian messianism" and revive the ancient Inca empire, and at the same time they complained that the PCP was taking "foreign" and "incomprehensible" issues to the masses. Really,

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## Support the Revolution in Peru!

The fire of revolution is burning in the Andes. Led by the Communist Party of Peru (known as Sendero Luminoso or Shining Path in the bourgeois press), a revolutionary war is being waged against the Peruvian government, a government backed by various imperialists, especially the U.S. Despite brutal attacks and vicious counterrevolutionary repression, the revolution has grown in strength and vigor in the three years since the armed struggle was started. This is indeed a very welcome development and inspirational example to all oppressed people throughout the world. And this, of course, is terrible news to the imperialists and their flunkies. All sorts of attacks and slanders have been thrown at the Communist Party of Peru and the revolutionary Peruvian people. "Terrorists massacring innocent people" cries the bourgeois press in this country and in Peru, while the legal "left" in Peru sings the tune, "Time is not ripe, by taking up arms they are driving people away" — something Peruvian reactionaries and the imperialists wish were true. For those of us who live in the U.S., in the belly of the main oppressor of the Peruvian people, we have a special duty to refute these slanders, expose these attacks, and support the Peruvian revolution and the Communist Party of Peru.

The Committee to Support the Revolution in Peru is being formed in the San Francisco Bay Area exactly for this purpose. It will develop literature, conduct forums and programs, and broadly expose the imperialist plunder of Peru, the oppression of the Peruvian people, as well as popularize the development of revolutionary struggle there. All progressive and revolutionary-minded people are encouraged to join the Committee, to participate in its various activities, and to support the Committee's efforts in any number of ways.

Contact the Committee for further information right away. Our address is:

**Committee to Support the Revolution in Peru**  
2483 Hearst Ave. No. 225  
Berkeley, Calif. 94709





**VIVA LA LUCHA ARMADA!**

**PARTIDO COMUNISTA DEL PERU 1980-1983**

"Long Live the Armed Struggle" — poster by the Communist Party of Peru.



## Peru

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gentlemen, you can't have it both ways. The PCP is not nationalist; it is proletarian internationalist. In their manifesto "Develop Guerrilla Warfare!" they affirm, "We practice the great principle of self-reliance; we are also firm followers of proletarian internationalism, unfurling the immortal call of Marx and Engels, 'Workers of all countries, Unite!'; and as communists we always raise up high the three great banners of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, which demands of us that we be irreconcilable enemies of revisionism and all forms of opportunism, and fighting for revolution in our own country we serve the world proletarian revolution which is being waged and will be waged until communism shines over the whole earth." These comrades paid close attention to the class struggle in China, taking a firm stand on the dividing line question of upholding Mao's line against the revisionist onslaught that unleashed a crisis in the international communist movement after Mao's death and the coup in China. They have supported Chiang Ching and Mao's other followers now being persecuted by China's new rulers. Such questions may be "foreign," but they have been taken up by proletarians and broad numbers of poor peasants as well as by many others in the most remote regions of the Andes, in the capital and

throughout Peru. Speaking of political work of this kind among peasants, the *New York Times* writes, "Is it senseless to ask if they received indoctrination willingly or unwillingly, since they had no choice but to support, or at least coexist with, those who had assumed the real power?" More than senseless, it is a lie, bourgeois gentlemen, for your class still holds state power in Peru, despite the powerful revolutionary challenge, and if terror could win the allegiance of the masses of peasants, then the state, with its thousands of soldiers and their U.S. and Soviet advisors and weapons, could certainly win their hearts and minds and isolate the revolutionaries. Instead, the revolutionary armed struggle has grown in strength and vigor in the course of three years of warfare.

### Important Questions

We have said these comrades are Marxist-Leninists. But even within the ranks of those who base themselves on Marxism-Leninism and Mao's Thought there are, of course, crucial political questions which will continue to be discussed and struggled out among revolutionaries in the course of common struggle. The comrades of the PCP, projecting onto a global scale a formulation used by Mao in regard to the phases of people's war in a national liberation movement, characterize the world situation as one in which "we are entering the strategic offensive of the world revolution." What exactly are the implications of this is something we have to further investigate.

But it seems to be an expression of a conception of the development of the world revolution as proceeding in a more or less straight-line way through the victory of revolution in one country after another, rather than a view of imperialism as an integrated world system whose development — and the development of whose opposite, revolution in the two basic kinds of countries, imperialist and oppressed — proceeds through spirals marked by nodal points of all the world's contradictions when great dangers to advances already made and great opportunities for further advances both present themselves.

These comrades link their analysis of "the strategic offensive of the world revolution" to their insistence on using the formulation "Marxism-Leninism-Maoism," or "Maoism" for short, as opposed to Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought. They characterize Maoism as the third stage of Marxism (after Marxism and Marxism-Leninism). Here again it remains to be elaborated exactly what the implications of this formulation are. Our party has stressed the importance of upholding Mao as a dividing line. The revisionists' attacks on his line have been a major theoretical expression of capitulation to imperialism and abandonment of Marxism-Leninism. We have stressed the importance of learning from and advancing on the basis of Mao's qualitative advances in that science, which represent, in that sense, a new stage in the development of Marxism-Leninism. In short, we think

Maoism is fine and necessary. But as Mao himself emphasized, we are still living in the era of Leninism, of imperialism and proletarian revolution. Without a Leninist understanding of imperialism and revolution, Maoism is ultimately distorted and turned into its opposite.\*

These significant questions of political and ideological line must be put in the larger context of proletarian internationalism and our common goals as Marxist-Leninists. The armed struggle being led by these comrades has a special importance within the context of the views on the world situation we have emphasized, for it is guided by a revolutionary communist line and is serving as a blazing manifesto to the oppressed people of the world and can have a powerful impact on the outcome in the clash between imperialist war and revolution.

The PCP is leading a just and correct struggle which especially in today's world must be supported by everyone who hates imperialism and revisionism and welcomes the flames of revolution. □

\*It is difficult to have a full appreciation of the PCP's views because they have issued few publications since the beginning of the armed struggle in May 1980. The most important of their recent documents is the pamphlet "Develop Guerrilla Warfare!," illegally printed and circulated in the hundreds of thousands throughout Peru last year in a bright red edition; it analyzes the situation and points to the basic road for the development of the Peruvian revolution.

## 007

Continued from page 2

criminal nature of their class. Does anyone really think that these guys who are calculating how to wage and win a world war would sneeze at the prospect of risking 269 people for such a propaganda bonanza?

Another sample of "linkage" is given by recent events in Japan. As the *Washington Post* headlined on October 8th, "KAL Downing Spurs Japanese Defense Boomlet." Soichiro Ito, leader of the majority Liberal Democratic Party, observed that "This incident made Japanese more aware of the dangers surrounding them much faster than anyone could have expected." He went on to boast that Japan's monitoring of the incident proved the benefit of a good intelligence network, that the incident also reinforced the need to improve radar and anti-submarine monitoring. He concluded that he was now certain that in the proposed government budget, where virtually every sector but the military was being cut back 10%, defense would surely receive a sharp 6.9% increase.

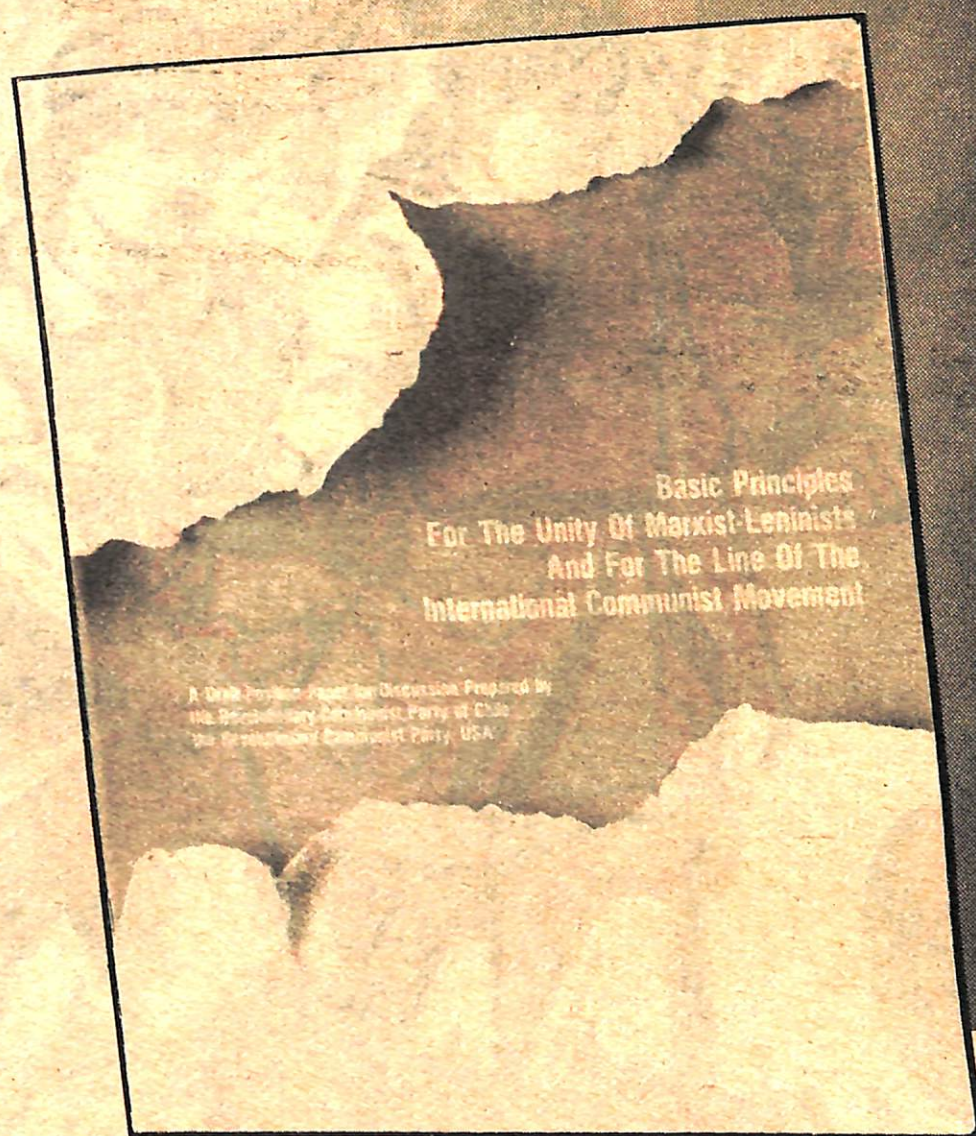
From the first the imperialists have approached — if not initiated — this incident in this light: juicing the KAL corpses to fuel their war buildup. In any period charges and countercharges would have flown. But what stands out now is not only the fury and relentlessness with which these charges have been pursued, but the immediacy and tightness with which every aspect of the incident is bound to preparations for world war. The *New York Times* article on the revelations of the U.S. intelligence officials spends the bulk of its copy on a discussion of "the important shortcomings" this reveals about the Soviet air defense system: why in 2 1/2 hours the Soviets couldn't get a Mach 2.5 jet fighter closer than a mile to the 747 was of far greater interest than why the Soviets made the final decision to shoot it down. Or take the Soviets themselves — Moscow has shaken up its Far Eastern air defense staff, not, however, because they ordered the shooting down of a civilian airliner but because they took so long about doing it.

Just as the 007 incident has been used to justify war buildup, it has also been used to strike at the peace movement. The *London Economist* wrote a major editorial on how to "keep the unilateralists on the run," and similar observers are already counting their chickens, crowing that numbers at peace demonstrations in West Germany will be down because the steam has been taken out by the KAL downing. In this country, *Rolling Stone* magazine took it upon itself to counsel its readers in an editorial: "The deeper implication of that still-unfolding tragedy is the political

shockwave that has been felt on Capitol Hill, wiping out opposition to Ronald Reagan's nuclear-arms buildup and ceding the president the high ground of the debate on war and peace... at least until popular emotions subside, the KAL incident is devastating to those political forces struggling to halt Reagan's vast agenda for another escalation in the nuclear arms race... 'There are times in politics' (one congressman said—*RW*), 'when you have to keep your head down, your mouth shut and just wait for the climate to change. This is one of those times.' Whether it will last a few weeks or many months, no one can say." So, get

it, peace movement? Stay down. There is more to this than a message of cowardice and capitulation, one framed in terms suitable to those who might not be totally thrilled with all the flag-waving around the KAL incident. Here the *Rolling Stone* has taken upon itself the unenviable task of explaining to their readership how it's really regrettable that this 007 madness has messed up the prospects for disarmament, but if you wait, there's light at the end of the tunnel — the liberal Democrat congressmen will again be *bolder* with their peace talk in the future. But why hold your breath? One has only to look at the stream of criticism coming from

liberal Democrats that Reagan should have made a *stronger* response to the incident, like Tip O'Neill who barked, "This isn't the U.S. versus Russia. This is Russia versus the world!" and queried "Is he acting as strong as Jimmy Carter acted?" Not to mention the "sudden" consensus around the MX or the unanimous support for troops in Lebanon forthcoming from all these liberals. And in the future, these very liberal and peace-minded "rational" politicians can certainly be counted on for *more of the same*, and on a far grander scale. □



A draft document from the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile and the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA for discussion in the international communist movement and within their respective Parties. The document was submitted to the autumn 1980 international conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations, which held that, "on the whole, the text is a positive contribution toward the elaboration of a correct general line for the international communist movement. With this perspective, the text should be circulated and discussed not only in the ranks of those organizations who have signed this communique, but throughout the ranks of the international communist movement."

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Last week we brought to the attention of our readers the existence of a new organization, or rather a kind of exclusive club: **Another Warmonger for Peace.** Recently, as the imperialists have pressed forward with preparations such as the Euromissile deployment, this club has revealed a membership of the most amazing personalities — maybe even the president. All of them claim to want peace more than anyone, no matter how high up or tied in with the imperialist warmaking machinery they appear to be. This week, we introduce another noted member.

George F(rost) Kennan once told the *NY Post* that of particular value to him was the experience during his university years of eating in the "democratic atmosphere" of Princeton Commons after he could not longer afford the "swanky eating society" to which he belonged. Such endearing egalitarianism and the fact that he has long been the acknowledged "dean of American Sovietologists" has enabled Kennan to move about with ease in the democratic atmosphere of U.S. ruling class "peace" circles where for a couple of decades he has cultivated a reputation for advocating nuclear arms reductions.

In recent years Kennan has called for a total nuclear test ban agreement with the Soviets (1977). In 1981, during a speech delivered upon receiving the Albert Einstein Peace Prize, he urged a 50% across-the-board reduction of all nuclear weapons and delivery systems by both the U.S. and the Soviets and spoke of the "disastrous climax that modern weapons, most tragically, now make possible." Kennan was one of the co-authors of the Spring 1982 *Foreign Affairs* article advocating "no-first-use" of nukes (an article which won the National Magazine Public Service Award and, as the *NY Times* remarked, "added fuel" to the Freeze movement). In his recently published collection of essays and speeches, *The Nuclear Delusion*, he noted that: "There is no issue at stake in our political relations with the Soviet Union... which could conceivably be worth a nuclear war." "Are we becoming nuclear lemmings?" he has frequently asked.

Last May the aging Kennan, in a rare public appearance, railed against the cold-war mentality of the Reagan administration and warned that Soviet-American relations displayed "unfailing characteristics of a march toward war" and were permeated with "antagonism, suspicion and cynicism." Around the same time, he lavished praise upon the

Bishops' letter for "the moral perimeters it establishes for the use of force in international affairs." In the '60s, Kennan was promoted as "a prominent critic" of the Vietnam War.

All of this may seem a bit laughable to those old enough to remember when Kennan was setting forth his own variety of "perimeters" in the role that he has always been principally noted for: "Author of the Cold War." Serving in a number of different consular positions in the U.S. embassy in Moscow beginning in 1933, Kennan — as one political biography noted — "soon emerged as a hardened anti-communist." His "classic" anti-Sovietism led to his appointment in 1946 as Deputy for Foreign Affairs and lecturer emeritus on Russia at the U.S. rulers' newly re-established National War College in Washington ("an academy for the higher study of war," according to the *NY Times*). He was soon taken under the wing of Secretary of State George C. Marshall and appointed head of the U.S. rulers' newly-created Policy Planning Committee, helping to ghost-write the Marshall Plan among other things.

As head of this committee, Kennan was invested with responsibility for formulating long-range U.S. foreign policy vis-à-vis the Soviets and soon became known as "America's global planner." Not-at-all ironically, it was in the journal *Foreign Affairs* that Kennan, writing anonymously in July 1947, under the pseudonym of "Mr. X," articulated what was to become famous as the "intellectual justification" for the Cold War in an article titled "The Sources of Soviet Conduct." Stating that the Soviets must be regarded "as a rival, not a partner" and that "unassailable barriers" must be placed in their path, Kennan recommended "firm and vigilant containment of Russian expansive tendencies through... the adroit and vigilant application of counterforce at a series of shifting geographical and political points...." Thus was inaugurated the notorious "containment policy" of the Truman and, later, the Eisenhower, administration — a policy premised first and foremost on U.S. nuclear superiority

# Another Warmonger For Peace



(or, better said, "nuclear blackmail") and the assumption that the Soviets were weak enough that they would eventually be forced to knuckle under. (Kennan even went so far as to question the need for the formation of NATO... that is, on the basis that an alliance based on conventional weapons was already "obsolete in the nuclear age"!)

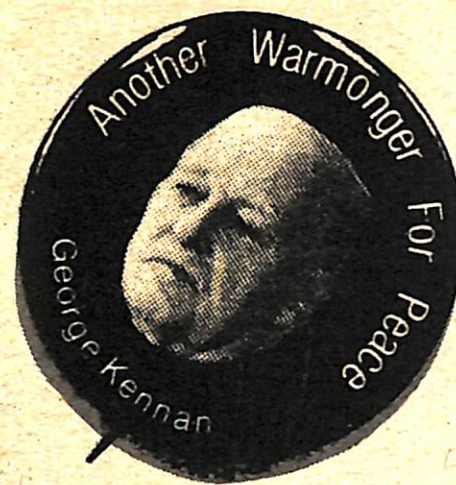
In May 1952, Kennan was named by Truman's Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, as U.S. ambassador to Moscow and promptly distinguished himself in true Cold-War fashion by getting ejected only five months later and officially declared *persona non grata* by the Russians for making remarks in which he compared the Soviet Union to Nazi Germany. It was not long, however, before Kennan's tactical stance in the developing conflict with the Soviets (as well as his effete, intellectual style) began to clash with the rather more "earthy" Cold-War steamroller approach of those like Acheson and his successor, John Foster Dulles. Kennan, for example, who commented in his memoirs that "I advocated from the outset a vigorous and determined military reaction" by the U.S. in Korea, incurred Acheson's wrath after he opposed the crossing of the 38th parallel and the attempt to conquer northern Korea on the grounds that it would bring China into the war with unforeseeable

consequences (a correct assessment, it would seem, in light of subsequent events in which the Chinese army drove U.S. forces back well below the 38th parallel).

After Dulles refused to appoint him to a position in the Eisenhower administration, Kennan began transmigrating from Cold-War theorist into Cold-War "critic." By 1957, he was already what one writer characterized as a "nuclear revisionist," calling for "disengagement" (mutual withdrawal of U.S. and Soviet troops and nukes from Europe). How? By forcing the Russians to agree by threatening to give nuclear weapons to West Germany! When the Eisenhower administration proposed to go this one better by not threatening but actually *arming* West Germany and the rest of NATO with nukes *first*, Kennan opposed it on the grounds that a conventional buildup would do the trick.

As for his famous anti-Vietnam War position, Kennan's writings at the time indicated that in fact he was actually a rabid critic of student radicals, whom he considered "anti-intellectuals," and of the anti-war movement as a whole. Kennan's gripe stemmed from his emphasis on Europe: he crowed that Vietnam was not all that vital to American strategic interests, particularly after the war grew past a certain stage. While counselling enough of an American military effort to maintain a presence in Vietnam, Kennan (as another bio put it) "always a European-oriented diplomat... charged that because of the Administration's 'preoccupation with Vietnam,' Europe and the Soviet Union were not receiving proper diplomatic attention." Precisely the sort of "diplomatic attention" Kennan meant became apparent after the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 when he called for *sending 100,000 additional U.S. troops* to West Germany in a show of force to hasten a Russian departure! So much for Kennan the pacifist!

In a similar way, Kennan's latest burst of nuclear pacifism has always been phrased in the context of correcting the "unnecessary deficiencies of our conventional forces," in Europe in particular. Nor is there anything mysterious or ironic about the fact that this well-known, grizzled anti-Soviet warrior is being run out as a "prominent" senior leader of the anti-nuke movement. He really is a *perfect* imperialist peace spokesman for times in which his original baby — the Cold War — is being resurrected, vindicated and rejuvenated with a vengeance and not in place of, but in preparation for, a decidedly much hotter one.



Button found outside an exclusive club in Washington, D.C.

## Deserters Head For Frontlines

Continued from page 4

"Operation Display Determination."

The very "peace talks" in Geneva are aimed at providing the groundwork for the deployment of these missiles. Again from the *Wall Street Journal*, "In order to pull the rug out from under a troublesome peace movement and reassure a skeptical citizenry of U.S. good intentions, Bonn wants substantive U.S.-Soviet talks in Geneva." It is good to watch these "peace talks" because they give a picture of both Eastern and Western imperialist blocs trying to out-"peaceful" each other while they both scramble to be in the best position to win a world war.

All of these "displays of determination" have brought literally millions into protest around the world and heated the situation into a significant political crisis in West Germany. So now Germany is not just the frontline between imperialist war blocs but, very importantly, the frontline between the future the imperialists are concretely preparing and the struggle over what other future can be won. And what youth doesn't dream of being on the frontline in that battle?

Many questions are being raised about what is realistic in the face of world war. The Soviet Union plays the "godfather of peace" with its missiles suggesting that it has "an offer you can't refuse." And the democratic West tries to keep things in the bounds of democracy, which is the following scenario: (1) open debate as befits the free society that must be defended, (2)

open protest and non-violent demonstrations if necessary, as is the right of every citizen in a "free country," (3) the government goes ahead with its plans as is the purpose of the bourgeois state in a "free society," and (4) anyone who doesn't go along will have their asses thoroughly kicked and even shot — as must be done to "perpetuate a 'free society.'"

But as West Germany prepares its democratic riot squads and warns that it can't control U.S. troops, the very terms plow deep, fertile crevices for other programs. Including the only truly realistic solution, which is real socialist revolution, either seizing chunks of the world from imperialism before world war, possibly preventing it, or turning war between imperialists into a civil war against them.

Let's face it, in a world dominated by imperialism, life is daily horror for millions. Just look at Turkey, where West Germany, as part of the imperialist division of labor, tries to maintain the stability of a fascist government in the "southern anchor" of NATO. Turkey, where the prisons are filled with political prisoners waiting for execution and where throughout the country survival is a daily question. Or look at Lebanon, or El Salvador, or Afghanistan, or even the immigrant quarters in Berlin.

So what this frontline battle in Germany means is, rather than just a possibility of more intense horror, we can see in the deep political tremors the real possibility of revolution in the future, even in the imperialist metropolises.

For those who hate imperialist war,

who dream of a world without imperialism, the implications of a contingent opposing both imperialist war blocs, deserting the Western heartland of the missiles to go to the heart of the battle against them, these implications are very important. For the youth who are bombarded with patriotic recruiting calls, the image of discarding borders, of deserting not just the warmongering, but the imperialist nation itself, is an important inspiration. In any imperialist country, East, West, superpower or junior partner in plunder, the only stand to take is working for the defeat of the "fatherland."

So as we "desert America's warmongering" for the European frontlines, as we look at what possibilities these battles promise for the future, we raise the slogan: "Revolution in the '80s. Go For It!"

Rich Newburger  
Revolutionary Communist  
Youth Brigade

The following message from a Kurdish worker in L.A. was sent to the committee and the contingent is carrying it to Germany:

We are living in a time when the imperialist system is declining and the oppressed people are winning important victories. And the uprisings of the peasants and workers in Latin America, Africa and Asia are shaking many of the strongholds of imperialism, East and West. Every day the imperialists find a new crisis weakening some part of their empire.

Today the Kurdish people are bravely fighting the fascist governments of Turkey, Iran and Iraq. Proudly the Pesh Mergas are writing a new history with their own blood in each corner of Kurdistan, making their country a graveyard of their enemies under the leadership of the progressive organizations and parties. Our struggle is part of the worldwide struggle for socialism.

On the other side the imperialist countries are preparing for a nuclear war. Because of this it is very important for the immigrant Kurdish workers to join the struggle of the people in the countries where they live because the struggle against imperialism is the same all over the world. Particularly in Germany the Kurdish people should join the struggle of the German people against nuclear weapons and preparations for an imperialist world war, no matter who is leading it to give it a more anti-imperialist and revolutionary direction.


A World Without Imperialism. Not An Imperialist World War!

From a Kurdish worker  
in southern California  
to Kurdish workers in Germany

For further information contact:  
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by lenny wolff

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# The New Not-Really Draft Cards

In a move carried out with understated publicity but also one with all the earmarks of a well thought out "transitional step," the Selective Service announced on October 11th that they are now beginning to issue draft cards at the rate of approximately 5,000 per day. These draft cards are not really "draft cards" an S.S. spokesman hastened to add. Yes, they are wallet-sized cards acknowledging draft registration, and yes they will have to be shown in the future by students applying for financial aid and by youth applying for some federally-funded jobs, and they do look much like the ones often seen torched on college campuses during the '60s and early '70s — but these are, says the Selective Service, not "draft cards."

After all, there is no draft — yet — and men are not required to carry them. But the cards are a step further in that direction. While such newspapers as the *Los Angeles Times* and *New York Times* failed to mention this new development, the *Washington Post* carried a three column-inch note pointing out that, "When it (draft registration) was resumed in 1980, officials decided not to issue cards in the hope of avoiding the card-burning pro-

tests of the Vietnam War era. Instead letters were sent, acknowledging that men had signed up." In a telephone interview, a Selective Service spokeswoman ridiculously hewed to the official story that only such letters have been issued — the draft cards are only different in that they are smaller and men can put them in their wallet "if they want to!"

Nonetheless the issuance of such cards is a special hurdle the government knows it must leap sooner or later on their way to implementing the draft itself. The fact that this move has been done with so little publicity indicates the government feeling that it is on very uncertain grounds here. The government now acknowledges over 400,000 nonregistrants, and the actual number is almost certainly twice that. The series of indictments and trials of nonregistrants over the last two years has tended to highlight resistance to the draft and has not resulted in any hopes for an increase in draft registration. Of course, the spokeswoman we talked to denied that such resistance has had anything to do with the issuance or non-issuance of "draft cards," insisting that "We haven't had any protests against

registration — well, there have been a few but no major ones... I know out in California you all get some publicity because Sasway is very vocal." (Ben Sasway was the first man indicted for refusing to register and was convicted and sentenced to federal prison.) In recent months the government has hinted at plans to begin a new surge of indictments (this time not focusing only on those who have publicly opposed the draft), and they have also begun to implement the Solomon Amendment which last summer was given the go ahead by the U.S. Supreme Court. This law requires that students sign a statement saying they have registered for the draft before they can receive any federal financial aid.

But even here the government is playing it carefully with a two-step enforcement plan. This year they will be basically taking the student's word for it — if he signs the statement (under penalty of perjury) he can get the money. But next year he will have to prove his registration (thus the draft card) and the school will have to send his name to the Selective Service who will then check out his status. The school will not be allowed to give out the

money until they hear back from the Selective Service okaying it. A Selective Service spokesman insisted that the only reason for the issuance of the new draft cards was for the convenience of people affected by these new procedures! Other similar approaches are either in effect or being considered. Young men must prove draft registration before being accepted in federal job-training programs and one suggestion from a Reagan-appointed bureaucrat in a recent issue of the magazine *The Washington Monthly* suggests that states require proof of draft registration before issuing a drivers license. Holding financial aid and other items hostage to draft registration, the government hopes, will prove more effective in forcing compliance with the draft and produce less focus on those who resist than the recent trials have.

In spite of all these careful measures, there will be resistance, as the government well understands, but the imperialists' need for the draft, even well before large-scale warfare, is pressing, and obviously they mean to move ahead.

## U.S. Govt. Outlaws Savannah Nuke Blockade

Columbia, South Carolina, late evening, Wednesday, October 19th.

"You don't have to tell me the importance of this plant to the national security. It is a very critical defense installation. If there is any interference to the operation of the bomb plant I'll do anything within my power to keep such interference from happening." With that pronouncement, federal district court judge Charles Simons granted a federal injunction against the scheduled October 22-24 weekend rally and Monday morning blockade of the U.S. Department of Energy's key nuclear weapons manufacturing plant, the Savannah River Plant (SRP) in rural South Carolina.

Penalty for violating the federal injunction is six months in the federal pen and/or \$500 fine per person, far stiffer than demonstrators at the plant have faced up till now. And the judge applied the injunction to anyone blockading a road in Columbia, South Carolina, some ninety miles from the plant.

The SRP has been the target of anti-nuclear war activities in the southeast for over a year. The massive 300-square-mile facility (employing 11,000 people) contains the only high-level, weapons-grade plutonium manufacturing reactors in the U.S. — reactors that grind out enough fissionable material for 150 jumbo hydrogen bombs each year. A capacity that is expected to rise by at least 30% in 1984 when one of the SRP's dormant reactors is restarted.

The rally and blockade of all five employee entrances to the plant has been organized by a broad coalition of groups and individuals to coincide with major actions in West Germany this weekend against the deployment of Pershing and cruise missiles in Europe. The federal injunction singles out two particular organizations, the G.R.O.W. Project in Columbia, South Carolina (where the actual organizing effort is being coordinated), and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, as well as a number of individual activists who have participated in press conferences announcing the blockade, one of whom is a local farmer.

More significantly, the U.S. Attorney argued that any individual or group that participates in any of the actions is part of a "class" that is equally responsible for all acts by others that might violate the injunction. Federal Judge Simons granted this "aiding and abetting" conspiracy clause of the government's injunction, making every single person liable for any and all actions.

These last minute threats on the part of the government, which received widespread media coverage in the region (while there's been a media blackout about the blockade itself), have greatly

raised the stakes for the hundreds of expected demonstrators who have been training and making plans for the blockade for months now. Up until this week, the South Carolina state trespass law has been the main weapon used against anti-nuke demonstrators, a maximum 30-day, \$100 fine, with the usual sentence a \$25 fine. The federal trespass law, which was used against the SRP 6 one and a half years ago, holds no jail time.

During the Wednesday hearing, Judge Simons also went on a rampage against one of the spokesmen for the Columbia G.R.O.W. Project's Natural Guard who is a well-known, long-time political activist in South Carolina. Simons listed for the record his conviction and time served in the early '70s for draft evasion and protest against the Vietnam War, as well as other of his activities. And the SLED (State Law Enforcement Division, South Carolina's version of the FBI) filed an affidavit on the government's behalf stating in numerous and varied ways, "You never know who will turn up at the demonstration," listing so-called "subversive" organizations and individuals that "operate" in the state.

While the stakes have been raised, and debate over what to do this weekend has begun to flourish among the participants, the actions seem sure to draw people from all over the southeast, promising one of the sharper points of protest in the days of demonstrations which are planned in this country to coincide with those in Europe. As one activist told the *RW*, "A lot of people are awfully committed to stop the bomb plant, or at least making that expression on that day." To these determined protestors, the U.S. imperialists have plainly decided to issue a stern warning, the same as issued by the West German imperialists, and indeed the leaders of the entire Western bloc, to the millions who are enraged at the deployments. "We are going to deploy our nukes no matter what the hell you say or do, so get out of the way or suffer the consequences!"

The general tenor was well captured on a recent ABC *Nightline* TV show, which proposed "a dialogue" to some European peace activists appearing on the show. The "dialogue" consisted of a State Department official and other "experts" telling the activists that the missiles would go in come hell or high water, and asking whether that didn't discourage everyone who might object. The week promises to be chock-full of mini-lessons like this and like the government's threats in South Carolina on the real meaning of the democracy and "Western values" about which the NATO imperialists love to brag.

Bob Avakian  
on  
Anarchism

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# FOR A HARVEST OF DRAGONS

"We, in our turn, must also understand the specific features and tasks of the new era. Let us not imitate those sorry Marxists of whom Marx said: 'I have sown dragon's teeth and harvested fleas.'" V.I. Lenin

An Essay Marking the 100th Anniversary of Marx's Death

## On the "Crisis of Marxism" and the Power of Marxism —Now More than Ever

By Bob Avakian

1983 marks the one hundredth anniversary of the death of Karl Marx. Over this past century and more, Marxism has animated and aroused millions. Few can deny that the political landscape of the world today has been profoundly shaped by the struggles and revolutions Marxism has inspired. On the occasion of this anniversary, Bob Avakian has written a landmark essay, *For A Harvest Of Dragons*. Avakian's previous books include a major study of the thought of Mao Tsetung and an analysis of the events leading up to and the significance of the 1976 coup in China. Here he guides the reader through a synoptic history of Marxism.

Avakian begins by summarizing the theoretical revolution ushered in by Marx's investigations — in the realms of philosophy, history, economic theory, and politics. He then proceeds to examine some of the controversies that have swirled around the course and development of Marx's thought, in particular the relation of Marx's early writings to his mature work and the possible divergences between Marx and Engels. Turning next to the work of Lenin and Mao, Avakian argues that their theoretical innovations represent the most important enrichment of Marxism of the twentieth century. Finally, in one of the most provocative sections of his survey, Avakian subjects Soviet Marxism to withering criticism. He analyzes several representative works by Soviet scholars and shows that their method, content, and outlook cut against and suffocate the revolutionary essence of Marxism.

This essay appears at a time of a widely proclaimed "crisis of Marxism" — when the labor theory of value is under attack, when the applicability of Leninist forms of organization is subject to deep questioning, when the whole revolutionary experience of the 1960s is being reassessed, and when even the feasibility of socialism has been called into doubt. But Avakian's defense of Marxism is no mere liturgical reaffirmation. He stresses that Marxism is a dynamic system, that it advances precisely in connection with the new problems posed by developments in the world, and that there is both an invigorating Marxist tradition to uphold as well as a deadening "conventional wisdom" to renounce. Avakian argues powerfully for the contemporary relevance of Marxism. Indeed, *For A Harvest Of Dragons* is itself striking testimony to Marxism's continuing vitality.

"In the final analysis, as Engels once expressed it, the proletariat must win its emancipation on the battlefield. But there is not only the question of winning in this sense but of how we win in the largest sense. One of the significant if perhaps subtle and often little-noticed ways in which the enemy, even in defeat, seeks to exact revenge on the revolution and sow the seed of its future undoing is in what he would force the revolutionaries to become in order to defeat him. It will come to this: we will have to face him in the trenches and defeat him amidst terrible destruction but we must not in the process annihilate the fundamental difference between the enemy and ourselves. Here the example of Marx is illuminating: he repeatedly fought at close quarters with the ideologists and apologists of the bourgeoisie but he never fought them on their terms or with their outlook; with Marx his method is as exhilarating as his goal is inspiring. We must be able to maintain our firmness of principles but at the same time our flexibility, our materialism and our dialectics, our realism and our romanticism, our solemn sense of purpose and our sense of humor."

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