



REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

Voice of the
Revolutionary Communist
Party, U.S.A.

No. 123

(Vol. 3, No. 21)

Published weekly

September 25, 1981

Itions in English, Spanish, Chinese and French

ISSN 0193-3485

50¢

West German Youth:

REBELLING ON THE FRONT LINES



Streetfighting between demonstrators and police erupted in the heart of Berlin as thousands converged on the government building where Haig was speaking.

On September 13 Secretary of State and former NATO Supreme Commander Alexander Haig was met by massive and militant demonstrations including street battles involving thousands of youth upon his visit to West Germany. Hot on the heels of this righteous reception, street battles erupted in a number of West German cities last week after police attacked squatters in West

Berlin and were met head-on with determined resistance. See stories on page 6 and 7 for this and other news of sharpening struggle among West German and other youth in Western Europe in the face of the imperialists' war plans in this key area—a focal point of contention between the two superpower-led war blocs.

AFL-CIO Solidarity Day

Marching in the Mainstream

On September 19, 250,000 people marched in Washington, D.C. in a demonstration called by the AFL-CIO and others to protest the economic program of the Reagan administration. The event drew the most immediate social base of high labor officialdom—lower and not so lower level union officers, stewards and the like—and also some employed and unemployed industrial workers not so directly connected. To boot, in attendance were people drawn from different political movements, a

phenomenon largely the result of the grandiose attention paid to Solidarity Day by no small number of organizations on "the left."

While Solidarity Day was certainly no "historic battle" against Reagan's cuts" or anything else, the demonstration itself—and the politics surrounding it in different quarters—did throw into sharp relief some of the features of today's contradictory situation. It was a political concentration of the attitude and mood of a section of workers (and others) in this country who are caught

in the vise of imperialist crisis, but many of whom at the same time still have some things going for them within the system and remain well within the ideological clutches of trade unionism and bourgeois politics in general. Like it or not, Solidarity Day was all-in-all a political expression of the mainstream of, if you will, "American labor." Such an event—like those which will undoubtedly follow—is certainly nothing for revolutionaries (or those inclined toward a revolutionary position) to steer clear of, but neither is it something upon which one should gaze in fascination, not to mention admiration.

The action was initiated by the AFL-CIO and endorsed by a host of others, including groups like the NAACP, Urban League, SCLC, etc.; it all came together to form the long-classic configuration of American liberalism: the "Labor/Civil Rights coalition." Also endorsing Solidarity Day and mixed up with the mush were many movement organizations. Solidarity Day was pitched toward the 1982 elections, when, it is hoped, the Democratic Party will

Continued on page 19

¡EL SALVADOR!

EL SALVADOR—the very name has come to stand for the foul crimes committed by U.S. imperialism, AND for the heroic revolutionary struggle of a people devoted to liberation. Beginning in October the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (RCYB) is launching a nationwide speaking tour of revolutionary comrades from El Salvador, to travel especially to college campuses and communities of the oppressed from Latin America. From one of the front lines of the revolutionary movement internationally today, these Salvadorans will be speaking like no one else has in this country, about their experiences and the struggle in their country.

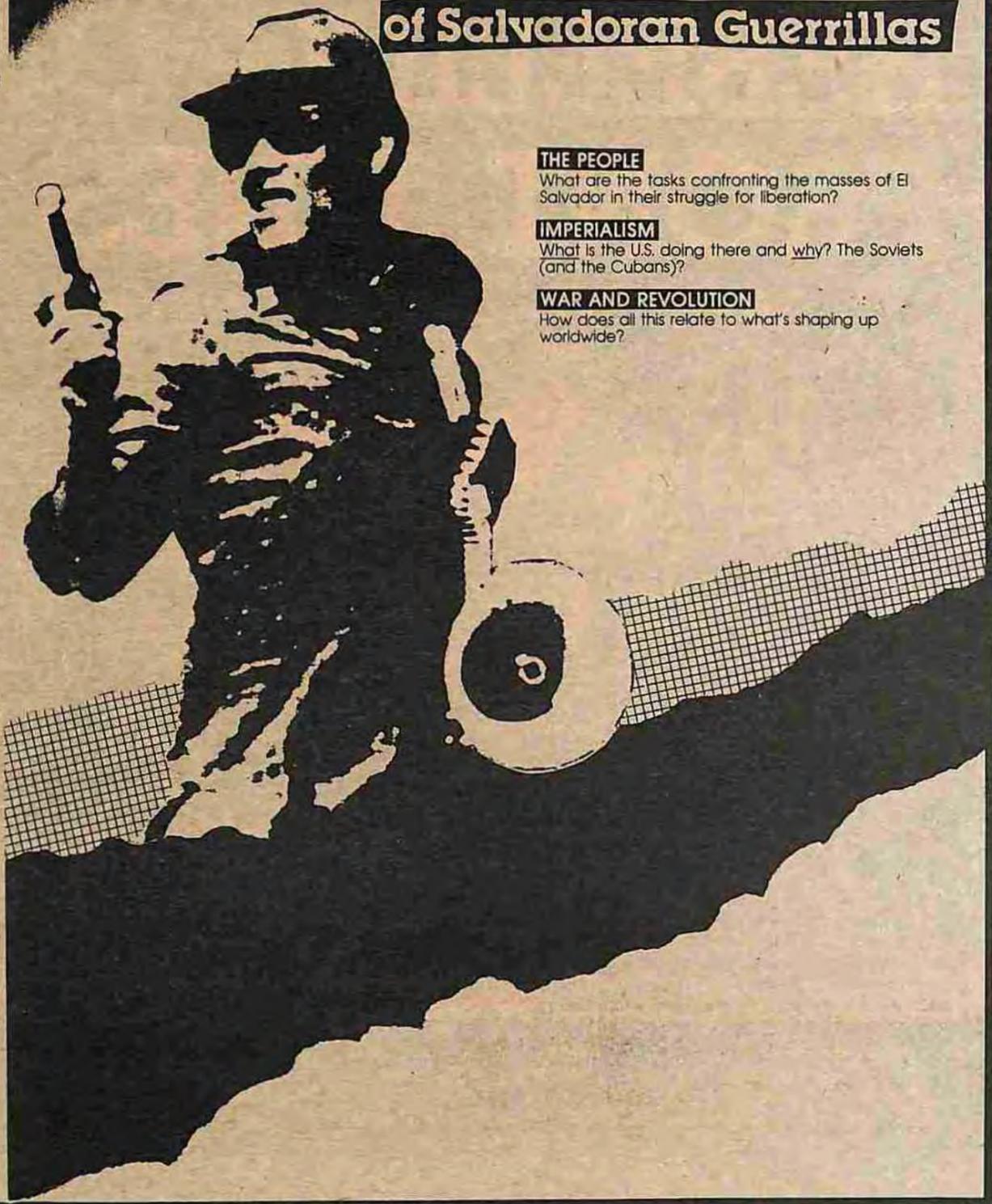
At programs and other activities, the tour will focus on the life and death questions confronted in the Salvadoran revolution, and how the situation there relates to the developing situation in the world today. Why is the U.S. so determined to "draw the line and hold on to what it's got at all costs" in El Salvador? What is the role of the Soviet Union, Cuba, and pro-Soviet forces in El Salvador today, and specifically are they friendly forces, irrelevant, or an obstacle to the forward advance of the Salvadoran struggle? Are the activities of the imperialists in El Salvador some kind of weird and barbaric policies? What are the central questions in the liberation war in El Salvador that the guerrillas and masses are grappling with? What does the situation in El Salvador have to do with where things are headed overall internationally, in terms both of imperialism and the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat and oppressed peoples? These and many other questions will be gone into in detail on the tour, drawing on the rich knowledge of those who will be speaking.

The RCYB is calling on other people to sponsor, help build, and contribute to the tour throughout the country and in each area, including those in El Salvador support groups, anti-draft groups, community groups, church groups, professors, student governments, and others who see this tour as an important and exciting chance to build opposition to imperialism and support the Salvadoran revolution. Contact the RCYB in your area (or the RCYB national address: P.O. Box A3836, Chicago, IL 60690) to find out more information.

Funds Needed

Funds are immediately needed for the tour. To help ensure that the tour will be able to go to the many areas of the U.S. where people want to and need to hear first-hand of the situation in El Salvador, these funds must be raised. Also money is needed for broad publicity and other expenses. Think of the significance of a tour like this, the impact it can have on thousands, that there has never been a tour of revolutionary Salvadorans like it before. Then make a financial contribution and play a vital role in making it happen. Send contributions to: RCYB, P.O. Box A3836, Chicago, IL 60690. Also please mark "For Salvadoran Revolutionaries Tour" with your money.

National Speaking Tour of Salvadoran Guerrillas



THE PEOPLE

What are the tasks confronting the masses of El Salvador in their struggle for liberation?

IMPERIALISM

What is the U.S. doing there and why? The Soviets (and the Cubans)?

WAR AND REVOLUTION

How does all this relate to what's shaping up worldwide?

CONTACT THE *Revolutionary Worker* Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, IL 60654 IN YOUR AREA CALL OR WRITE:

Alabama: P.O. Box 2334, Birmingham, AL 35201 (205) 787-0202
 California:
 Berkeley, 3126 Grove St., Berkeley, CA 94703 (415) 841-8314
 Los Angeles Area, Revolution Books 2597 W. Pico Blvd., L.A., Calif. 90006 (213) 384-3856
 San Diego, P.O. Box 16033, San Diego, CA 92116
 District of Columbia: Revolution Books 2438 18th St. N.W., Washington, DC 20009 (202) 265-1969
 Georgia: Revolutionary Worker P.O. Box 10743, Atlanta, GA 30310 (404) 767-6784
 Hawaii: Revolution Books 2648 South King St., Honolulu, HI 96826 (808) 944-3106
 Illinois: Revolutionary Workers Center 542 S. Dearborn, Room 906, Chicago, IL 60605 (312) 922-1140
 Kentucky: P.O. Box 3005, Cincinnati, OH 45201 or call (513) 281-4275
 Maryland: Revolutionary Worker P.O. Box 1992, Baltimore, MD 21203
 Massachusetts: Revolution Books 118 Massachusetts Ave., Box 137, Boston, MA 02115 (617) 492-9016
 Michigan: Revolution Books 5744 Woodward Ave., Detroit, MI 48212 (313) 872-2288
 Missouri: P.O. Box 6013, St. Louis, MO 63139 (314) 773-6068
 New York:
 Buffalo, Box 121, Ellicott Station, Buffalo, NY 14205 (716) 895-6561
 NYC & New Jersey: Revolution Books 16 East 18th St., New York, NY 10003 (212) 243-8638
 North Carolina: P.O. Box 5712, Greensboro, NC 27403 (919) 275-1079
 Ohio:
 Cincinnati, c/o Revolution Books 313 Calhoun St., Cincinnati, OH 45219 (513) 281-4275
 Cleveland, P.O. Box 09190, Cleveland, OH 44109 (216) 431-6910
 Dayton, P.O. Box 3005, Cincinnati, OH 45201 (513) 274-8046
 Oregon: Revolutionary Workers Center 4728 N.E. Union, Portland, OR 97211 (503) 282-5034
 Pennsylvania: P.O. Box 11789, Philadelphia, PA 19104 (215) 849-3574
 Texas:
 Austin, Revolutionary Worker P.O. Box 5914, Austin, TX 78763 (512) 477-3105
 El Paso, P.O. Box 2357, El Paso, TX 79952 (915) 566-3377
 Houston, P.O. Box 18112, Houston, TX 77023 (713) 641-3904
 Washington State: Revolution Books 1828 Broadway, Seattle, WA 98122 (206) 323-9222
 West Virginia: P.O. Box 617, Beckley, WV 25801

Subscriptions

One Year—\$20

Ten Weeks trial Subscription—\$4.00

<input type="checkbox"/> English Edition	Foreign Subscriptions—
<input type="checkbox"/> Spanish Edition	\$80 Airmail
<input type="checkbox"/> Chinese Edition	For Institutions—
<input type="checkbox"/> French Edition (monthly)	\$30/year

Contact your local *Revolutionary Worker* distributor to arrange for your weekly copy of the *Revolutionary Worker* or write to:

Box 3486, Merchandise Mart Chicago, IL 60654

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Order Chinese edition, from:
 Everybody's Bookstore, 17 Brenham Pl., San Francisco, CA 94108,
 Order French from:
 Revolution Books, 16 E. 18th St., New York NY 10003

The Force de Frappe Strategy

It is somewhat ironic that the luster of the halo around the head of France's new Socialist president is far from disappeared at a time when he and his government are vying with Margaret Thatcher to make the most "pro-Atlantic" (i.e., pro-U.S. war bloc) speeches outside of the good old USA itself. When fellow "socialist" Helmut Schmidt of West Germany is having to cope with massive and rapidly mounting opposition to West Germany's role in NATO as a giant nuclear battlefield and even such long time West German imperialist spokesmen and long time friends of U.S. imperialism as Willy Brandt are feeling compelled to utter a few pious words about a more "reasonable" and "cautious" approach to World War Three, Monsieur Mitterand came out in support of Schmidt's acceptance of the Cruise and Pershing missiles and even went him one further in declaring that U.S.-Soviet talks on the "Euromissiles" should begin only after these new weapons were deployed (see *RW* No. 115). When Reagan announced the decision to "manufacture" the neutron bomb (the manufacturing and stockpiling of which actually went ahead under the Carter administration) even most Western imperialist powers had to mouth "concern", "reserve", etc. But French Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy declared that he would not rule out "a priori" the manufacture of the Buy-France neutron bomb (whose development program is openly admitted to being long underway) which is thinly concealed imperialist doubletalk for they'll deploy them as soon as possible.

In the same speech delivered to the French Institute of High Studies of National Defense on September 15, Mauroy also declared that while he "is the prime minister of change," "continuity imposes itself on at least one point—the imperatives of defense." The continuity he is speaking about is above all the strategic military line established by General DeGaulle in 1966 and maintained by all the French presidents since then. The essential military policy of French imperialism is based on two basic points: 1) that France is an integral member of the Atlantic Alliance including NATO, and 2) the need to maintain a credible independent nuclear force.

This two-pronged approach is a direct reflection of France's position in the world vis à vis the other imperialist powers, especially the U.S. and the Soviet Union. France is too weak to "go it alone" in a fundamental sense; its imperialist ruling class knows full well that it can fulfill its own interests only in alliance with those of other imperialist powers. Under current conditions this means in alliance with the other Western imperialists and, as Mauroy pointed out, "in the first rank, the United States." Apparently there are still some in the world who see this as evidence of France's "domination" by the U.S.

However former president Giscard d'Estaing, himself, did an able job on behalf of the French ruling class in refusing this. He pointed out in a press interview last year that France had always pursued its own interests through alliances with one or another state (of course he left out of his chronology the alliance of the great bulk of the French imperialist ruling class with Hitler's Germany, which actually would have strengthened his point). At the same time the French imperialists want to be sure that they have the means to pursue their own im-

perialist politics if and when these politics are carried out by "other, i.e. violent means," i.e., World War Three. The French ruling class, well read in history, knows that a war that begins with a certain alignment of forces need not end that way and that he who starts out in the middle of the heap can, possibly, end up on top of it. Thus we come to the celebrated *Force de Frappe*, the independent nuclear arsenal of French imperialism.

DeGaulle, who had a keen understanding of the relationship between political and military strategy, first developed France's atomic weapons in the 1960s. "Gaulisme" cannot be understood outside its international context. While a full discussion of DeGaulle's policy is outside the scope of this article, two points are relevant here: 1) it was conditioned by a significant change in the international alignment of forces, especially with the victory of revisionism in the Soviet Union and its policy at that time of open collaboration with Western imperialism; and 2) DeGaulle's assertion of national independence always took place in the context of a U.S.-led alliance. At the time, this policy met with some resistance from the U.S. imperialists, who were anxious to maintain a monopoly on nuclear weapons within the Western bloc, and were also, together with the Soviet Union at that time, whipping up a big campaign against "nuclear proliferation" (countries obtaining the H-bomb who might not be so refined, cultured and sober headed as the superpowers, especially then socialist China against whom the U.S. and the Soviets were actively considering nuclear attack). DeGaulle refused to give up full control over the eventual use of France's nuclear weapons or to renounce atomic testing in the atmosphere until such time, that is, that France developed its ability to carry out just as effective tests underground. DeGaulle refused to accept the "double key" solution used in Britain by which British nuclear weapons can only be fired by the joint order of the U.S. President and the British Prime Minister. It was this concern, that led to DeGaulle's decision to withdraw from the joint military command of NATO, which is commonly distorted or misunderstood to mean that he "pulled out of NATO." As a matter of fact, France never pulled out of NATO at all but continues to be a full member of the treaty establishing NATO that calls on each of its members to come to the aid of each other in the event of "attack." The French participate in all NATO discussions, liaison between NATO headquarters and the French army is assured at all levels; joint maneuvers take place, etc. French soldiers continue to be stationed in West Germany and the French bourgeoisie has again and again made clear that it considers West Germany its eastern frontier; as Mauroy put it, "Aggression against France does not begin when her national territory is penetrated!"

Today, the U.S. imperialists are very happy about the *Force de Frappe*, knowing that it will in all likelihood be used in conjunction with U.S. forces in the course of war. The U.S. even makes use of the fact that this force is independent to avoid having French missiles counted in Western totals in SALT talks and in public opinion campaigns.

DeGaulle's big fear was that in a world war France could not pursue its own interests without an independent nuclear force. In particular, he was reacting to the breaking of the U.S.

position of clear-cut supremacy by the Soviet Union. As long as the U.S. held clear-cut superiority, the U.S. imperialists were able to pursue their nuclear policy of "massive retaliation" in the event of war with the Soviets. When the U.S. nuclear monopoly was decisively broken by the USSR, the officially proclaimed policy was one of "Mutually Assured Destruction" (MAD) (see "Salt II: Preparing the Missiles—and the Masses—for War", *Revolution* June 1979) in which the U.S. and the Soviet Union would both maintain nuclear forces strong enough to wipe out each other and each other's population in case of war, which was sold to the public as assuring peace! DeGaulle was farsighted enough to see that this strategic thinking would never last long. He also knew that the U.S. would take those military measures necessary to maintain and strengthen its own position, which on the one hand would require the U.S. to support France in an all out war with the Soviets, but on the other hand would always proceed on the basis of U.S. and not French interests. Indeed shortly after DeGaulle's withdrawal from the NATO joint command, the MAD doctrine was replaced by Kissinger's "flexible response" by which the U.S. uses its military forces, including nuclear weapons, on the basis of the concrete situation that would arise and would seek to avoid an all out strategic exchange aimed at each other's civilian and industrial targets. In particular, the Kissinger doctrine (maintained by Carter and Reagan) calls for trying to defeat Soviet land armies in Europe through a massive use of tactical nuclear weapons (now including, of course, the neutron bomb) and perhaps the use of "medium range" missiles and relying on the all-out strategic attack only if absolutely necessary—in short, try to concentrate the devastation of nuclear war on the territory of others. The French imperialists hope to escape this fate through their *Force de Frappe*. As Kissinger pointed out in his memoirs, DeGaulle and France's secret desire is to maneuver in such a way that the U.S. and the USSR fight a war "over the heads" of Europe and in particular France. While never renouncing France's commitment to the Atlantic Alliance, or failing to recognize that in all likelihood France would be on the same side as the U.S., DeGaulle wanted to insure a strong position for France within this alliance.

The French nuclear force, while small by superpower standards, actually includes quite a destructive potential—enough, they believe, to make their military-political policy credible. With 80 missiles, each equipped with several powerful H-bombs, stationed safely on nuclear submarines, in addition to some land based missiles and strategic bombers, this force is enough to inflict massive damage on all significant population centers of a potential enemy (in the present context—the Soviet Union). France does not have the means to effectively try to equal the U.S. or Soviet nuclear stockpiles; thus it sees no way of coming out on top of an all-out nuclear exchange. For this reason the French nuclear forces are not targeted at the missiles and military targets of the Soviet Union but at civilian population centers where a few bombs can go a long way. As Mauroy put it, "The French strategy therefore remains the dissuasion of the strong by the weak, that is a strategy that can only be anti-city." By this strategy, the French imperialists hope to spare the

territory of France from nuclear devastation and at the same time to hold a strong card with which to negotiate with friend and foe alike in the event of war. They also believe that the *Force de Frappe* is the necessary muscle in the case circumstances made it necessary and opportune to disengage itself from its allies or even to switch sides.

The *Force de Frappe* is not only the continual policy of all French governments (again Mauroy is blunt: he boasts in his interview that research on France's nuclear program began well before DeGaulle came to power, i.e., under the last "socialist" government!); it is also the pride of all major French political parties. When a new nuclear attack submarine was launched recently from the shipyards at Cherbourg, *l'Humanité*, daily newspaper of the revisionist Communist Party of France (PCF) declared poetically on September 2: "It rained on Cherbourg, but the population came out in large numbers to attend the ceremony, as proud as their almost 5000 fathers, brothers and sons who had given form to the steel." The PCF's one important divergence in nuclear strategy from that of the rest of the French bourgeoisie is their opposition to the neutron bomb. Not to the French neutron bomb, of course, but only to the American one! This reflects the PCF's dual loyalty to the French bourgeoisie on the one hand and the USSR on the other, which ordered the worldwide revisionist movement to launch a giant campaign against the neutron bomb.

On the same occasion of the sub launching, the new "socialist" Defense Minister Henri pointed out that it had been 7 years (in other words, not during the Giscard regime) since a public launching had taken place. This remark on the importance of public submarine launchings reveals quite a bit about the value of the Mitterand government to the bourgeoisie. Whereas, under the former government, a brazen display of nuclear lust often gave rise to demonstrations, today the government of the left still finds it possible to blind people to their bloody war preparations by dangling petty reforms like the 35 hour work week (or is it 38 1/2?).

The great advantage French imperialism has in selling its nuclear program to the masses is its ability to wrap it in the blue, white and red Tricolor as the guarantee of France's independence and great power status—in other words by naked appeals to French chauvinism. No doubt this partly explains why France has escaped, for the present, the mass anti-militarist movement developing in Europe especially in West Germany, which despite its overwhelmingly positive, anti-imperialist character is, unfortunately, still significantly influenced by nationalism ("if there is going to be nuclear war between the U.S. and the Soviet Union why does it have to be on *our* territory?"). Still the French ruling circles are not sitting easy. Government spokesmen and the newspapers issue repeated and increasingly frequent warnings about the growth of "neutrality" and "pacifism" in Western Europe. What they fear most of all is not the spread of pacifism, but the possibility of anti-imperialist struggle spilling over their borders from West Germany and elsewhere and which could be developed against France's own, independent, imperialist ruling class. □

Diablo: Police Clampdown as Reactor Starts Up

As the blockade of the Diablo Nuclear Reactor entered its second week, contrary to the coverage given by the media at each point in the development of this struggle, the blockade had not folded up and died. Instead, it was more like the proverbial thorn in the paw of the lion—this thorn was still working its way into the flesh of the beast, and the authorities have been limping around looking for some animal lovers who will pull it out—or at least insure that the wound opened up does not become infected, and send more dangerous toxins through the body of the king of beasts.

Events last weekend gave a further glimpse of the wound the government has opened up by its efforts to jam this nuke (and through this, nukes in general—particularly the ones that are *meant* to blow up, and their preparations to use them) down the throats of the people. On Friday night, in Berkeley, a hastily-called candlelight vigil at the PG&E building in downtown Berkeley, in support of the blockade, drew hundreds of people for a brief rally at which an organizer for the Abalone Alliance spoke. The rally turned into a march through downtown Berkeley, attracting several thousand people along the way. While this march, in the main, followed the lead of the dominant line in the blockade itself with its political focus on the environmental and health dangers posed by the opening of the reactor, here no American flags were being waved. One man, typical of many, wondered if this was the road to doing "stuff like the '60s." However, there was no report of this march, even on the local news, indicating that the authorities were not anxious to draw forth any memories of demonstrations in the streets of Berkeley which were the scene of tremendous upheaval against the war in Vietnam and so on.

That same weekend, on Sunday, on the beach near San Luis Obispo, a rally was called by people from the town and students at Cal-Poly to support the blockade. About 5,000 people showed up, and marched from a rally site one and a half miles to the main gate of Diablo, completely covering up the public highway. This march, which at least one TV station claimed had "nothing to do with the blockade" (ludicrous on the face of it), was a graphic demonstration of the extremely broad forces that are being brought into political life by the bourgeoisie's relentless necessity to open Diablo. For weeks, signs could be seen in the windows of houses up and down the coast supporting the blockade, and the events at Diablo and whether or not one planned to participate were a hot topic of conversation among various strata throughout the area. A number of red flags were in evidence in this support march.

The authorities have continued to promote the view of the blockade itself represented by a picture of a woman handing out flowers to California Highway Patrolmen; the other side of that is the image of a National Guard truck accelerating into a line of blockaders, forcing them to dive out of the way or be literally crushed, which

was flashed on San Francisco Bay Area TV screens. All this has served the political purpose of loudly advertising the "futility" of opposing the force of the state. But outside the range of TV cameras the actions of the police have demonstrated an edge of desperation and savagery that the ruling class does not want out among the public.

Last Saturday, police intercepted a group of sea blockaders on a beach; one pig drew his revolver, and threatened to shoot a blockader if he didn't put on his pack and stand in the ocean in water up to his neck, while a PG&E helicopter swooped overhead, throwing up waves. PG&E helicopters have also made a point of trying to swamp boats of the sea blockade, especially inflatable rafts, by making waves with the downdraft from their blades. Groups that have taken to the woods to hike to the reactor have been particular targets of police attacks. One man was handcuffed, then repeatedly thrown into the cyclone fence around the reactor—to teach a "lesson," the police said to the group of blockaders that had been arrested with him. The Diablo Blockade's legal team reported that matrons in the jail where the woman blockaders are being held broke one woman's arm in the holding area. As of Wednesday afternoon, 700 blockaders were still in jail. The increasing viciousness of the police as the blockade lasted into its second week has undercut the widespread line that the state would "cooperate" with well-ordered non-violent protest and that it is possible to appeal to the "humanity" of the armed enforcers of the imperialist order. The attacks of the police have also highlighted the determination of many of the demonstrators in standing up to this. There have been a number of examples of people showing spunk and initiative, though still well within the "accepted" line of the blockade. One blockader was arrested only 400 feet from the reactor itself, carrying a can of spray paint. Another threw herself in front of a National Guard truck leading a caravan of PG&E employees into the plant at the main gate. She grabbed a hold of the bumper of the truck and it stopped, allowing other blockaders to regroup and keep the whole caravan out of the plant for several hours.

On Tuesday, September 22, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) ruled unanimously that PG&E could load fuel and start low-power testing of the Diablo Canyon reactor. This was the final legal barrier to the firing up of the nuke. Right alongside that, in the press and on TV, was the news that Jerry Brown, who had in the main stayed away from this battle since his anti-nuke credentials had been shattered by his order for the National Guard to join the battle to open Diablo, had filed suit in the U.S. Court of Appeals to stop the reactor. This threadbare attempt to promote the possibility of stopping Diablo through the courts was echoed by the publicity given to the doubts expressed by 3 (of 5) members of the NRC that Diablo was really ready for full-power running.

A fitting counterpoint to this sudden promotion of the possibility of legally challenging Diablo has been the govern-



Demonstrators approach reactor site from the hills.

ment's moves to make the blockade nearly illegal. A farmer who has let the blockade encampment use part of his land as a parking lot has been threatened with a lawsuit by the local government officials unless he throws the blockaders off.

On Wednesday, September 23rd, the press started running the story that the blockade was over, and that the blockaders were packing up their tents and going home. But many of the arrested blockaders had returned to camp and were joined over the weekend by hundreds of newcomers. While in one sense the story was wishful thinking on the part of the authorities, it was also a declaration that the blockade had outlived its usefulness as a media event. As far as the bourgeoisie is concerned, the blockade, which they declared a failure before it even started, had become like the "thing that refused to die"; since its continued existence does not serve their purpose of putting out a message of capitulation in the face of war, they have declared it dead.

But more important, and more fundamental, than how long the blockade lasts, are the cardinal political questions that have posed themselves more and more sharply, both to the blockaders and to all those following the battle, as the blockade has gone up against the increasing pressure of the state. Many of the more revolutionary blockaders have been surprised and angered at the picture painted in the bourgeois media of the whole blockade as loyal opposition, a picture which has gradually filtered into the camp. For many who have gone into the blockade thinking of their actions there as an expression of individual conscience, there's been a period of coming to terms with the fact that this struggle has been used by the mass media to broadcast a message of U.S. patriotism across the country and the world. The much photographed, big American flag in the very front of the camp has been the focal point of some of this struggle and debate. (See *RW* No. 122)

One woman said, "I hate U.S. foreign policy, but what difference does it make what flag flies here? I know in my heart how I feel about the flag—who cares what the media says?" This view was pulled at from two sides among the blockaders. One side argued from unity with the mainstream, the unity of the camp and unity with im-

perialism: "It doesn't represent me, it repulses me, but why break up our unity—we don't want to alienate anybody by taking it down. If this discussion gets into the media, it will alienate people to learn that there are people in this camp who oppose the American flag." The other side argued for developing internationalism: "Alienate! It offends me that that flag is here. You have to look at what it means to people of the world."

Debate over the red flag revealed that many blockaders were unfamiliar with this symbol of revolution and proletarian internationalism. One young revolutionary who demonstrated his feeling that everywhere the masses are in revolt, the red flag should be raised, by having a large one tucked into his back pocket at all times, explained why he carried it to a woman who wanted to know what it meant. "Oh," she said, "I'm an internationalist. I support the people of the world. I never understood what the red flag meant."

This kind of political struggle, and the fact that so many in the camp did not support the bloody U.S. flag, forced the organizers of the blockade to "allow a discussion of the flag at a mass meeting of the camp. They allowed all of five minutes, then ended it, even though many demanded that it go on, and were eager to speak. One woman who did speak said, "I am an American because I just happen to be born here. This flag doesn't represent me—I think it should fly upside down. Isn't that an international distress signal? And isn't this a distressful situation?" Although consensus was never reached on this proposal, someone apparently felt it had merit, because the big flag spent the rest of the afternoon upside down. The upside down flag, though somewhat distressful to those who want this political struggle to come to a quick end, clearly represented a compromise. What is required and is actually a real possibility in the storms ahead is certainly not saving an "America in distress," but overthrowing U.S. imperialism altogether.

While at this time it is not clear just what course the Diablo blockade itself will take, what is clear is that what has happened at Diablo so far is part of a rapidly intensifying battle for the political allegiance of the people heading into World War Three and/or other earthshaking events. □

Haitian Revolutionary Reports on Krome Rebellion

The struggle of Haitian refugees in Miami has continued to rage in recent weeks following the Sept. 3rd rebellion and hunger strike at the Krome Detention Center. For two weeks INS officials imposed a blackout on information from the Center. This was coupled with a news media blackout. Family, friends and attorneys of prisoners were not allowed inside to find out what was going on. Recently members of the refugees' immediate families have been allowed to visit; but many of the refugees have no relatives in Florida. The condition of wounded refugees, as well as news of the continuing struggle has been kept from supporters. The rumor of one possible murder could not be investigated. The Haitian community is infuriated by this sharpening repression. Despite the attempts to isolate the refugees, news is being passed out. At the time of the rebellion, the RW ran a brief account, but news of the full story has been difficult to obtain. We were fortunate to receive the following account from a Haitian revolutionary in Miami (this account was translated and slightly edited by RW correspondents):

It is the intolerable repression of the Duvalier dictatorial regime working hand-in-hand with the U.S. government that continues to force Haitians to try to flee their land. Since the rebellion, in just one week, three more boatloads of refugees have been arrested. Two of these boats were crammed with 100 and 150 people. The Haitians come to the U.S. as their last hope with a dream of being able to make a decent living. Some tolerate being put in jail for a couple of days because they think that this is the normal procedure when they arrive while awaiting refugee status. They risk their lives to make the trip. For example, some on these overcrowded boats have had to jump overboard to their death to lighten the overloaded boats when they have been caught in storms and threatened to capsize and drown everyone. But none have thought that they would arrive in this "great land of democracy" to be thrown in the detention centers and treated like dogs.

Krome Avenue Detention Camp has until the rebellion been the main camp where Haitian refugees have been sent. The men have been separated from the women by a barbed wire fence. The sleeping quarters stink. They have not been cleaned. In the women's quarters 150 to 200 women are kept in rooms that have a capacity of 50. It's two to a bed, very often one woman is pregnant and one not. Whenever it rains, the roof leaks and everyone gets wet, water running down the floors like rivers. There are swarms of mosquitos. The conditions of the men are no better. Some are inside and some are outside in small tents.

The refugees are brought to "trial" supposedly to determine if they are eligible for refugee status. In fact these courtrooms are giving the legal okay for denying Haitians their rights. It is not unusual for 100 people to be "tried" in one day. There are two lawyers for all the refugees—1,000-1,800. Lawyers can only represent a refugee if they already have the refugee's name. They are not supposed to speak to any other refugees except those they are representing. Despite this, the lawyers have often run after the refugees as they are being herded into the courtroom. Each refugee has 15 minutes to present his whole case. The lawyers complain that they aren't given enough time to visit those they represent, but the judges just go ahead with the "trials." Many, of course, end up with no representation and are just shipped to jail to await deportation. The only interpreters



One of the hundreds of boatloads of Haitian immigrants arrives in Ft. Lauderdale, Florida.

available are all employees of the INS. They never explain the refugees' rights in court and are notorious for implementing the INS' unwritten law of fouling up translations.

Since January 1, 1981 when new immigration laws went into effect, Coast Guard and Border Patrol police have been rounding up Haitian refugees by the hundreds from the boats that arrive on U.S. shores. Many more have escaped capture, making their way to both the uninhabited rural areas of south Florida and the Keys as well as to the Haitian section of Miami. Once in prison, refugees supposedly have a 10 day period to register for political asylum status—to date not one single refugee has been granted such status. Furthermore, the INS simply did not tell the prisoners about the 10 day registration period, later using failure to register as an excuse for deportation. Then the INS pulled another trick—the authorities explained "asylum" to the Haitians by translating the word literally into the word for mental institution in creole. Not surprisingly few people wanted to sign up. But this trick has been exposed as well.—RW

From the minute the refugees are arrested they have been subjected to brutality. A guard at the Airport hotel, where some refugees were first detained before being sent to the camp, has raped several women: People are continually beaten and denied medical attention. Two days before the rebellion a woman who had recently had abdominal surgery was beaten and kicked in the stomach. After falling unconscious she was sent to the hospital where she still is today. Many of the refugees who have fought back against these beatings have been immediately thrown into solitary confinement at a federal correction institution.

On September 3rd, 100 refugees went on a hunger strike sparked by the latest series of beatings and the denial of medical care to a two year old sick child. Wednesday, the administration called in some of the leaders of the strike and told them they were not responsible for the conditions at the

Continued from page 14



Sleeping facilities at Krome Detention Center.

NATO Prepares a "Certain Encounter"

In the past week, NATO's annual "Autumn Forge" rehearsal for World War 3 has been in high gear. Thousands of U.S. troops, tons of equipment, ships, and squadrons of war planes have streamed across the Atlantic to take their place in the Western military alliance's European order of battle. Once there, they joined the tens of thousands of U.S. soldiers permanently stationed in Europe, along with military forces from Britain, Canada, Italy, France, Turkey, Belgium, Norway, West Germany and Portugal—some 300,000 military personnel in all—to stage 28 separate military exercises now underway all across Western Europe, from Norway to Turkey on the Mediterranean Sea. (While this is perhaps 100,000 fewer troops than last year's Autumn Forge, when taken together with "Ocean Venture '81", more troops and a much larger portion of the globe is involved.) Occurring against the backdrop of accelerating moves towards war and widespread political ferment in both the Eastern and Western imperialist blocs, the scale and scope of these exercises both reveal much about the imperialists' war plans, and spotlight the intensifying political contradictions they are facing.

The heart of the Autumn Forge maneuvers is West Germany where tens of thousands of West German, U.S., British and French troops are permanently stationed, and where hun-

dreds of thousands more are slated to arrive during these "games." The Fulda Gap region of central Germany (the spot chosen, of course, because it is considered one of the most likely invasion routes—from west or east—in all of Europe) was where the centerpiece of this year's Autumn Forge maneuvers were staged. The name of the exercise itself—"Certain Encounter"—is designed to make the point of the maneuver too obvious to miss. Some 71,000 U.S., British, West German and a small number of French troops were gathered by NATO's military brass.

It should be noted, that along with the Fulda Gap region, the northern German plains are also considered a prime invasion site. In fact, last year's Autumn Forge '80 focused its maneuvers there, emphasizing the use of armored warfare. (The entire Second Armored Division from Fort Hood, Texas, was flown to Germany last year—their tanks are stationed in Germany all the time.) This year, the focus is on training and use of light infantry (without tanks, but equipped with the latest anti-tank technology). The 17,000 troops and equipment that was brought over as part of the Reforger (Return of Forces to Germany) exercises from the U.S. were mostly light infantry units. That over the past two years both types of warfare have been prepped, and both the key strategic areas for invasion in Germany have been the focus of maneu-

vers, further demonstrates the systematic nature of the imperialists' war preparations. In fact, this year's war "games" have placed a heavy emphasis on training troops for the "integrated battlefield"—fighting in a chemical/biological/nuclear environment.

ABC Nightly News, for example, featured a story on chemical warfare being practiced by the U.S. Eighth Mechanized Division on the fourth day of Certain Encounter, showing tanks being washed down, and "contaminated" chemical suits being stripped off by GIs in a decontamination station. The key question under scrutiny by military planners and top brass is: "Can the troops fight under these conditions and how quickly can we get them back to the front after exposure?" If people think, as did one reporter at the site of Certain Encounter, that once the troops are exposed to any or all of these deadly agents they are retired from the battlefield, the army is quick to differ. No, they are merely scrubbed down and issued new clothing, including carbon-lined suits and gas masks, and returned to the fray. As one officer quipped: "These troops are merely dirty, and what they are getting is a bath."

While there is no "officially" simulated nuclear attack, troops operating the decontamination centers are also trained in procedures for one—they amount to a similar "bath." But due to the decisiveness of the early moments of the opening of world war, it is very much in the scenario that the fighting would take place without "baths" and in a completely contaminated environment—including clothes and equipment. Indeed, decontamination units claim that it takes 24 hours to decontaminate one battalion (550 troops) and its equipment—hardly a timetable suited for gaining military advantage in war. It is a bit of a wonder that the Pentagon planners only estimate around 180,000 deaths in the first 90 days of the war—an estimate extremely conservative and which doesn't include civilian casualties or the use of tactical nuclear strikes!

Another key focus of the war preparations of both imperialist blocs is the Baltic Sea. This point was emphasized with the choice of Vaerlose Air Base (near Copenhagen), as the site of the opening ceremonies for this year's Autumn Forge maneuvers. General Bernard Rogers, the commander of NATO's European forces and the head of the U.S. military's European Command, was among the

host of military and civilian officials present to usher in this new round of war preparations. Zealand Island, the largest of the Danish islands and where the capital of Denmark, Copenhagen is located, rests squarely in the middle of the passage from the Baltic Sea to the Atlantic Ocean. In wartime, as a glance at any map of northern Europe shows, control of the island will be crucial in determining if the Soviet Baltic Fleet and the Polish and East German navies would remain bottled up in the Baltic or be able to move out and disrupt NATO supply lines spanning the Atlantic from the U.S. Zealand was thus the natural choice for a major expansion of the scope of Autumn Forge '81—an exercise called "Amber Express." It was a new twist, involving 22,000 troops from eight countries in a massive invasion and "battle" to control this strategic island.

Meanwhile a task force of U.S. and Western European warships has steamed into the Baltic Sea itself to conduct naval maneuvers at the same time. This operation, part of the mammoth U.S.-sponsored "Ocean Venture" naval exercise, is an open assertion of the U.S. war bloc's determination to control this strategic major body of water.

It is no coincidence that the Soviet navy only recently staged their own round of saber-rattling in the Baltic, winding up one of the largest naval exercises ever staged by the Soviet navy with an amphibious landing on the Soviet coast just miles away from the Polish border. This was also associated with a 100,000-man ground maneuver mounted by the Soviet army in the adjacent Baltic and Byelorussian military districts. The point of the Soviet exercise—underlined by its direct supervision by Soviet Defense Minister Ustinov, and with the presence of the Defense Ministers of all the Warsaw Pact countries and those of Cuba and Vietnam—was unmistakably aimed at the continuing unrest in Poland as well as at their Western imperialist rivals. And this point was of course milked by the Western press for all the propaganda value they could squeeze from it, just as the Soviets have with the U.S. war exercises.

Indeed, the imperialists have gone to great lengths in their all-round war preparations. In West Germany, for example, all the bridges have been built with boxes set in at strategically key structural spots for explosive charges—no doubt an architectural design right in line with one WW3 scenario that envisions a massive Warsaw Pact tank invasion. It is also common knowledge that stretches of the autobahn (highway) have been constructed perfectly straight and level for distances of 10,000 feet, and that the road dividers down the middle are removable. They are in fact, not too discreet military landing strips. And

Continued on page 14

Squatter—Police Showdown Ignites Street Battles

September 22—Coming only days after the massive demonstration that met Secretary of State Haig in West Berlin, street fighting broke out in Berlin and other West German cities this week. This new outbreak pitted West Berlin's well organized squatters' movement and thousands of their supporters against city authorities and riot police, whose vicious tactics have left one demonstrator dead and scores injured.

For weeks West Berlin officials have been threatening to crack down on the squatters' building occupations. Faced with a severe housing shortage in the city, people have moved into almost 200 of the thousands of livable apartment buildings in West Berlin owned by banks and real estate speculators who are leaving them empty in hopes of turning a juicy profit in the future by tearing them down and "developing" the area. On Sunday night, a "final ultimatum" was issued to clear a number of houses in the Schöneburg district. (Interestingly enough, they are owned, and looked upon as investments in typical capitalist fashion, by the top hacks of the DGB—the West German version of the AFL-CIO.)

In response to these threats, hundreds of people from around the city began to show up in support of the squatters. While many joined the occupations inside the houses, others camped out in front and set up defensive barricades for the battle to come. When the police moved in on Tuesday morning, the people outside defended their positions, lighting the barricades on fire and pelting the cops with stones, but were beaten back by the massed riot police—1800 of West Berlin's swine had been assembled, backed up by water cannons, a big tractor equipped to break down doors and trucks to clear away the barricades. Over 500 people were arrested as the houses were stormed and cleared.

After the "house-cleaning" had been completed, Heinrich Lummer, the president of the city government, went

down to one of the houses and held a press conference announcing the city's "victorious" completion of the operation against the squatters. But this turned out to be a premature victory celebration, to say the least.

When news of this provocative action spread, a large crowd gathered and tried to storm Lummer's press conference. A pitched battle with police ensued. At one point the riot police charged and pushed several hundred demonstrators out into the main intersection of a busy street, where an 18-year-old youth was run over by a bus and killed. Immediately, the police put out a report that one of their men had just been stabbed in another part of the city. Though they announced two hours later that this earlier report had been "mistaken," the major newspapers went ahead and printed the police-stabbing story alongside the death of the youth in a desperate and foul attempt to defuse a very explosive situation.

Later that evening, a memorial demonstration was called for, and 10,000 people marched down to the site where the youth was killed, where they were attacked by the police once more. This kicked off new street fighting, which spread to other sections of the city. According to one report from West Berlin, as many as 25 banks and police stations were set on fire that night. Meanwhile, news of these events ignited a series of street demonstrations and clashes with police in at least 8 West German cities, including Bremen, Hannover, Hamburg, Munich, Karlsruhe and Freiburg. In Frankfurt, over 1000 people spontaneously assembled at the university and marched down through town, causing hundreds of thousands of marks worth of damage in an exclusive shopping area. The West German bourgeoisie is suffering considerable political damage as well, as new lessons in the function of their state are being handed out to the people in rapid succession. □



**BARRICADES
in BERLIN**
Klaus Neukrantz

"IT'S ONE HELL OF A STORY and working class art at its finest."

Stirring novel of armed class warfare... Berlin workers' battle to march through the streets on May Day 1929.

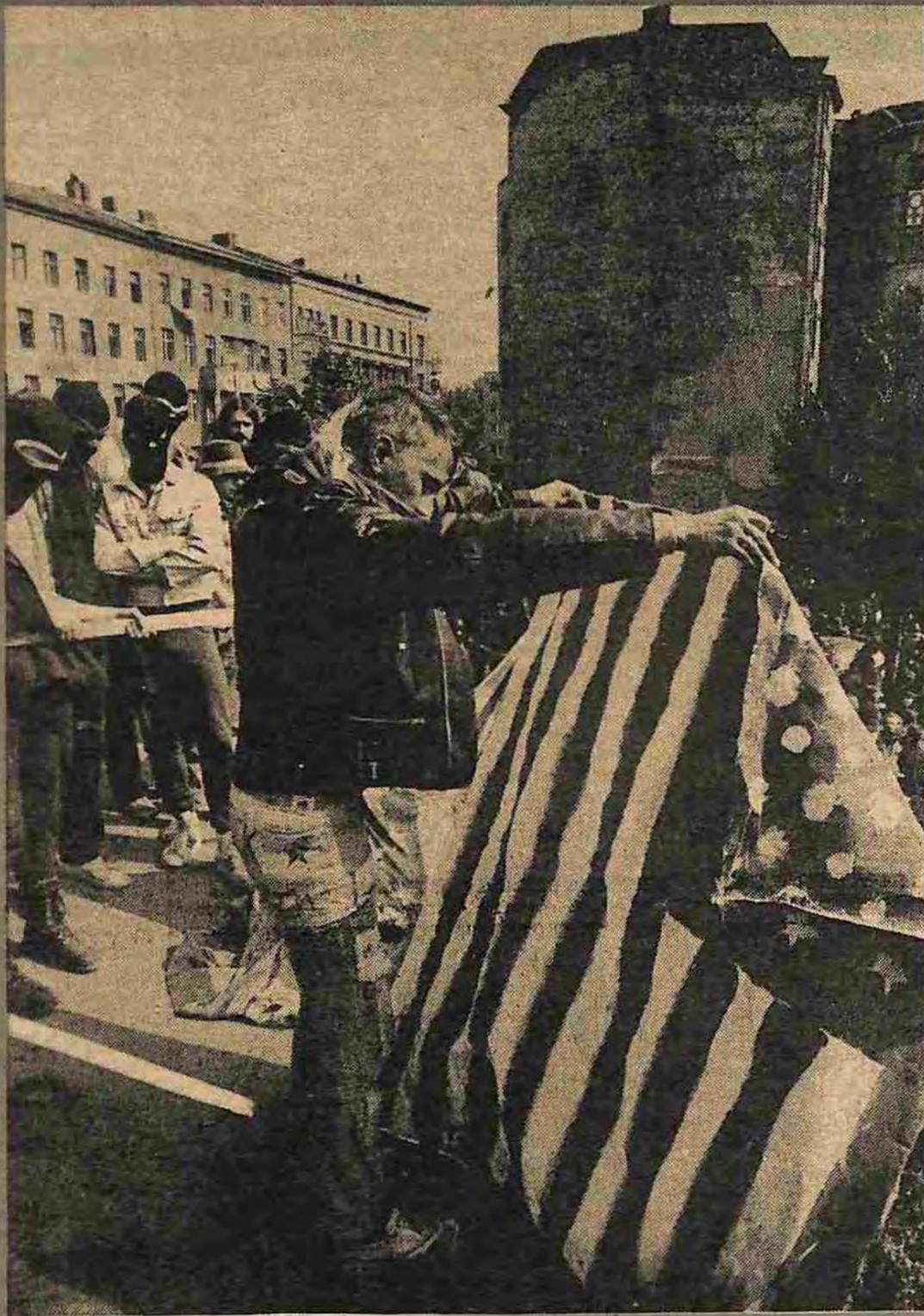
"It has a liveliness and emotional impact today that is in large part due to the fact that what it describes is a struggle which certainly did not end with that May Day battle in Berlin in 1929."

\$2.95

Order from
BANNER PRESS
P.O. Box 6469
Chicago, IL 60680
Please add 50¢ postage
Illinois residents
add 5% sales tax

A RIGHTEOUS RECEPTION FOR HAIG

Home-made American flag gets torched, just one of many that went up in flames at the anti-Haig demonstration in West Berlin.



September 13—The biggest demonstration in memory against a high-ranking U.S. official in Germany marked the five-hour stopover of Secretary of State Haig in West Berlin. Between 70,000 and 80,000 people took to the streets, including large numbers of youth, squatters, anti-nuke activists, anti-military activists, and joined by contingents of Iranians, Greeks and other nationalities. This massive demonstration was all the more significant as it took place just as NATO's Autumn Forge 81 military exercises—centered in West Germany—were getting underway.

In spite of all efforts to keep the demonstration under control, as many as 5000 militant youth broke away from the main body of the march and tried to storm the city hall where Haig was speaking. Thousands of police repelled them with clubs, water cannon and tear gas. Fighting then broke out in the streets surrounding the area and raged into the evening. Police using armored personnel carrier-type vehicles tried to clear the streets, destroying everything in their path, and then attempted to blame the demonstrators for the damage. In response, demonstrators put signs on the demolished vehicles saying that the pigs had destroyed them. By morning 60 police had been injured and over 100 people arrested.

While the demonstration was denounced both before and after it took place by the ruling Social-Democratic Party/Free Democratic Party coalition, they also had their own youth wings officially register the march with the authorities in Berlin. This was in hopes that they could keep the demonstration well within accepted bounds of protest and more importantly under their political leadership. However, the very fact that they were forced to do this, and that over twice the number of people estimated beforehand by the press showed up, revealed even more clearly the growing difficulties facing the West German bourgeoisie.

Prior to the demonstration, the whole police force in West Berlin had been placed on alert; police barricades were set up throughout the city—which the Western press calls an "oasis of freedom" located in the middle of East Germany. Instead of detaining demonstrators at the border (which would have caused an international incident), the West Berlin police waited until they were within the city and then used various tactics to try to disrupt the demonstration even before it got going. For example, a group of 180 demonstrators from Hamburg, Bremen and Goettingen were detained and some arrested because, according to police, "We didn't like their looks" and "they were planning to use violence." Haig in his speech noted how wonderful it was to be in the city of West Berlin that concentrates all the freedom and democracy of the Western world. Needless to say, those who were being detained because of their looks and intentions, as well as the people who were being clubbed and teargassed in the streets outside the hall where Haig delivered his lofty speech, were grateful for this "freedom" that Haig was suggesting they die for.

The mobilization for the demonstration drew thousands from all parts of West Germany. Many arrived during the week before Haig's visit to discuss the politics of the demonstration and to attend concerts put on by groups such as "Punks Against Haig." The demonstration was brimming over with hatred for U.S. imperialism and its crimes around the world. According to the report filed from Berlin by a thoroughly shocked *New York Times* reporter, "A photo montage of the Secretary of State

The next day's headlines told the story: Haig in Berlin: Blood and Flames.



Correspondence on Brecht

In RW 91 (February 6, 1981) we called on revolutionary-minded artists and others to debate within the pages of the paper the role of the playwright Bertolt Brecht—to contribute to an evaluation of his works and theories. Brecht wrote during the critical years surrounding the last world war, associating himself with communism and struggling to apply Marxism to the creation of revolutionary art. Today, as we approach another such critical juncture, his works are being widely performed and his methods and theories are being hotly discussed. The questions involved are far from resolved, either broadly or among communists and revolutionaries. At the heart of the struggle around Brecht lie overall questions of revolution vs. revisionism, particularly as applied in the sphere of art and literature. Such an evaluation necessarily confronts, for instance, the matter of the Popular Front pursued by the international communist movement during the period he wrote, and the legacy of that line today as it applies to the struggle in the cultural arena.

We urge those of you who are involved in doing Brecht or grappling with questions of revolutionary art and politics to assist in this evaluation. For earlier contributions, please see RWs No. 99, 101, 104, 116 and 122. Following is the most recent contribution to this debate.

The point of this letter is not so much to criticize various points in the letter that appeared in RW No. 116 (though some should be spoken to), but to get into the line behind it and attempt to make some contributions to the call to evaluate Brecht as a part of the overall struggle to develop an analysis of art in serving revolution.

The first thing that stands out about this letter (even for many who are not familiar with Brecht or the play *Good Woman of Setzuan*) is its blatant philistinism—"I don't know about art but I know what I like"—and smug refusal to do even a simple investigation into the question before pronouncing a sweeping judgment. This line goes completely against the spirit of making a scientific analysis of the role and nature of art in the revolutionary struggle and of Brecht's role in particular in this question.

Closely related to it is a simplistic and rigid view used to judge the play (and all of art)—essentially that the masses must be depicted as consciously revolutionary or the work is revisionist "because WHO is going to make the revolution?" In fact, the writer characterizes the line of *Good Woman* (and Brecht) as being that "the masses are asses." By this criterion, most punk songs and even the stories of Lu Hsun (upheld by Mao as a great revolutionary writer) would appear to share this line, since they often depict the masses as victims of a dog-eat-dog society. On the other hand, much so-called "proletarian literature" of the '30s and '40s is filled to the gills with staunch and noble "masses," and most of it is rhetorical and boring as hell—a real illustration of what Mao scorned as

"slogan and poster art." The reason for this was not that they portrayed the masses as noble, but that the line of the writers was out-and-out economist and dealt endlessly with strikes, economic struggles, etc., and almost never with the real contradictions in society and the struggle to liberate mankind all over the world.

But the fundamental essence of this economist line was, in fact, the heartfelt line that "the masses are asses"—the masses of real people, that is: the readers of the stories, the audiences of the plays, and so forth. These masses must be spoonfed simple static ideas of "unity," "solidarity" and such, and cannot be trusted to grapple with the real questions of society and revolution, and in fact become the masters of society.

This was Brecht's greatest strength, whatever weaknesses he may have had. He presented life as a contradiction, and saw art as a means of getting people to grapple with complex questions and counted on them to rise to the occasion and to their task of rebuilding the world. In doing this, he based himself not on the mainstream "majority," but on the advanced. In a poem, "Speech to the Danish Working Class on the Art of Observation," he speaks for the audience who is sick of all those plays about fate:

... We cry from the lower benches in our discontent
 Enough! That will not do. Have you really
 Not yet heard it is now common knowledge
 That this net was knotted and cast by men?
 Today everywhere, from the hundred-
 storied cities
 Over the seas, cross-ploughed by teeming
 liners
 To the loneliest villages, the word has spread
 That mankind's fate is man alone. Therefore
 We now ask you, the actors
 Of our time—a time of overthrow and of
 boundless mastery
 Of all nature, even man's own—at last
 To change yourselves and show us
 mankind's world
 As it really is: made by man and open to
 alteration.
 That, roughly, is what comes from the
 benches. Of course
 Not all
 Their occupants agree. With drooping
 shoulders
 The majority sit hunched, their foreheads
 furled like
 Stony ground that has been repeatedly
 ploughed-up to no
 purpose. Exhausted
 By the unceasing struggles of their daily life
 they await with greed
 Just what repels the others. A little massage
 For their spirit. A little tautening
 Of slackened nerves. Cheap flaccid
 adventures, a sense of magic hands
 Bearing them off from a world they cannot
 master
 And have had to give up. So which of your
 spectators
 Should you follow, actors? I would suggest
 The discontented.

As for his plays, let us take, as an example (and not even necessarily the best), the play *Good Woman of Setzuan*, which, incidentally, our letter-writer friend completely misunderstood from top to bottom.

The point of the play is emphatically

not that "the masses are asses," but that under capitalist relations of production the entire question of "goodness" or "individual morality" is absurd and in fact is used as an ideological weapon to disarm the masses and divert them from their struggle to effect true and lasting change by transforming social relations through revolution. Significantly, in response to this same (deliberate?) misunderstanding in the Viennese bourgeois press, Brecht wrote an epilogue in which the players put a challenge out to the audience to figure out "a good ending" to the play:

Should it be another person? Or another world?
 Perhaps just other gods? Or none at all?
 You... you yourself, seek out the conclusion!*

And then, apparently dissatisfied with even this, he made his point yet clearer in another epilogue:

Audience, know, the city of Setzuan
 In which one could not be good and live at
 the same time
 No longer exists. It had to go under
 But there are still many that resemble her...
 Audience, you yourself live in such a city
 Rebuild it, quickly, before it devours you!
 There is no greater happiness on earth
 Than to be able to be good and do good.

Interestingly, most English editions lack the first epilogue and I've yet to find one with the second. Perhaps due to lack of space?

The point is that most of his plays are designed as jumping-off points to spur people to deal with a particular contradiction or set of contradictions. These are posed sharply as questions, and are not meant to be taken as final statements on the fate of humanity. As he puts it in an essay called "Theses on Proletarian Literature", "You (the writer) are not fighting alone. Your reader also fights beside you, if you inspire him to struggle. Not only you will find solutions, he will also find them."*

Further, he took this line on the role of the masses for the artist (which has everything to do with their role in the revolutionary struggle) into the theoretical realm, struggling against those who, in the name of "Socialist Realism", strove to simplify contradictions, present them statically, mechanically apply traditional forms, and substitute stirring slogans for challenging analysis. This obviously had repercussions in the line struggle around the "Popular Front" which misled the masses in posing the basic contradiction as one between "barbarism" (fascism) and "civilization" (bourgeois democracy) and in fact left the masses politically disarmed when revolutionary situations actually did develop in many European countries, fascist and "democratic", because they subordinated the struggle for revolution and class consciousness to the "United Front Against Fascism." This is indeed the line that "the masses are asses" in action. In peace time, the worship of spontaneity and the mainstream; in war time, capitulation to the bourgeoisie.

Brecht, though not completely breaking with this entire line, nonetheless struck some significant blows against it. For example, in damning Nazism, he always reminded the reader that it was

still capitalism and he never supported the Western Alliance, excepting the Soviet Union, in opposition to it. One example, a short poem:

The War Which Is Coming

Is not the first one. There were
 Other wars before it.
 When the last one came to an end
 There were conquerors and conquered.
 Among the conquered the common people
 Starved. Among the conquerors
 The common people starved too.

But the most important contributions he made were exactly in the realms of his art and theory on art, especially in dealing with the responsibility of the artist to the masses.

In a speech he gave to the First International Writers Conference in Defense of Culture, in Paris, 1935, he said, "Many may believe that the description of the horror (of fascism) suffices, especially if great literary talent and sincere outrage make the description compelling. Actually such descriptions are very important. Here there are horrors. This should not be. Here people are being killed. This should not happen. What do we need with long explanations. People will jump up and attack the tormentors. Comrades, we need explanations. People might jump up, that's not so difficult. But then comes the attack—the tormentors, and that is harder... Those of our friends who are just as horrified about the cruelties as we, but want to maintain the relations of production or are indifferent to them, cannot wage the struggle against the most excessive barbarism strongly or long enough, because they don't see the social conditions and can't help transform them so the barbarism would be unnecessary... Comrades, let us speak of the relations of production!"*

I think this is only a partial analysis and think it is very important that more people write in and contribute to this struggle. To close with another poem by Brecht:

On The Critical Attitude

The critical attitude
 Strikes many people as unfruitful.
 That is because they find the state
 Impervious to their criticism.
 But what in this case is an unfruitful attitude
 Is merely a feeble attitude. Give criticism arms
 And states can be demolished by it.

Canalising a river
 Grafting a fruit tree
 Educating a person
 Transforming a state
 These are instances of fruitful criticism
 And at the same time
 Instances of art.

* The translation was by the person who wrote this letter

As dusk fell on Tuesday evening, September 22, 200 riot police ringed Bleecker Stadium in Albany, a town of 80,000 that serves as the capital of New York State. Albany is a couple of hundred miles upstate from the New York metropolitan area, nestled in a relatively quiet and predominantly rural region. But on September 22nd, camera crews and hundreds of reporters were in Albany from all over the United States and all over the world. Even Ted Koppel, who rarely leaves his New York "Nightline" studio set, had set himself up in a suite at the Empire State Plaza in Albany; a contingent of ABC reporters fed him information from the stadium. It was evident that events of heavy political significance for the bourgeoisie were about to unfold, events that required a sure hand on the rudder of imperialist propaganda.

The event? The Springboks, South Africa's national rugby team, was scheduled to play the Albany Colonials (!!!) at Bleecker Stadium; thousands were gathering to protest the Springboks tour and the racist apartheid policies of the South African regime that the Springboks represent.

The Springboks have incited a storm of demonstrations and even pitched riots wherever they have played on their world tour; in the U.S. the team has been forced to hide like animals fearing light much of the time; it was no accident that an isolated area such as Albany was chosen to actually try to stage a match in a regular stadium under any semblance of normalcy. But in Albany, too, they were forced to marshal two-thirds of the police department and the sheriff deputy's riot squad to prevent the stadium from being overrun by demonstrators—and even then, the bourgeoisie, working from many angles, barely succeeded in ensuring that the match came off.

Despite the deliberately created confusion about whether the match was or was not going to be played, and a steady rain that became a downpour as the 7 p.m. starting time approached, a crowd of 3,000 converged on the stadium. The demonstration leadership was firmly in the hands of hardcore bourgeois elements of the NAACP and Urban League in Albany, and they were

determined to see to it that no attempt by the masses to disrupt the match got off the ground; marchers were informed that even acts of non-violent civil disobedience were strictly forbidden. Despite all this, however, when the police saw the mood of the crowd they hurriedly called in more reinforcements from the sheriff's department; the move backfired, as hundreds surged just behind the cops right up toward the stadium, through a line of "demonstration marshalls" who tried to prevent anybody from stepping over the legally permitted rally site. For a period of time, it was touch and go whether or not the advanced forces, who included large numbers of basic masses, would gather enough support to actually attempt a charge into the stadium itself; though, in the end, the official leadership was able to prevent this from happening.

The U.S. ruling class has gone to some lengths to dress up its promotion and high-level backing of the Springboks tour, and the deliberate political purposes behind it, with a pose of "impartially" protecting the rights "of all sides in the dispute" under the First Amendment. But after the Springboks' hide-and-seek match in Chicago, and the governor of New York State, citing the "threat of violence," first cancell-

ing the matches scheduled for New York State, the U.S. government's political intent behind the tour was brought right out into the open. On September 21, a Federal Circuit Court ruled that if the Springboks were not allowed to play, they would effectively "be denied the right to advocate their political views," which would "be a violation of the First Amendment." The Circuit Court ruling was affirmed, only hours before the match, by no less than Thurgood Marshall, the only Black justice on the U.S. Supreme Court, who was therefore the perfect top official to symbolize throwing the full weight of the government and the ruling class behind the tour while maintaining the legal fiction that their only interest in doing so was "upholding the Constitution." The whole thing has indeed been an incredible commitment of resources by the bourgeoisie, and it all raises the question, what are their political purposes here?

U.S. imperialism has long been the principal backer of the South African regime, even though this backing and collaboration has often taken a partially covert form, especially during the Carter years, when tactical considerations involving U.S. imperialist relations with the Black nations of Africa required adopting the pose of "firm op-

ponents of apartheid." Of course, even under Mr. Human Rights, the U.S. was the main imperialist power behind the enslavement of Azanian blacks and used South Africa as the stick in the imperialist dealings in southern Africa. The so-called "warming" of relations with South Africa under the Reagan administration actually signals the necessity for U.S. imperialism to make its longstanding relationship with Pretoria still more open and direct. The reasons for this move do not revolve around the "approval" of the Reagan administration of apartheid, as opposed to the "disapproval" of the Carter administration. Instead, it is South Africa's very critical and strategic role in the U.S. imperialist war bloc, and the great U.S. stake in preserving and shoring up the national oppression of Azanian people and utilizing the South African regime as a tool that is behind this change in tactics. The Springboks tour represents a major move in the field of creating public opinion—not only in the U.S., but internationally—to accustom people here and governments abroad to the fact that the U.S.' "special relationship" with South Africa is coming out of the closet. (For more on all this see RW No. 108)

South Africa is by far the largest military power on the continent of Africa. Its economy is the largest in southern Africa, and second in GNP and output only to Nigeria, a major oil exporter to the United States. South Africa is the repository of the world's largest gold reserves, as is widely known; but it—and nearby African states it threatens—possess abundant supplies of numerous rare and critical strategic minerals and raw materials. South Africa's strategic importance is further enhanced by its geographic position, which gives it the ability to control the strategic sea lanes.

The U.S. is not at all oblivious to the political price it must pay by intensifying its open strategic cooperation with South Africa. That it is willing to pay this price is but further evidence of the enormity of the stakes involved. The Springboks tour, of course, is not the first indication that the U.S. imperialists' phony and hypocritical "abhorrence of apartheid" is being shoved into the shadows in favor of flaunting its "determination to support the friendly nation of South Africa." Shortly after the Reagan administration came to power, a high level South African military delegation visited the U.S. It was only after this delegation had met with officials high and low for six days that a State Department official "discovered" their status as military representatives of the South African government who were in the U.S. "illegally." Even after the identities of the delegation had hit the press, they met with the U.S. Ambassador to the UN, Jeanne Kirkpatrick, who blandly declared afterward that "she didn't know who they were." We may take it that Jeanne was fooled by all their ribbons and military regalia, and simply assume that they were "weapons enthusiasts"—a hobby like rugby which has nothing to do with politics.

Subsequently, Reagan himself has met with South African Prime Minister P.W. Botha. Just this last week, U.S. Under Secretary of State for African Affairs, Chester Crocker, after appear-

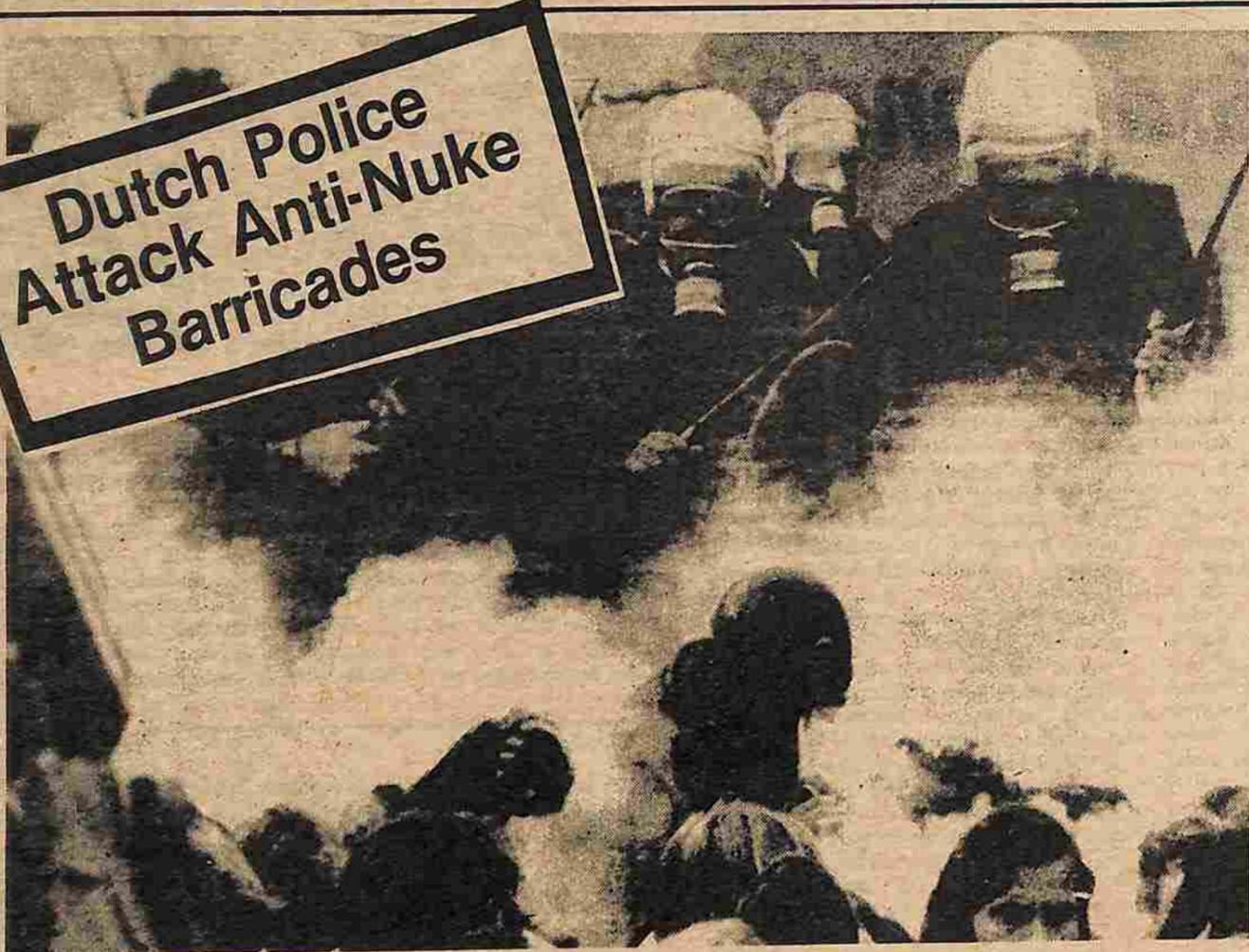
Continued on page 14

The Springboks Games and the Bigger Contest

Dutch Police Attack Anti-Nuke Barricades

Dutch riot police last weekend attacked thousands of demonstrators who had blockaded the Dodewaard nuclear power plant in eastern Holland, injuring 100 people and arresting 15 in baton charges through clouds of tear gas. In the Sunday clashes, hundreds of riot police repeatedly marched into knots of protestors who had erected barricades of old doors and mattresses on roads and in fields adjacent to the plant. Each time police carted off one group, another erected a new blockade nearby. "Radio Active," a pirate station set up by the Dodewaard Will Close movement, reported 15,000 protestors were staying at the group's tent-camp base a half-mile from the plant, and that groups were being dispatched

regularly from there to relieve the 1500 to 2000 people maintaining blockades on three plant access roads. The demonstrators have vowed to maintain a week-long blockade to force the closure of the nuke, keeping the heat on the Dutch bourgeoisie who, it should be noted, are also facing widespread mass opposition to plans for them to join West Germany, Britain, Italy and Belgium in stationing new U.S. Pershing and Cruise missiles in their country in 1983. Many anti-nuke activists in Holland, as in other European countries, have been active in demonstrations hitting the escalating arms buildup in Europe.



As the fourth session of the Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunals of U.S. Imperialism is about to take place in Atlanta, some important developments have taken place. The tribunal has just received a tape of testimony from Father Roy Bourgeois. A 45-minute video cassette of the hearings in San Francisco and Los Angeles is also being completed, a historic documentary for sure. The Tribunal has also learned of a radio DJ in Lincoln, Nebraska who is broadcasting excerpts of the testimonies on the air, one indication of the inroads the Tribunal is making and the potential for it to be greater still. Among some of the recent endorsers of the Tribunal's efforts are the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, both of which will be testifying in Atlanta. Supporters of revolutionary organizations in Iran are also preparing to testify, and there has been a commitment made by Cubans and Haitians in Miami to come to the hearings in Atlanta. The hearings in Atlanta are being sponsored by the Political Science Department at Atlanta University and are being held at the university under their auspices at Dean Sage Hall. The Tribunal is preparing the groundwork for the powerful culmination of its exposures and indictments of U.S. imperialism in its internationally recognized financial capital, New York City. Everyone is urged to join in this effort in every way possible, through testimony, active support, and urgently needed funds.

Following is testimony given at the Chicago hearings of the tribunal by a Palestinian who lived with his family in the Gaza Strip. The testimony has been transcribed from tape by the tribunal and slightly edited for clarity.

Thank you very much for this meeting and I'm sorry that you can't see my face because I'm living inside Palestine under Israeli occupation, controlled by the imperialist country called the United States. And those of you who want to know exactly the situation of how we are living in Palestine under all these kinds of situations, I'll start to tell you a little about Palestinian history of the Palestinian problem.

It started after the world war in 1918 when the British and France occupied the whole Middle East and controlled the whole area. France took a piece of the Middle East area: Syria, Algeria, Tunisia. England took also a piece: Egypt, Iraq, Palestine. All the imperialist countries felt after that that if they are going to send armies to control this area or to control any area the people will refuse this kind of occupation because the whole people will ask for their freedom. That is why the imperialist countries started to deal with a new strategy. They started to redesign the whole area. How? They want to control this area because this area is a rich area: we can have oil; we can have a very large market for our materials, for our stuff, and to have all these people. From that point of view the capitalist countries started to deal with our problem. They started to plant a new unit in Palestine. In 1947 only 2.5% of Palestinian land went to 5% of the people who were Jewish in that area at that stage. What happened is the imperialists want to control this area by these people. The imperialists' point of view is this: these people will need us more; will need us to keep them because they are going to be surrounded with other religions, with other nationalities, with everything difficult around them and by this unit we can control the area; we can use it like a police to control the whole revolution in that area because it's a very strategic point for us.

In 1947 Israeli Hagannah groups and the Irgun led by Menachim Begin, the leader of Israel, killed the whole city of Deir Yassin, under the cover of British occupation, because they wanted to force all these people to move outside this land. They wanted land without people. This is the beginning. But the imperialist countries like the United States, the British, all the imperialist

countries want workers, want poor people to serve their companies. That is why from the beginning the United States started dealing with Israel. It didn't support Israel because it liked it. It supported Israel because Israel is more important to the United States—more than any state inside the United States—to rob this area.

After that, in 1955 Israel entered Kafr Kassim—it's a city of north Palestine—to kill 6,000 civilian people. All these kinds of situations were to force the civilian people to move outside this area. And also the imperialist countries surrounded Israel from the beginning by a new kind of government: these governments were dealing directly or indirectly with United States imperialism; dealing directly or indirectly with British imperialism.

In 1956 Israel started, with England and France, to occupy other pieces of the Middle East. It occupied the Sinai in Egypt, touching the Suez Canal, which is the most important part of the area. It occupied the Golan Heights in Syria, and it occupied the other parts of Palestine.

In 1967 Israel started to force into the whole area and cut one more piece of the Arabic countries there. And after that the United States started to use its traitors in the area—the Arab governments. If we can imagine all the Arab governments dealing directly with the United States; if we can imagine that the United States controlled the area from 1948, we can imagine exactly how Israel expanded day after day to be more strong and more fit to be new captors in the area—to control it.

I said at the beginning that the United States wants very cheap and very poor workers, but also without revolution, because revolution makes it necessary for Israel and the United States to build a new army to control these workers. From that point of view the United States started to deal with other governments to make relations between Israel and the Arab governments to control more of the area. And also after the United States lost Iran, after the Iranian revolution, the United States needs a new, huge, big army, to control the area. That is why it started to make relations with Egypt. After that, Israel started to bomb the Palestinian people in the whole camps in South Lebanon, in Syria, inside Palestine, in the Gaza Strip, and the West Bank. They want, as soon as possible, to finish this revolution because the Palestinian revolution in the Middle East is making a constant point to the United States, and the whole Arab people will start facing the United States because the whole Arab people are controlled by very bad governments and are living in a very bad situation.

They have been watching the Palestinian problem from 1948 and they know exactly that this country which is called Israel controls Palestinian land by United States bombs, kills Palestinian people by United States bombs, robs Palestinian land and builds settlements by United States money. All this fuels the revolution and feeds it inside the Middle East, inside the Arab area. That's why they started to deal with a new way. They want to finish this revolution. They use very dangerous bombs. They use napalm bombs to bomb the camps in South Lebanon. They use phosphorus bombs to bomb the camps in South Lebanon. They kill any person inside Palestine if he has only one book about any kind of revolution. Nobody will ask the Israelis why they are doing that, but all the governments, all the imperialist countries say that the Palestinians are terrorists because they want to liberate their land.

In the Gaza Strip and in the West Bank camps where I am living now, any person can be killed like animals in the street. Nobody can ask why; and they can catch any person in the street and kill him directly without any questions. And if they catch any revolutionary they are going directly to kill him and tie him to a jeep and move with his body through the whole area, in all the camps. And also they don't leave the

Palestinian people to live alone in these camps under these huts. They don't want the Palestinian people to be in 6 camps or 8 camps. They want the Palestinian people to be separated, the same way like in the imperialist countries in the United States. It doesn't want the Black people or the poor people or the working class to be in one point because if all of them start to be strong groups, strong masses, that means they are going to feed the revolution directly. But if the United States can cut them into pieces, to say that there are differences between Black and white, that there are differences between Indian and white, the capitalist country like the United States can face any group and kill it under the cover of color.

The same is the way as Israel deals with the Palestinian people in the camps. It starts to bomb their houses and to take 3,000 persons at a time from these camps, to build for them new huts surrounded by 2 or 3 settlements. It starts to make them into pieces, and also it uses them like work horses in their factories. Each worker there gets less than a quarter of an Israeli worker, gets less than a dollar a day. In our camp, for example, I remember eight guys—the Israelis came without any reason into our camp and they tied these guys, at different times, by their legs and took them around in the whole camp. One of them was our teacher. This guy was killed by the Israeli army in our school, while we were in high school; and they tied him up inside our school and took his body around the whole camp. This is the high democracy of the United States that you are hearing about. They are using phosphorus bombs and they used it in Jordan to kill 30,000 Palestinian people. They used laser radiation to kill 12,000 civilian persons in South Lebanon three years ago. And they are dealing now daily to bomb South Lebanon Palestinian camps and Lebanese workers, or the Lebanese revolution there, by 200 tons a day. It's similar to North Vietnam. Israel is one of the police for the United States to control the Middle East area and the United States needs more police because after the Vietnam war the United States started to deal in a new way. It stopped sending its army to control any revolution in the Third World. It started to use new armies. It started to build new armies from other nationalities. Why? Four years ago there was a very strong revolution in Sudan, south of Egypt. The United States told directly the Egyptian government, the Moroccan government to send the army to Sudan to control the revolution there. Six years ago there was also revolution in the Congo in Africa. The United States didn't use its own army. The United States started to be engineers for the imperialist army, to use other people, to use other nationalities, to use other religions, to make all the people into groups: this is Moslem, this is Christian, this is Jewish, this is Black, this is white and this is Indian, this guy doesn't believe in god, and so on, to make all the people into groups and to use all the people as their army. Because I think that capitalists without workers can't kill us and can't control the world. Capitalism uses many ways to have an army and this army is built

Testimony at

Pal Wo



from our blood, built from the working class. And if the whole working class all over the world starts to understand the problem, capitalism can't do anything with us.

In the West Bank two years ago, Israel built 18 settlements around Nablus, Khalil, Tol Karem, Ramallah, Bir Zeit, and they used the Israeli army to beat the Palestinian people in that area, daily. And what happened when the Palestinian people started facing the Israeli

The next hearings of the Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunal of U.S. Imperialism will be held in:

Atlanta, October 2nd at 7 p.m.

October 3rd at 12:00 noon

October 4th at 2 p.m.

Dean Sage Hall, Atlanta University and New York City (Date to be announced)

To participate in the tribunal or for more information contact the National Office of the Tribunal at:

War Crimes Tribunal

249 W. 18th St.

New York City, NY 10011

Telephone: 212-674-7820

Mailing address only.

Testimony at War Crimes Tribunal

Palestine: Part of the Worldwide Revolution



Palestinian women in Jordan during Black September, 1970.

quilt from the working whole working class all parts to understand the sm can't do anything

nk two years ago, Is- ments around Nablus, n, Ramallah, Bir Zeit, e Israeli army to beat eople in that area, dai- ened when the Palest- ed facing the Israeli

ar Crimes

ormation

2-674-7820

army? They bombarded the mayor of Nablus, the mayor of El Khalil, the mayor of Tol Karem and they exiled the mayor of El Khalil. His name is Fahed El Kawasneh.

They play a new game with our area. They call it autonomy. Kissinger from the United States started to deal in this way. But Begin said the whole time: we want land from the Nile River to the Euphrates River without people; we want land without people. And the United States wants people without money; the United States wants workers. Also Reagan said that after 5 years, after full autonomy, it must be at least 60% Jewish on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. And after that if we are going to ask the people, do you want Jordan, Egypt or Israel, they are going to say, we want Israel. In this kind of situation the "high democracy" deals with our area. Palestine is one problem in the whole Third World living under imperialist control.

Q: One comment. A couple of weeks ago I had an opportunity to go to Canada on the behalf of the tribunal to seek the participation and support of the people in Canada for the efforts of the tribunal. I saw there a slide show from somebody who had just spent about a month in the occupied territories. He exposed in the city of Hebron, which is

a largely Palestinian city, the movement of some of the Israelis into that city. And what they did was they claimed that one building called the Hadassah was of Jewish origin, so they had the right to claim that building. Subsequently, they were removed from there and then they occupied—literally right on top of a row of Palestinian shops—this apartment, hung out an Israeli flag and had a machine gun trained upon the village. And he revealed that the Israelis who had claimed it were from Brooklyn, N.Y.

I do want you to speak to us about your thinking on the Camp David Agreement.

Answer: I mentioned before that if the United States needs workers, they need these workers without revolution. And it needs oil also without revolution. It needs money without mouths to say that this country has come to rob us. The United States wants to control this area because it is a very, very valuable area. And with the Palestinian revolution it can't control it. It tried to kill this revolution 3 or 10 or 20 times before. It tried to kill this revolution in 1936 under British occupation. It tried to kill this revolution in 1947 in Deir Yassin. It tried to kill this revolution in 1948 in the whole Palestinian land. It tried to kill this revolution in 1955 in

Kafr Kassim when it killed 6,000 civilian persons in that city. It tried to kill the Palestinian revolution in 1956 when it occupied the whole West Bank and the Gaza Strip and Sinai in Egypt and Golan in Syria. It tried to kill the Palestinian revolution in 1970 in Elud in Jordan. It tried to kill this revolution in Lebanon by the Syrian government. The Syrian government now, as a matter of fact, is dealing with the Soviet Union. It killed 30,000 Palestinian revolutionaries in Lebanon with the Lebanese revolution. And now it starts to kill revolution. It tried to kill the Palestinian revolution in the Litani River area. When Israel started to attack south Lebanon, it wanted to occupy the Litani River because it's very important. Israel needs more water. This is the reason. But even after that United States capitalism can't finish this revolution. It started to deal with a new strategy. This new strategy is to use a new stick: "We want peace." And under this peace all the bourgeois governments in the Middle East will accept this kind of peace, will accept this relation with the Israeli bourgeoisie, with the United States capitalists. Only the Palestinian revolution, and the Lebanese revolution, only the international revolution will refuse this kind of situation, will refuse autonomy; because

they are asking for international revolution and they put their blood to this revolution. They believe directly that any war in the whole world made by the capitalists is to attack us, to use us like machines in their factories and in their companies and also to rob us. We refuse this way and if the United States and all the imperialist countries want to attack us, we are going to die and not live like animals under their machine. That's why the Palestinian revolution will refuse this solution. The Palestinian revolution will refuse this autonomy, because in this way they are trying to finish off this Palestinian revolution by using the bourgeois governments in the Middle East. They are trying to use the rightist groups in Lebanon—not all the Christian groups—to say that they want to "liberate" the land from the Palestinian revolution, that they want to build a strong country dealing with the United States. And I think the CIA policy from the United States was very, very strong in Lebanon to kill Palestinian revolutionary leaders. And all of us remember exactly how the United States policy dealt with our leaders. It killed Gassan Kanafani; he's an international revolutionary and he's a writer. He had a lot of stories that he wrote. The United States policy—the Palestin-

Continued on page 12

Palestine

Continued from page 11

ian revolutionaries discovered this—bombed him in his car. It killed Kamal Nasser, a leader of the Palestinian revolution. It killed Kamal Adwan, it killed Abu Yossef El Najar. It tried to rob George Habash (leader of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, PFLP); it tried to rob him by very high technology, to rob the airplane when this airplane was moving from Beirut Airport in 1969 to Iraq; and the Israeli army with a United States plane, stole this plane. But what happened? They discovered that George Habash was not on this plane. They discovered that all their technology can't control revolution. All their technology can win any classic war, but it can't win a revolutionary war. That's why they try this kind of solution with the Egyptian bourgeoisie, to make relations between Egypt and Israel. They want to build it over our blood but they can't if we're going to ask about our freedom. Thank you.

Q. What is the role of the kibbutz, and what is their real purpose in moving in?

A: About the kibbutz inside Palestine, from the beginning when Israeli groups started to occupy Palestine under British occupation, they wanted a lot of people to come from all over the world to sit in our land. And from the beginning, I said that they want our land but without our people. They want new people to use them, new workers, to build a new country over our nationality and over our land. In the kibbutz they have a very, very strong capitalist commercial to bring the people from all

over the world to live in this kibbutz; free life, very high democracy like inside the United States; to take everything free and to build this country and these guys are going to like this country. But I'll tell you a very funny story about that. When I came to the United States the first day I entered the United States in Washington, D.C., I met this American guide there. He was our escort. And this guide was waiting for me to take me to our school. He said to me: you have Washington, D.C., all of it, to move around, everything; I'm coming to take you to see how the United States is modern, how the United States is strong; but do not try to enter 14th Street. This story made me remember exactly what is going on in our country. Any person going to any kibbutz, the Israeli government directly says to them: you have all of Israel; it's a democratic country and it's a very good country for you; it's a free country; you can move around the whole area; but don't try to enter the West Bank or the Gaza Strip. Why? Because there are Palestinian terrorist people living there and we are afraid because it's dangerous just like 14th Street, because 14th Street is full of poor people and the Gaza Strip and the West Bank are full of poor people living under huts and the Israeli government doesn't want the people to know exactly how the Palestinian people are living, what is their situation, why they are terrorists. Really, why they are terrorists, because with the imperialist strategy we are not going to live like animals, we are not going to ask for peace because we know this "lamb" is going to eat our meat. We are going to be terrorist with these dogs—not "lambs." Thank you.

Q. Has the Council on Foreign Relations, which guides U.S. foreign policy, made a firm decision to establish a Pa-

lestinian state on the West Bank? Is that ultimately what some of this back-and-forth diplomacy is headed towards? All of the approaches and secret meetings with the PLO and so forth, isn't that actually what they are aiming for?

A: ... If you want to know exactly about the Palestinian revolution and any revolution around the whole world, there are a lot of parts inside this revolution. There are internationalist groups, there are people asking for their nationalities, there are rightist groups and there are left groups, there is the bourgeoisie and there is the proletariat. And all of us know that the proletariat class, they lose everything, they are not going to live in castles, they are not going to live in villas to have a swimming pool because they are losing everything. In any revolution you can find people who want "peace"; people who want to be the leader; people who want to be the king; people who want to have a good life; these kind of people want autonomy if they are going to be the leaders. These kind of people want a small country if they are going to win this country to be leaders. ... And if they try to enter inside any camps, the Palestinian workers will drink their blood. Because they were dealing with the Jordanian government in 1969 while the Jordanian government was killing us. They were dealing with the Syrian government while the Syrian government was killing us. They are dealing with the United States government, this imperialist country, and all of us know our problems exactly—where they come from. And I think and I believe 100% that these kind of people can't finish our revolution and these kind of people can't control it for a time. But not the whole Palestinian revolution, not the whole international revolution. If the United

States can kill five million or three million persons in that area, OK, they can control the revolution, but without this solution, they can't. Some person wants to sell his homeland to have a good house with a private swimming pool in it, but we are not going to sell our future.

Q: Would you comment on the conditions in Israeli prisons, the use of collective responsibility for punishment? And also, what kind of terrorist actions were used to drive the Palestinian people off their land, in particular, Deir Yassin, as an example of that?

A: If you want to know exactly—well, all of us are going to know because the international revolution will grow up for sure. If you want to know what's going on inside Palestine with the Israeli policy, you are going to imagine what's going on in Ethiopia under Haile Selassie; you are going to imagine the whole Third World. And if we want to know exactly from the beginning what happened in Deir Yassin: this small city, it's in the north of the West Bank. ... All these people used to work; to plant their land outside this small city; going back to their houses after 5:00 or 6:00 in the evening. This incident happened in 1947 after which the Israeli groups and British occupation forced the whole Palestinian people to move outside their land. The Irgun group led by Begin waited for these farmers. First they killed, at 4:00, all the children and women inside their houses, and they waited at 5:00 at the entrance of this city for the old people, the young people, everybody, because they wanted to make a very strong story that the whole city is killed, that nobody is still alive. Only three guys lived, and they stayed alive because the general of these groups said: if we kill the

Continued on page 18

Revolution Magazine



Forces of the Republic rout fascist troops on the Saragossa front in 1936.

Contents

* Outline of Views on the Historical Experience of the International Communist Movement and the Lessons for Today

"In sum: the second world war, from beginning to end, was the second world inter-imperialist war—this was its principal aspect and overall character. ..."

* Some Notes on the Military and Diplomatic History of WW2

* On the Question of So-Called "National Nihilism": You Can't Beat the Enemy While Raising His Flag

* "You Can't Beat the Enemy While Raising His Flag"—MLPUSA Tries It

* The Line of the Comintern On The Civil War in Spain

"In Spain, to be blunt, the possibilities for big revolutionary advances in that country and worldwide were sacrificed. ..."

* Joint Communiqué of 13 Marxist-Leninist Parties & Organizations—
"To the Marxist-Leninists, The Workers and the Oppressed of All Countries"

"In Spain, to be blunt, the possibilities for big revolutionary advances in that country and worldwide were sacrificed. ..."

Revolution, Issue 49 (Vol. 6, No. 1), June 1981. Propaganda Organ of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA. Published in separate Spanish and English editions.

Subscription Rates in the U.S.: 6 issues—\$10; by First Class—\$18. Other countries: 6 issues, by Surface Mail—\$12; by Airmail—\$20; Libraries and Institutions: \$18; Payable by check or money order.

Order from: RCP Publications, P.O. Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, IL 60654.

Single copies: \$2.00. Available at these bookstores:

- Berkeley: Revolution Books, 3126 Grove St., 94703, 415-841-8314
- Boston: Revolution Books, 118 Mass. Ave., Box 137, 02115
- Chicago: Revolution Books, 2525 N. Lincoln, 60614, 312-528-5353
- Detroit: Revolution Books, 5744 Woodward Ave., 48202, 313-872-2286
- Honolulu: Revolution Books, 2648 S. King St., 96817, 808-944-3106
- Los Angeles: Revolution Books, 2597 W. Pico Blvd., 90006, 213-384-3856
- New York: Revolution Books, 16 E. 18th St., 10003, 212-243-8638
- San Francisco: Everybody's Bookstore, 17 Brenham Place, 94108, 415-781-4989
- Seattle: Revolution Books, 1828 Broadway, 98122, 206-323-9222
- Washington, D.C.: Revolution Books, 2438 18th St. NW, 20009, 202-265-1969

In RW No. 115, we reprinted excerpts from the booklet "Sooner or Later" by the Communist Unity Organization and called upon our readers to respond to it. This call was made to encourage readers to correspond on the most decisive political questions of our time, in particular how to respond to a situation in which very real preparations are being made for a world war between rival blocs of imperialists led by the U.S. and the Soviet Union. The cutting edge question is whether to take a position of revolutionary defeatism toward one's "own" imperialist rulers, or to adopt some form of alliance with one or another bloc as a "lesser evil" against a "main enemy." This question involves both analysis of the present world situation and of history, including the positive and negative experience of the international communist movement during this whole century. The following are letters in reply to our call. We welcome these contributions and also wish to point out that they certainly do not exhaust the subject and we encourage further correspondence of any sort.

To the RW
Comrades

This letter is in response to your call for debate on "Sooner or Later". I am currently incarcerated and very much appreciate the opportunity to participate. I agree that these are decisive questions that must be grappled with broadly. Unfortunately I was only able to read the reprint and not the whole pamphlet and I do not have now a copy of Lenin's "Collapse" both which I feel would make for a more considered response.

Upon reading "Sooner or Later" I was deeply impressed with the fact that both Marx and Lenin were right on the question of history. It repeats itself, "The first time as tragedy the second time as farce." The "New Tasks" called for by the Communist Unity Organization (CUO) would certainly be a farce. Not only because it is a mechanical duplication of the Comintern line of the 30s—which today is being analyzed and repudiated by Marxists throughout the world—but because it is totally without justification. Nowhere is a case made that central to the United Front Against Hegemonism (UFAH) is the defense of Socialism, socialist countries, or China (which is alleged to be a socialist country). It is a very cheap attempt to develop a theoretical justification for the betrayal of the working class and its aims internationally.

The letters in RW No. 118 have spoken already to the chauvinism, but I must add that this is the most shameful that I have seen in some time parading as Marxism (maybe that's because *The Call* died). The piece reeks with lament that the master's eagle has "fallen from its perch" and with indignation that the Soviet Union "has been allowed to take" colonies. Never once do I recall the word imperialism being used when referring to the U.S. or for that matter "a discouraging word" was not heard all day. The most gross social chauvinism and paternalism is shown toward colonial and dependent countries (the so-called Third World). Their struggle is no match for Soviet weapons and "lessons" so you must rely on "good ole U.S."

How can anyone, today 1981, who dares call himself a Communist talk and analyze world events and the developments towards world war and not talk about imperialism and inter-imperialist war? As the Joint Communiqué reaffirmed "Imperialism means war." To portray the developing conflict between U.S. and Soviet Union blocs as classless conflict, not driven by laws of imperialism and leading to a new redivision of the booty is anti-materialist.

However sickening and feeble as these arguments might be, we are not relieved of our responsibility to answer them and can hopefully push forward the revolutionary process. There is a social basis in the U.S. and imperialist countries which is receptive to the CUO's message.

What is this "New Period"? An attempt at an analysis of historic conjuncture? No. It is an era of U.S. im-

perialism in decline. A terrifying sight to those accustomed to the droppings from the table. A festive horizon to the oppressed. This "New Period" is one where the dominant power, the U.S., is no longer unchallenged by those it seeks to enslave or by its competition. Of particular concern to the authors of "Sooner or Later" is the master's competition, since they haven't expressed any joy at the battering that imperialism has been taking from colonial struggles. What is new is that the crumbs are threatened. And you can see the concern broadly for the changes now and ahead due to the crisis. Even among a section of the movement of the middle classes there is this tendency. On the one hand a real deploring of the crimes of U.S. imperialism (which the CUO doesn't) and on the other hand a real concern that the standard of living here doesn't erode further. It is to those sections of people who live relatively privileged due to U.S. imperialism's worldwide plunder that there is a basis for this line (the same sections the ruling class is trying to line up behind Reagan). To take this CUO line into practice I think that they should reprint the RCY War Bond I saw that said, "If you love your car, die for it."

Next this "New Period" has produced a monster of incomparable measure to the U.S. (that certainly is doing something). This monster the Soviet Union seeks "even to exterminate small countries in Asia and Africa." I guess this new period is one that has transcended imperialism and its laws because this new power doesn't export capital and enslave nations—it exterminates them. Although when I think back to Vietnam and the bombing (tonnage, the dikes, the 19,000 defoliation missions, automated battlefields, and search and destroy, I can hardly think a closer case to extermination. But then that was "our" side and "we" did "have god on our side" so you couldn't really call it extermination. At any rate what's worse about the Soviets is their economic base is smaller so they just can't exploit—they have to bully with their army. This is, I guess, supposed to be more brutal than the IMF or White Revolution or agrarian reform in El Salvador or Nestlé's Infant Formula (anyway what does the U.S. back it up with but 100,000 Rapid Deployment forces, neutron bomb, Apollo chair, MX missiles). Or perhaps we're supposed to be impressed with the terrible international division of labor which the Soviets use—but what could possibly be different from the U.S.?

This whole analysis denies that each superpower is driven by the laws of imperialism, that each major power has an equal necessity to redivide the world. This point was well made in the analysis of WW II in *Revolution* in "Some Notes on the Military and Diplomatic History of WW2". I believe it applies to today. SU or U.S. individually are not the instigators, they both are. The U.S. is not subject to different laws "hang on to what you got" (though they certainly will try to do that) but the same "expand or die." The U.S. has not only assumed a "defensive posture" but has intrigued everywhere: in Angola after the defeat of the Portuguese, in Eastern Europe with capital and papal penetration, in Iraq with the carrot and stick consensus, etc. ad infinitum. "Poor, impotent and defensive" U.S. has an equal necessity to expand its plunder and to remove competition to its hegemony.

Finally in this "New Period" the colonial and dependent countries are doing

"well." This is probably due to the benevolent nature of U.S. imperialism—but their new "national independence from colonial rule" is threatened by the Soviets, not by increased contention between the 2 superpowers. There have been significant struggles recently waged against imperialism throughout the world but this is not spoken to nor appreciated by the authors because a good number of them have been against U.S. imperialism. No mention that any real breaking of the ties of imperialism must come from the working class leading the struggles in those countries! The only hope for "the Third World" is to ally itself with the "democratic" U.S.

And what are the great and glorious tasks that are thrust upon us in this period. "One of the most important tasks for American communists (capital A, small c—first things first) is to oppose this trend."—APPEASEMENT. You see "American communists" are materialists and can see much better when the U.S. is getting "pushed around" than the imperialists because they are pragmatists. The whole concept of "appeasement" is an imperialist term. CUO says it means "giving in to aggression in the hope or expectation that this would deter further aggression." The poor naive U.S. to think that by "giving" those dirty Soviets any of what they stole fair and square—that this would satisfy their insatiable desire. Bullshit—that is the garbage they run out to their robot section of patriots to rally them around the rag. To them it has always been correct to jockey around, to consider the ramification of each confrontation (even though the situation is not under their control and in fact rapidly escaping them more) to maneuver and to try to drive their opponent in the direction they desire. Sometimes it is expedient to give ground somewhere to increase strategic areas elsewhere. Again, the article "Some Notes..." in the *June Revolution* dealt very well with the real motivations behind Munich. At any rate, here you have it—the important task is not comprehensive exposure, not the abolition of classes but to become the new and best champions of the fatherland.

Because, then, of this "New Period" and its developments, "It is in the interest of the people of the world to seek to postpone impending war so as to preserve peace and independence." This and other quotes express CUO's attitude on war. It seems to me a contradictory attitude. On the one hand it's a horror to be avoided at all costs, implying that it is the end of the world with the quote "Without life there can be no struggle at all against oppression" (It's either that or that saving your own ass is the highest priority.) So, for sure, civil defense is a priority for American communists. This "peace and independence" which they seek to preserve is for the masses around the world a living hell, a "horror without end", which the class conscious do not seek to preserve but to put to the quickest end possible. Then, on the other hand, their view towards war is: well, if it must be then let it be with a guarantee that "our" oppressor wins. This is one of the strategic aims of the UFAH. Because after all if we must fight and die in our 10s of millions then shouldn't we at least be guaranteed that we'll get our crumbs back? There is of course no alternative for these "American communists" for they are loyal and obedient to the miserable horizons the master has dictated.

Finally there is the whole concept of world alignments and the CUO's view of revolution. In particular the world alignments around WW2 (UFAH) with "democratic" imperialists against the aggressive and fascist in an inter-imperialist war for the defense of the S.U. has been criticized. This has especially been led by Chairman Avakian. But not only has he led in showing the error of this particular alliance and that the nature of the war essentially remained the same but also in the general concept of world alignments. He speaks to the tendency even in Mao to see the worldwide revolutionary struggle from the standpoint of nations and notes that this will lead to errors. To kind of wall off the class struggle nationally from that internationally leads to singling out one imperialist bloc or another as instigator or main source or danger. This projection of Mao's correct principle (as applied to China) "defeating our enemies one by one" onto a world scale runs counter to Leninism on the question of defense of the fatherland and revolutionary defeatism and is in part the basis of revolutionaries' errors on the question. This should not at all be confused with the error of CUO on the UFAH because as stated at the beginning their strategy is not based on the defense of socialism during inter-imperialist war but on justifying theoretically the betrayal of the working class (and finding what they hoped was the easiest means). Proletarian Internationalism cannot be upheld while in alliance with one or another imperialist. And since the beginning of this century and inter-imperialist war this and only this response has been demanded of the world's proletariat. It means to fight every type of chauvinism and every tendency that identifies the interest of the proletariat with their "own" imperialists. Further it means working for the defeat of your "own" bourgeois and working to transform world war into revolutionary civil war and to support that struggle in other countries. However difficult that may seem at any one time or in any one country this is the only work befitting the name Communist.

The outlook of the CUO on revolution is not only that it's not possible at this time in the U.S. (and elsewhere too I'm sure) but that it isn't even desirable. Beside the fact that the masses are too stupid to grasp social imperialism and they need time to be taught (a key point of UFAH) what's so great about revolution in the eyes of CUO? There is no hatred for U.S. imperialism—after all it's democratic, a friend of the "Third World", everything is basically fine—it's just those fucking Soviets are threatening to blow the whole set-up. To me this is not a sincere attempt to deal with the question but a deceitful and putrid attempt to justify betrayal of the working class and its aspirations.

Let the debate continue and deepen and bury once and for all this shameful chauvinism from the ranks of the class conscious. Not only can we be satisfied to call this shit for what it is and to popularize a correct stand broadly among the masses, but let this be a basis to go further and deeper in summing up the errors of revolutionaries on the question of war and revolution. By applying these lessons now we will be in the best position worldwide to turn this motherfucker out in the '80s.

Long Live Proletarian Internationalism
B.S.

"Sooner or Later" Debate

WAR, REVOLUTIONARY DEFEATISM

Krome Rebellion

Continued from page 5
camp. "It's Washington that's responsible." They tried to corrupt the leaders telling them that they were going to free them. The leaders turned this down cold saying they wanted everyone freed. When the other refugees were told of this, everyone in the camp joined the strike. Late Wednesday night the refugees gathered in the yard outside to talk about their conditions. The immigration guards panicked and started throwing teargas. As soon as the teargas stopped, the refugees started fighting back, throwing rocks. They tore down the barbed-wire fence that separated the men from the women and the women joined the fight. Over 100 men escaped from the camp, jumping over a 10-foot barbed-wire fence and taking to the streets. Some were injured and caught, others made it to a nearby marsh and are still free. The battle lasted a long time. The guards couldn't subdue the masses. They called in the sheriff and when the local police couldn't do the job either, they called in over 500 additional National Guards.

The day of the revolts the position of the refugees wasn't brought out in the press at all even though all the national media were there. Only the immigration position was reported. The only papers to repeat the refugees' position were the *RW* and the *Guardian*. In general there is a lot of reactionary public opinion being created about the refugees. Radio station talk shows promote people calling-in to say that the Haitians have no right to rebel. Also the KKK and

other reactionaries are conducting a systematic racist campaign against Haitians saying things like, "Haitians are dirty, they shouldn't work in restaurants because they will contaminate the food."

In opposition to this the Haitian community and many Black people in Miami have stood up for the rebellion. There was a demonstration outside the camp the following Sunday. Over 1,000 people came out, this time blocking traffic for over 4 hours. The pigs were scurrying around trying to intimidate people with the lie that the KKK was holding a counter-demonstration. But this only served to bring out more people. Some of the demonstrators wanted to tear the fences down and free all the refugees. A number of community leaders have consistently tried to pour cold water on the revolutionary sentiments and militance of the masses and promoted reliance on the very legal system that has become clearly exposed to the refugees as the repressive arm of the government it is and they have promoted absolute non-violence in the tradition of Martin Luther King. They said everyone would be slaughtered if they tried to free their comrades. This in the face of the heroic struggles that had just taken place on the inside and the open admission of bourgeois forces like the *Miami Herald* that the rebellion had been a face-to-face battle between the refugees and the guards.

Immediately following the rebellion, 500 immigration "rangers" from Texas were permanently stationed inside the camp. Their previous assignment was on the U.S.-Mexican border with high-powered rifles aimed at border crossers. Many refugees were transferred to other camps around the country and refugees arrested since the rebellion are

being sent directly to other camps. The INS has made a point of singling out and dispersing the leaders of the rebellion. 350 have been sent to Puerto Rico; 100 to New York; 300 to West Virginia and a number to Big Spring, Texas.

The *RW* has learned from other sources that in a recent incident one of the "rangers" tear-gassed two men in the face for demanding to go to the bathroom. (Krome has only one bathroom for all of its prisoners.) The men required medical treatment for eye injuries. While it is not known what protest went down over this attack, the INS later announced that this guard had been fired. He was the second guard fired in as many weeks due to outrage against the brutality in the camp. There are also many who believe that the INS has brought in members of Duvalier's CIA-trained secret police (the Tonton Macoutes) to finger leaders and activists in the camp for the Haitian and U.S. authorities. It was also reported that Reagan has announced a proposal to use an abandoned Air Force base in Montana for up to 2,000 Haitians. While there is no word of refugees being sent there yet, the *New York Times* on September 23 interviewed residents of the area. One rancher described the base area as "high plains... It's where the wind starts at the North Pole and doesn't stop 'til it knocks you down."—RW

It is difficult to get information about what is going on at these other camps, but there is a little. The refugees have no lawyers in West Virginia and no one there speaks Creole so they have no way of getting information about their status or getting out any news. Some refugees have already been in Texas for five or six months. The isola-

tion there is near intolerable. They have no way to communicate to the outside. They don't know what is going to happen to them. Some have become so desperate there that 100 asked to be sent back to Haiti where they know they can expect to face beatings, torture and possibly execution. They have been sent back.

These rebellions are not new. Ever since Haitians have sought refuge in the U.S. there have been uprisings against the way they have been treated once they arrive. For example, there was a rebellion in Florida and in 1975 in Texas. After a hunger strike at the rebellion in Florida, 44 prisoners tore down a prison wall only stopped from completely escaping when the guards fired shots in the air. Turene Deville, one of the leaders of that rebellion, hung himself in his cell rather than get on the waiting plane to be deported back to Haiti where he faced certain torture and execution. But there are differences today. There is more support from the masses of the communities and internationally for the struggle of the refugees. Another big difference is the huge numbers of refugees concentrated in one place. In the past no more than a few hundred were together. Now at Krome there are more than 1,000. Also the conditions today are qualitatively worse than they were then. All this both provides the possibility and forces the refugees to rebel in a more organized way.

The *RW* encourages further correspondence on the outrages being perpetrated against the Haitian people and the developing protest from all areas where these brothers and sisters are incarcerated. □

The Springboks Games and the Bigger Contest

Continued from page 9

ing before Congress to testify that the U.S. government had nothing at all to do with and no interest in promoting the Springboks tour, flew directly to consult with South African officials on the two country's joint intrigues with regard to Namibia.

Quite clearly, the U.S. bourgeoisie has been forced to pursue careful and complicated tactics in employing the "Springboks tour as a sort of "coming out of the closet" celebration for the benefit of broad mass consumption. The tour has assumed a semi-underground character, with the team closeted away in secret locations, games being scheduled at undisclosed sites, everything being done to elude mass demonstrations—except when an opportunity presents itself to "get away with something." In the case of Albany, after considerable debate, the ruling class determined that the necessity to play at least one match in a legitimate stadium and defy anyone to try to stop it was worth the risk. After the match, the team immediately disappeared again—and the Rugby Union is still refusing to disclose the site of the next match, scheduled for Saturday, September 26.

Although the tour is aimed at having a powerful reactionary political impact domestically, its international implications are perhaps even more crucial to the U.S. imperialists. It can be no accident that the Albany match was timed to coincide with a long-scheduled meeting of 2,000 delegates of the International Olympic Committee (IOC) at Baden-Baden, West Germany. The IOC has regulations against any member country playing host to South African sports teams. A number of Black African countries voiced support for a boycott of the 1984 Los Angeles Olympic games; but the IOC meeting refused to pass any such resolution, declaring that it had investigated and found that the U.S. Olympic Committee acted "properly in the matter." The Chairman of the Los Angeles Olympic games is William Simon, a high-ranking power in U.S. ruling circles who served as

"energy czar" under Nixon and is well-known as a fervent admirer of South Africa. Here again, the U.S. imperialists are doubtless congratulating themselves on having "gotten away with something" and "made their point."

Neither is it any coincidence that the Springboks tour hit New Zealand and the U.S. while a South African invading army is marauding in Angola as well as Namibia in a search-and-destroy operation against guerrilla forces. At the United Nations, the U.S. vetoed a Security Council resolution condemning South Africa on the grounds that "the resolution did not mention the presence of Soviet troops in Angola". In short, the Springboks tour is purposely timed and orchestrated by the U.S., not to provoke the least possible attention and controversy, but to as blatantly and directly as possible highlight the fact that U.S. imperialism has a truncheon in the form of the South African regime that is willing to quite openly brandish and employ for its own purposes and that "the pressure of world opinion" will not prevent or even appreciably restrain it from doing so.

But in making these moves out of necessity, the U.S. is, in the long-run, not really "getting away with it" at all. The fury which the Springboks have encountered, most notably in New Zealand, but in this country as well, represents the real harvest that U.S. imperialism will reap, not only with its vicious and cowardly maneuvering around this "rugby tour," but with each and every move it makes in its battle to save itself and expand its empire. With each such desperate lurch in preparation for war, not only is its own ugly and tyrannical essence more glaringly revealed, but broader and broader forces are propelled into struggle against it on a world scale, in the midst of the crisis which presents powerful possibilities to transform the mass resistance against imperialist oppression and war into the revolutionary struggle to overthrow it. □

NATO

Continued from page 6

one semi-official spokesman for the Pentagon described one possible scenario leading to the actual outbreak of world war in such a way as to cast these so-called "war games" in a new and deadly serious light:

"There will be a heightening of tensions in the world, perhaps even fighting between the U.S. and Russian troops in the Persian Gulf, or somewhere like it. At this point the Warsaw Pact will announce large-scale maneuvers and with these as a cover, carry out all-out mobilizations hoping that at least for a few days it will not be recognized as such. Of course, we won't be fooled. And, as soon as they announce their maneuvers, we will call our own and carry out mobilization."

While this Pentagon spokesman is once again trying to cast the next inter-imperialist war in terms of "aggressor" and "defender", the point to be noted here is that "war games" like Autumn Forge are an integral part, a direct forerunner, of the real thing—increasingly with the potential of themselves turning into a military showdown. And, in fact, this same spokesman went on to reveal the war-mongering inherent in both sides between these imperialist rivals:

"Given the political situation in Western Europe (undoubtedly referring to growing outrage over more and more blatant war preparations and to recent demonstrations around Secretary of State Haig's visit to Germany—*RW*), we would want to do all we could to put

the Russians in the role of aggressor, which would probably mean waiting for them to attack first. However, especially if there was fighting going on in some other part of the world, the distinction between who attacked first is significantly blurred and you could not rule out some sort of pre-emptive or disruptive strike by our side." His point was recently underscored by the revision (August 14, 1981) of the Army Field Manual, No. 100-1, stating that U.S. deterrent policy "however, does not preclude the first use of nuclear weapons by U.S. forces."

But all of their best laid plans contain one potentially fatal flaw—relying on their subjects to carry them out! Already, military analysts are wondering aloud just how reliable the troops will be, especially considering they face certain death on the "integrated" battlefield. It is little wonder that troops being sent to Germany are regularly locked in their barracks the night before they leave, and are subjected to two or three searches by military police before they board the plane. Their role as solely being cannonfodder for the imperialist war machine is further emphasized by the fact that they are purposely told almost nothing about what they are doing or why they're being sent. "All we know is that we're going to Germany," is how one guy put it. Another GI spoke to the increasing tension among the ranks as the moves towards war become all the more apparent. All of this is a vivid indication of the real doubts and fears of the imperialists regarding the loyalty and reliability of the very people that their mad strategies depend on. □

CORRECTIONS

In *RW* No. 122, the article entitled: "Peoples' Run For Leonard Peltier," contained an error. The article identified Standing Deer as having been murdered by police authorities during an escape from California's Lumpoc Prison. It was in fact Dallas Thunder-shield, who was brutally shot in the back and killed by the authorities. Standing Deer is still incarcerated and for his aid to Leonard Peltier, has been continually harassed and threatened with a lobotomy by the forces of the state.

In the same issue, the article entitled "Yellow Thunder Rumbling in the Black Hills" contained an error. Describing the Dawes Allotment Act of 1886, the ar-

ticle states, "The catch to this law was that after the land was divided up 60 million acres were 'left over' and sold to white settlers or retained by the government." This sentence should read "60 million acres nationwide were 'left over'..."

And on page 23, in the article "Pesticide Anarchy," the first sentence of the second full paragraph of column three should read: A professor of pharmacology at Stanford, Dr. Sumner Kalman, who filed a legal affidavit saying that malathion spraying was dangerous, has been vilified by some other so-called experts, and now refuses to talk to the press.

Letter on Rugby Tour and Opportunists

Learning to See Through Camouflage

Dear RW:

When it was announced that the South African rugby team was going to be playing in Chicago, many, many people were extremely angry that the U.S. would try to pass off apartheid as acceptable, building up friendly relations with South Africa, especially while they were so brazenly invading Angola. Broad sentiment developed among Black people and many others as well that they should not be allowed to play. There were those among society's rebellious elements, like some youth at Cabrini Green, who vowed that "Wild horses couldn't drag me away from this match."

Two broad coalitions were formed, one of all-Black groups and the other of various reformist, church, student, and revolutionary groups and individuals.

Yet when the starting whistle blew, few of these forces, and almost none of those who were determined to take up where the masses in New Zealand had left off, actually protested. The desire to act had been deflected, diverted and smothered. Many had been led to believe that the leaders had taken care of business and the game was off. Others had been pointed off in the direction of AFL-CIO Solidarity Day in Washington, D.C. as something that would really make a difference, while the game "had been driven underground and a victory scored." While the rugby game was played, Jesse Jackson, the Communist Party's main forces and others who had sworn to stop it "by any means necessary" were in D.C.

Lenin once wrote: "In order to become a Social-Democrat (communist—RW), the worker must have a clear picture of the economic nature and the social and political features of the landlord and the priest, the high state official and the peasant, the student and the tramp; he must know their strong and weak points; he must see the meaning of all the catchwords and sophisms by which each class and each stratum camouflages its selfish striving and its real 'inside workings'; he must understand what interests certain institutions and certain laws reflect and how they reflect them. But this 'clear picture' cannot be obtained from books. It can be obtained only from living examples and from exposures, following hot upon the heels of what is going on around us at a given moment. . . ."

And from this experience of struggle

around the rugby tour there is much to be learned about the line of those class forces who organize loudly under the camouflage banner of "the masses" while pouring cold water on the creativity and initiative of those masses—especially, but not even exclusively, the most rebellious of them.

From the beginning Jesse Jackson and the CP-influenced leaders had no intention of mobilizing the masses in resolute struggle to stop this tour. The main thrust of their "organizing" was to draw in a lot of people to pressure the bourgeois politicians to cancel the game. They promoted writing letters to the mayor, governor, congressmen and president. They called a rally one week before the game, supposedly to rally people to come out for the protest the following weekend. But the whole thrust of it was to get enough people at the rally to force the city council to pass a resolution condemning apartheid and the rugby tour. They argued for certain "influential politicians" to speak, saying they would "draw people." Actually the idea that these bourgeois politicians really pull the crowds is a joke that even the CP probably doesn't believe. What they really mean is that it would help influence and align forces in the government. They were counting on the game being canceled, and no effort was made to call on the masses to take up the struggle themselves.

But even more to the point of what they were using this battle for, was to aim people toward the Solidarity Day demo called by the AFL-CIO in Washington, D.C. One congressman (who was put forward as a speaker by a revisionist because he "could draw more people") at the rally on the 12th didn't even mention the protest of the rugby game, he called on people to go to the Washington demo which was the same day as the rugby game. He was forced by some revolutionary nationalists to go back on stage and call people to oppose the Springboks, but his actions speak for the revisionists and what they were trying to do.

Much of this was hidden behind very militant rhetoric, foremost that of Jesse Jackson, who gave fiery speeches denouncing the "racist, reactionary" policies of the "Reagan administration" and vowing to fight through any means necessary. But what he was saying to the masses was, don't worry, you can count on us, we'll take care of this for

you as long as you stand BEHIND us, giving us the mandate. We'll force the politicians to listen to the will of the people. This had even more credibility when Jane Byrne ordered the city council to unanimously vote against apartheid and the rugby tour, although not against them playing.

But what would do this even better, as far as the revisionists and opportunists like Jackson were concerned, was the BIG, and broad-based, mainstream and really AMERICAN rally in Washington, which they hoped to use to push the influence of certain lines within the bourgeoisie.

As for those who represent the interests of certain sections of the bourgeoisie in this struggle—specifically the revisionist CPUSA and Jesse Jackson—it is not just that they have different, more moderate or "broad based" tactics, or a different plan for how to end all oppression and liberate the masses from the yoke of imperialism, than the proletariat. They have different goals in mind. They are not aiming to end the rule of the imperialists and wipe them off the face of the earth, their aim is to perpetuate it, only with different, perhaps "more enlightened" rulers in the driver's seat. This view has been and is reflected in how and for what reasons they take up struggles like the protest against the South African rugby tour.

There are differences on which imperialist interests to uphold, but no fundamental disagreement on preserving imperialism. For example, on the question of South Africa, Jesse Jackson is promoting more directly the line of those in the U.S. ruling class who oppose the recent Reagan administration tactical shift towards openly embracing the South African regime and promoting the image that it's really not so bad after all, because they feel it will hurt U.S. imperialist influence among other African states and make it more difficult to accomplish their larger objectives of tightening up the U.S. war bloc and cutting Soviet influence to a minimum. The CPUSA, on the other hand, is portraying the Soviet Union as a "proletarian internationalist" for "aiding" the African countries with guns and Cuban troops—"aiding" them, that is, in a shift from the U.S. imperialist bloc into the Soviet imperialist bloc. Jesse Jackson and CP types have unity against the recent U.S. flaunting of support for the apartheid regime, but are motivated by different reasons (though both imperialist reasons)—and certainly for different reasons than proletarian internationalist opposition to this rugby tour. The international proletariat's class interest in South Africa is for the black masses to liberate themselves from all imperialism and led by the proletariat to forge forward through national liberation to socialism.

In this struggle, counting on the forces of the bourgeoisie to carry forward, even tactically, to take on the Springboks, ended up in outright sabotage. SART announced three days before the game that there would be only one bus to take people to the game (which was clearly by then going to be played out of town) because all the buses in the city had been chartered to take people to Washington.

And while Jackson and others were declaring a victory, the Springboks were practicing without opposition in a major downtown Chicago park for the benefit of TV cameras. The catchword of "victory" obviously meant something other than the victory the masses sought—the masses booting the Springboks out of the country and not allowing them to play anywhere. They were referring to another kind of victory, galvanizing certain forces in the bourgeoisie in unity with them to condemn such upfront and revealing tactical moves as bringing South African rugby teams to develop "friendly relations." For those who still wanted to see the game stopped, the message was broadcast loud and clear, "no one's really going to try and stop this game anyway."

For those who did arrive Saturday morning determined to drive the Springboks out, the message of "don't do anything that will turn off the majority" was pounded into their heads. This got especially sharp around taking up the red flag at this protest. No place for proletarian internationalism at this protest, it will confuse people, they said. Yes, it might "confuse" people away from the dead end of holding up the need to appeal to the average American to justify capitulation to imperialism. There were two lines in battle here, one the line of the international proletariat, resolutely opposed to all imperialism and reaction, and the other seeking to cozy up to and reform imperialism under the name of the people.

It was also quite instructive to see how this line led those influenced by revisionism to underestimate and fall behind the spontaneous anger and understanding of Blacks in Racine, who organized a militant protest on the spot when they heard the game was being played. And those who did so on the spot were from the largely middle-class Black neighborhood by the field—it was not even the most "unruly ones" of the ghetto, as revisionists see it. They were enraged that this game was allowed to be played in Racine. When revolutionaries united with their anger and sought to give it more class-conscious understanding and expression through revolutionary internationalist agitation, both spoken and in the RW, the revisionists did their only mass agitation of the day in the neighborhood—against the red flag. When revolutionaries proposed going to the jail to uphold the masses for going on the rugby field and attempting to do what people around the world wanted to see done, they hid behind "the masses" again. "We are guests in this community and we follow the leadership of the people here." But it turned out the people from the community saw the busts as another, related outrage that had to be protested. While these same "followers of the masses" debated among themselves whether or not it was legal to picket on the sidewalk across the street from the jail, some of the local people led everyone right into the jail lobby and proceeded to announce that "if we don't get answers we're having a family reunion here and we ain't leaving." (I saw a few panicked looks among the revisionists over that one.) Everyone else cheered.

We should thank the revisionists and assorted other saviors for furthering our education in understanding another feature of the political terrain and helping us to "see the meaning of all the catchwords and sophisms by which each class and each stratum camouflages its selfish strivings and its real 'inside workings,'" as Lenin put it.

It is not the case that people like Jesse Jackson and the CP will not lead. They will lead, all right. We learned a little bit more about WHERE. In the name of "the people," they are leading the masses into the arms of the bourgeoisie. It is not that they aren't good organizers, or good speakers, or can't rally some people. They can do all that and will probably get better at it. The real question is with what goal in mind.

This line does and will continue to have influence not only among more middle-class activists, liberals, labor unions, clergy, etc., but also within the proletariat and other rebellious elements. It will certainly be contending in the many and varied outbreaks of struggle. The revolutionaries will continue to utilize this political struggle between the lines of the different contending classes as a crucial part of the education of the proletariat, learning through these living examples why the proletariat is the only class that can lead, not only, or even mainly, a powerful revolutionary struggle against the Springboks, but far more important, a revolutionary onslaught.

D.G.
Chicago

Tour organizers for the Springboks vs. Chicago Lions game went about contacting members of the Midwest Rugby Union (who made up the bulk of the 300 spectators at Saturday's game) with midnight phone calls, detailing how each one would receive the game's location. Rendezvous spots were handed out—places like a Howard Johnson's restaurant and a 1954 Oldsmobile off on the side of a highway exit outside of Chicago. From there, after showing a ticket from the originally scheduled match and regurgitating a secret password, the exact spot for the game was passed on: Roosevelt Park, in Racine, Wisconsin—just 75 miles north of Chicago and in the heart of a Black neighborhood! But despite these elaborate, clandestine preparations, they were still met with outraged demonstrators.

A Black woman resident of Racine, Wisconsin turned out to protest the Springboks game. She gave the following statement to the RW to warn people in New York of the approaching apartheid rugby tour.

"A couple of days before this incident I saw on TV about little babies starving in Ethiopia. Mothers and babies were dying, and I couldn't sleep. I tossed all night, and I took down the number to send some money and then I thought it won't get where it needs to go anyway. And then, three days later, this rugby team sneaks in playing for this apartheid, right here in Racine, a town with Johnson's Wax and Tenneco

"Be on the Watch"

with big holdings in South Africa. Don't think they didn't help sneak them in. What about the Johnson's Wax helicopters that landed there. See I knew something about South Africa before this happened from these Italians at work who told me about the white dominating the black, so both these things—the children starving in Ethiopia and the rugby team from South Africa, showed me something was up. This is my message to the people in the East. Be on the watch. They will try to sneak in like a thief in the night, and if you understand what's involved, you'll know what to do.

a resident from Racine

A RIGHTEOUS RECEPTION FOR HAIG

Continued from page 7

showed him with his hand over his heart, as if taking an oath, while napalm-deformed children stood at his side. United States Army helicopters flew overhead, tracking the demonstration, and marchers knelt, directing mock anti-aircraft fire against them. . . . The loudspeaker truck played 'The Star-Spangled Banner,' but it was Jimi Hendricks' moaning, mocking guitar-solo version. A girl carried an American flag, but it had the shape of a pig, its hocks and ribs, red and white stripes, its head and eyes, a mosaic of misshapen stars."

The spirit of creative agitation abounded in this demonstration. One group of people applied for a pro-Haig march permit and then dressed up very conservatively in business suits and marched, waving puny American flags. The Press Corps, desperate for any "pro-American demonstrators," went running over to cover this unexpected demonstration. But when they got there and started the cameras rolling, the demonstrators began chanting, "We want war!"; and the embarrassed Press

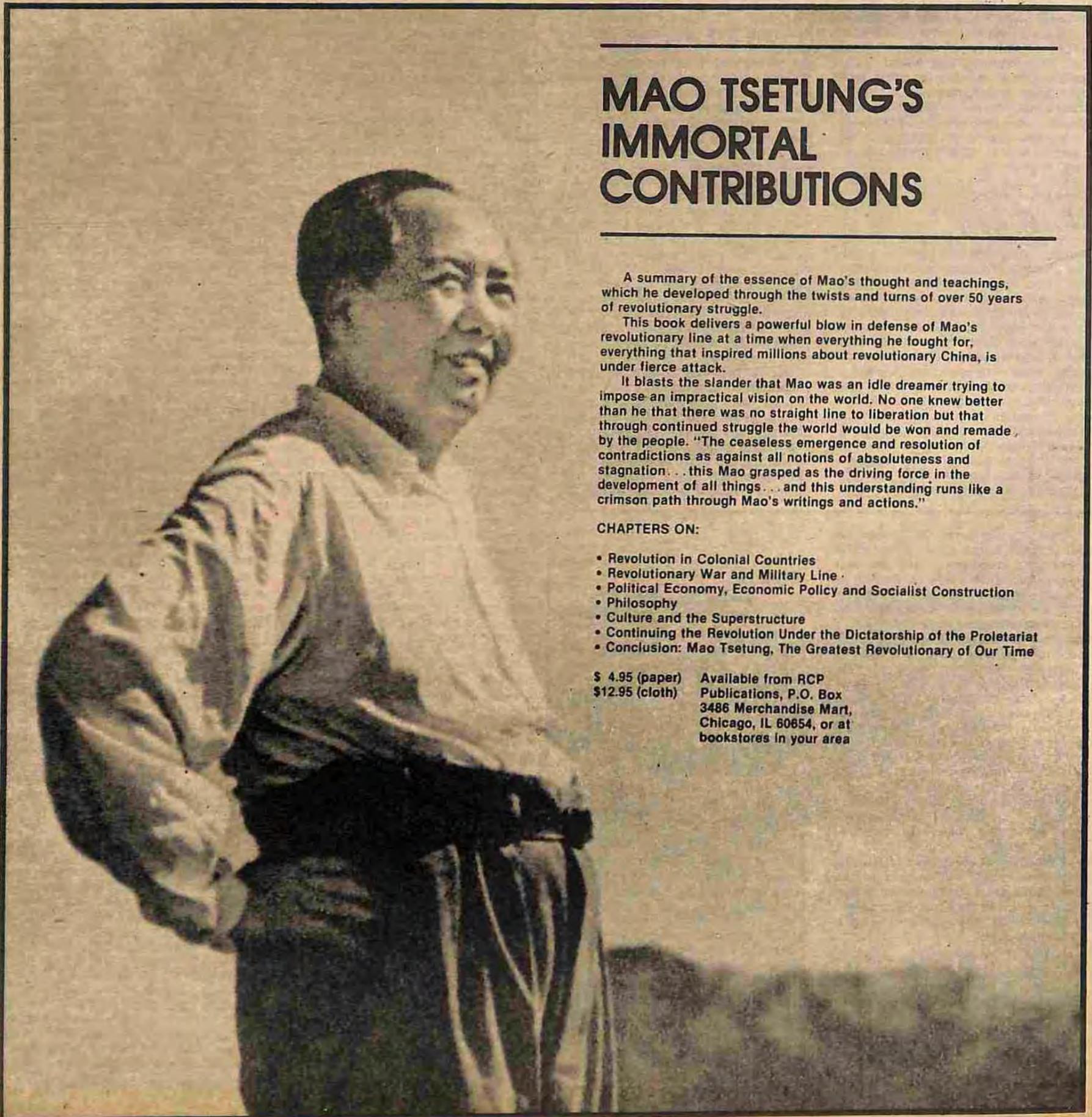
Corps went hurrying back to the official ceremonies.

Sponsored by over 50 groups and organizations, the demonstration spanned a wide variety of political views. It is an indication of the development of the political climate here in the last year that the JUTSO's, youth arm of the governing SPD, was out denouncing "U.S. imperialism" in terms not long ago considered "far left." Yet the correct focus on U.S. imperialism in general and Haig in particular also served as a cover for some reactionary slogans and thinking promoted especially by these social-democrats, as well as others, who call for Germany to pursue its interests independently of the U.S. This line often takes the form of a call for a neutral West Germany instead of "Schlagfeld Deutschland," a battlefield for the two superpowers. Such a view, while draped with denunciations of both superpowers, is at best utopian, since it is West Germany's independent imperialist interests that have brought it to the U.S.-led bloc in the first place and still bind it there. At worst it is

what John Vinocur, writing for the *International Herald Tribune*, half apprehensively and half approvingly called "an appeal to German nationalism...with rightist nationalism widely discredited in West Germany, this area is left wide open for the left." Of course, it is true that the "left" can appeal to nationalism, but in an imperialist country this can only be done on the basis of defending imperialism and in one form or another betraying the extremely sharp sentiments against imperialist war that have brought so many people into action here in the first place. This is what gives vital importance to the more thoroughly anti-imperialist sentiments and actions of those who targeted and fought against West German imperialism.

While the imperialists and their war plans were taking a beating in the streets of West Berlin, Haig was on nationwide TV in West Germany trying to salvage what he could of a worsening situation in the battle for public opinion. For broad sections of people in Europe, the recent neutron bomb decision

—on top of the plans to deploy a new generation of U.S. Pershing and Cruise missiles all over the continent—was icing on the warmongering cake. Even as late as 1978, thousands of people lined the streets of West Berlin to welcome then-President Carter. Now, just a few years later, a visit of the Secretary of State of the USA was preceded by police distributing 11,000 leaflets along Haig's motorcade route encouraging the local residents to be on the alert for anything "suspicious." 283 cars were towed away from his route. Despite a call for the populace to come out and support Haig, the streets where he passed were so deserted that it caused one member of the Press Corps to comment, "This is what it's going to look like after they drop the neutron bomb." However, it isn't deserted streets, but streets full of people angry and opposed to their frenzied war preparations, that has the imperialists deeply worried and agitated, as evidenced by the massive turnout for the anti-Haig demonstration and the militant street fighting that spun off from it. □



MAO TSETUNG'S IMMORTAL CONTRIBUTIONS

A summary of the essence of Mao's thought and teachings, which he developed through the twists and turns of over 50 years of revolutionary struggle.

This book delivers a powerful blow in defense of Mao's revolutionary line at a time when everything he fought for, everything that inspired millions about revolutionary China, is under fierce attack.

It blasts the slander that Mao was an idle dreamer trying to impose an impractical vision on the world. No one knew better than he that there was no straight line to liberation but that through continued struggle the world would be won and remade by the people. "The ceaseless emergence and resolution of contradictions as against all notions of absoluteness and stagnation... this Mao grasped as the driving force in the development of all things... and this understanding runs like a crimson path through Mao's writings and actions."

CHAPTERS ON:

- Revolution in Colonial Countries
- Revolutionary War and Military Line
- Political Economy, Economic Policy and Socialist Construction
- Philosophy
- Culture and the Superstructure
- Continuing the Revolution Under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat
- Conclusion: Mao Tse-tung, The Greatest Revolutionary of Our Time

\$ 4.95 (paper)
\$12.95 (cloth)

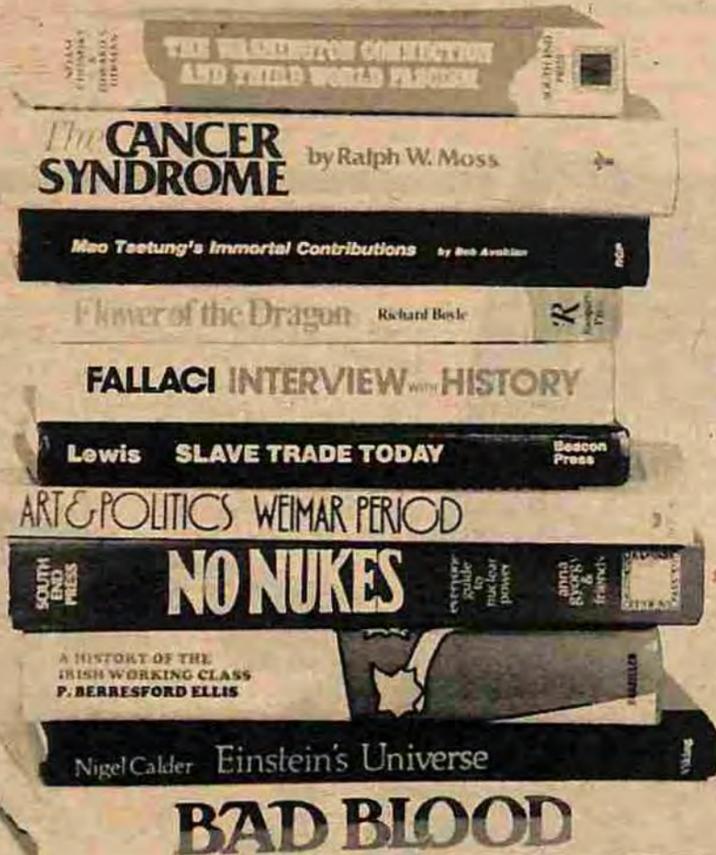
Available from RCP Publications, P.O. Box 3486 Merchandise Mart, Chicago, IL 60654, or at bookstores in your area

REVOLUTION BOOKS

The next 50 to 100 years or so, beginning from now, will be a great era of radical change in the social system throughout the world, an earthshaking era without equal in any previous historical period. Living in such an era, we must be prepared to engage in great struggles. . . . —Mao Tsetung, 1962

Now more than ever, Mao's words ring true. Almost daily, the international economic crisis sharpens, while the imperialists' preparations and moves toward World War 3 accelerate, and upheaval and rebellion are already shaking many corners of the world. This complex swirl of events raises many vital questions demanding solution—about society, the world, the future, history, philosophy, science and the arts. *Revolution Books* carries a broad selection of progressive and revolutionary literature that addresses all these questions. Now more than ever, "we must be prepared to engage in great struggles." Stop by to shop, study, debate. . .

- Pamphlets
- Domestic and international periodicals
- Selections in different languages
- Used books
- Posters
- Buttons
- All of the publications of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA



BAD BLOOD

"The military junta model has been found to be a good one, and the U.S. has helped it flourish and spread. Torture, death squads and freedom of investment are related parts of the approved model. . . . It turns out that if we cut through the propaganda barrage, Washington has become the torture and political murder capital of the world. . . ."

The Political Economy of Human Rights
Noam Chomsky & Edward Herman

"The Tuskegee Study (1932-1972) had nothing to do with treatment. . . . It was a nontherapeutic experiment, aimed at compiling data on the effects of the spontaneous evolution of syphilis on black males. . . . the men did not understand (and were not told) what the experiment was about or the dangers to which it exposed them. . . ."

Bad Blood, James H. Jones

"It's impossible for a chicken to produce a duck egg. . . . A chicken just doesn't have it within its system to produce a duck egg. . . . It is impossible for this system, this economic system, this political system. . . . to produce freedom right now for the black man in this country. And if ever a chicken did produce a duck egg, I'm quite sure you would say it was certainly a revolutionary chicken. . . ."

Malcolm X Speaks

"Do not be intimidated by famous people and scholars. We must be courageous in thinking, speaking, and doing. The initiative and creativity of the laboring people have always been abundant. In the past, they were held in restraint. . . . Our method is to lift the lid, break down superstition, and let the initiative and creativity of the laboring people explode. . . ."

Miscellany of Mao Tsetung Thought

"Truly, then, this book does not claim to be anything but what it is. . . . a direct testimony by fourteen political figures of contemporary history. . . . I did not go to these fourteen people with the detachment of the anatomist or the imperturbable reporter. I went with a thousand feelings of rage, a thousand questions that before assailing them were assailing me. . . ."

Interview with History, Oriana Fallaci

"The elimination of these cancer-causing substances might, at first sight, appear a simple and rational way to reduce the incidence of cancer. It may be rational but it is certainly not simple. . . . It should hardly shock anyone that industry will use a wide variety of tactics to protect its investments. What is more surprising is the degree to which leaders of the cancer field have also helped to obscure the need for prevention. . . ."

The Cancer Syndrome, Ralph Moss

"What people mean. . . . when they say that it will never work, is they can't turn on a machine called 'revolution' and have it working perfectly for them. Yes, it is true, that will never work. . . . we have to struggle with them and lead them to grasp that they have to emancipate themselves, under the Party's leadership, that they have to struggle, they have to play a role, ultimately a decisive role, in making—and continuing to make—revolution. . . ."

Coming From Behind to Make Revolution, Bob Avakian

Berkeley, CA: 3126 Grove, 94703 (415) 841-8314
 Boston, MA: 118 Mass. Ave., Box 137, 02115
 Chicago, IL: 2525 N. Lincoln Ave., 60614, (312) 528-5353
 Cincinnati, OH: 313 Calhoun St., 45219, (513) 281-4275
 Detroit, MI: 5744 Woodward Ave., 48202, (313) 872-2286
 Honolulu, HI: 2648 S. King St., 96826, (808) 944-3106
 Los Angeles, CA: 2597 W. Pico Blvd., 90006, (213) 384-3856
 New York, NY: 16 E. 18th St., 10003, (212) 243-8638
 San Francisco, CA: 17 Brenham Place, 94108, (415) 781-4989
 Seattle, WA: 1828 Broadway, 98122, (206) 323-9222
 Washington, DC: 2438 18th St. NW, 20009, (202) 265-1969

Palestine

Continued from page 12

whole city nobody will speak about how we killed them; but we want only three guys to go to any Palestinian city or any Palestinian groups and say how his family, how his relatives, how his neighbors were killed. The imperialist countries used this news to tell the whole civilian people in Palestine. The people in Palestine under British occupation couldn't have guns. If you had guns you were going to be killed under British occupation. (30 years ago, England occupied Palestine before 1948.) And all the Arab governments, which is the bourgeoisie, used this story on their radio and in their news that the Israeli groups killed the whole city, killed 10,000 persons, all the people who didn't have guns to face the Israeli army, Israeli terrorists. All the people heard that all the children in Deir Yassin have been killed, that all the women have been killed in Deir Yassin, all the men in Deir Yassin have been killed, and the whole people started moving, leaving their land in Palestine. . . . Today, in the prisons they use a very bad situation for the women. As an example Leila Saad: they caught her in the Gaza Strip camps and they brought her father and they forced him to sleep with her if she didn't speak. Salem Abu Seta in the Jabalia camps; they brought his sister and they killed her facing him to make him answer and he didn't answer; and when he didn't answer they killed him by electricity and they said that he killed himself. Mohammed El Aswad, who was the leader of the Communist Party in the Gaza Strip from 1967 to 1971; he was killed in 1971. What happened after that? They caught his wife and they put his wife in jail for two years without any question. They drove her crazy after that because she faced electric technology, very high technology. And they use small boxes less than 75 centimeters across, and one meter high, called box 16. Each prisoner would enter this room for at least six days. And if you want to eat, it's very fantastic food because the United States pays \$10,000 a year for each prisoner, in Beersheba jail or in Gaza jail or in Hadassah jail or in Majdal jail or in Jabalia jail or in Nablus jail—there are at least 30 or 35 jails for Palestinian terrorists. You are going to eat a meal a day with very hard bread but fantastic with stale water because you are going to eat while you are hungry and you are not going to ask what kind of food. This kind of situation any Palestinian or any revolution—I'm not going to say Palestinian because it's an international revolution, it is not a nationality revolution—any revolutionary in the third world is living in the same situation; in Latin America they are living in the same situation. They are living under dictatorship like South Africa, like Palestine, like any area that is occupied or controlled by capitalism. Here in the United States when you are going to start your revolution to change, when you are going to struggle directly with this capitalism, you are going to see its real face. You are going to see they are all dogs that eat our meat and drink our blood. Now you are facing very high democracy because the revolution is still not strong enough to face this capitalism. In this situation the Palestinian revolution and the whole third world is living. Thank you very much.

Q: You talked about the massacre of 20,000 Palestinians by Jordan's King Hussein and of the collaboration of some forces within the movement with these Arab countries. And also I had some question about what is the position of the PLO, different wings of it, different forces within the PLO, about the Soviet Union. What do you think about this situation? And how much of these compromises and collaborations have caused the Palestinian revolution to be delayed and not to advance as it should be? How much of this type of collaboration really contributed to the stalling of the Palestinian revolution because for several years the Palestinian revolution has been waging armed struggle; they have been resisting. What I would like to know is, what stops this

revolution from going forward? How much do you attribute it to the collaboration within the leadership of the PLO or whatever?

*A: In the PLO itself there are seven parts. Three of them are international parts. I can't translate from Arabic to English their names, I'm sorry about that. But I know the leaders of these groups. One of the international groups is led by George Habash. The other is led by Naif Hawatmeh. The third used to be led by Ahmad Jabril but now it starts to be a very secret group. Nobody knows anything about this group. It started to move underground. The other fourth group is called Fatah. This group is a very big group in the PLO and it is supported by 80% of the Arab governments. That means that it is supported by the Arab bourgeoisie. That is why it is a very rich group and it is a very large group, because it started to be like a company. You can work. And you can have your own job. They don't ask you for revolution at all but only you can have their card called "I am from Fatah." And you can take money. This group deals with the Iranian government now, with the religious group in Iran, not the internationalist groups in Iran. The other groups the whole bourgeoisie will dislike them and the whole bourgeoisie will refuse them. . . . That is why with the Arab governments the most important thing is that the leader of the Palestinian revolution will be Fatah, will be Yassar Arafat. But the Palestinian people inside the camps, inside the revolution, all of us know exactly who is effective, who is not effective, who is going to deal with the bourgeoisie in a few years, who is going to rob our revolution or jump it in the future. And we know exactly how to deal with these kinds of people. And I'll mention one point. I'm sorry it is outside Palestine but it's an international problem because I read the *RW* and I read what is going on in Iran and I want*

to mention one thing, that the internationalist groups in Iran had roots at least a hundred years ago in Iran. . . . And when the United States imperialists felt that social groups or communist groups, or international revolutionary groups in Iran, will control the revolution in Iran—the United States would lose a lot of things in the Middle East after this kind of revolution—it told the Shah, if you remember exactly, to leave Iran. And it started to speak about the religious groups—Khomeini, the leader of the Iranian revolution and the religious groups started to deal with the Iranian streets by religion. And you know the bourgeois commercials were faster than our effect because we are asking for real revolutionary people but all the nationalist groups or religious groups are carrying good words to move the whole people. And by the United States itself religious groups in Iran control or jump the revolution because the United States wants to go back to Iran by the same group, the religious group. In the future it dreams about that. But what I believe also is that the communist groups in Iran are very, very strong enough to continue its revolution in Iran, because if the United States could go again to Iran that means the revolution will take at least a very long time to grow up again.

Q: One thing you didn't quite clarify is what is the role of the Soviet Union, in regards to the Palestinian revolution, what is your impression?

A: The Soviet Union deals with the Palestinian revolution like any imperialist country deals with government. They accept the leader of the PLO and it accepts any group who want the Soviet Union's way, who want "proficient" or "intelligent" people to control the revolution; to liberate Palestine for the Soviet Union. That is why the Soviet Union didn't deal directly with the international groups in the Palestine revolution. It didn't deal

directly with the people. If started dealing with government leaders and that is it. And it is not only in Palestine, it's in the whole world. The Soviet Union started to deal with the Egyptian government in 1969. Under this relation the Egyptian government killed the whole international revolution inside Egypt. After Nasser, the leader of Egypt, died, we discovered that Egypt with the new leader Anwar Sadat was going back to the United States—to be a good large company for the United States. The Soviet Union deals with the Iraqi government. It supports the Iraqi government to build a strong army and under that, all of us know that, the Baath group, who leads Iraq now, killed the whole communist group three times before, through 10 years, all of them. And the Soviet Union, they haven't ears to hear what is going on in Iraq because they want oil from Iraq, they want money, they start asking about business. And all of us know what is going on in South Yemen. It was led by Salem Robaye Ali; this guy was killed by the Soviet Union and then South Yemen was controlled by a new dictatorship called Abdul Fatah Ismail, and after that they changed him to Ali Nasser Mohamed. The Soviet Union deals with the Libyan government now, the Libyan government only, and forget the people, because the Libyan government is killing the whole revolution inside Libya and outside Libya. And the whole world knows that the Libyan government is very "revolutionary" because it deals with the Soviet Union. It supports Syria now, while the Syrian government kills the whole revolution inside Syria. I don't know if this way is a new "model for revolution" or I don't know if the Soviet Union starts to be a new imperialist country. That's the relation between the Soviet Union and the Palestinian revolution. They want to have it for themselves. Thank you.

**TO THE
MARXIST-LENINISTS,
THE WORKERS,
AND THE OPPRESSED
OF ALL COUNTRIES**

Joint Communique of
Ceylon Communist Party
Groupe Marxist-Leniniste du Senegal
Grupo para la Defensa del Marxismo-Leninismo (Spain)
Mao Tse Tung Kredszen (Denmark)
Marxist-Leninist Collective (Britain)
New Zealand Red Flag Group
Nottingham Communist Group (Britain)
Organizzazione Comunista Proletaria Marxist-Leninista (Italy)
Partido Comunista Revolucionario de Chile
Parti International Proletarienne (France)
Rearganzation Committee, Communist Party, USA
Revolucionary Communist Party, USA
Unioe Comunista Revolucionaria (Dominican Republic)

Joint Communique of 13 Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organizations.
Autumn, 1980. Published in Chinese, Danish, English, Farsi, French, German, Italian, Malayalam, Sinhalese, Spanish and Tamil. \$1.00 plus 50¢ postage.
Available from RCP Publications

"To carry out the struggle against revisionism and to aid the process of developing and struggling for a correct general line in the international communist movement, the undersigned Parties and organizations are launching an international journal. This journal can and will be a crucial weapon which can help unite, ideologically, politically and organizationally, the genuine Marxist-Leninists throughout the world."

—From the joint communique "To the Marxist-Leninists, the Workers and the Oppressed of All Countries"

\$2.00 plus 50¢ postage.
Available from:
RCP Publications.

Marching in the Mainstream

Continued from page 1

regain some lost ground and, it is promised, reverse the current "plight of the nation," which is purportedly the sole product of the policies of Ronald Reagan and the Republican Party. Until the elections, well, the labor movement will put a little pressure on Congress.

While there was a certain diversity among the 250,000 or so that attended this event, there was certainly no diversity when it came to the speeches belched from the platform and blasted nationwide. Entoned AFL-CIO chief Lane Kirkland at the rally: "We have come t-o-o f-a-r, struggled t-o-o long, sacrificed t-o-o m-u-c-h... to allow all that we have achieved for the good of all to be swept away." Here was the legitimate redressing of the grievances of the American workers, demonstrators who "smoked Marlboros, not marijuana," as the press gleefully—if somewhat idealistically—noted. The point was hard to miss: Solidarity Day was being touted, in sharp contrast to anything that went on in DC in the '60s ("then they listened to folk rock, but now they listen to country western"). A numbers game even developed, wherein attendance at Solidarity Day was frequently stacked up against that at the famous demonstration against the war in Vietnam in 1969; the numbers at Solidarity Day, however, seemed to mysteriously multiply in the days that followed. Solidarity Day, you see, wasn't all about no hippies, freaks and radicals; Solidarity Day was about workers. AMERICAN WORKERS. Some on the "left", fixated on the latter word, were a bit blind to (or in some cases clearly chose to embrace) the predominance of the former. Here was American Labor "flexing its muscle," but more to the point, its flag. "You are the people that do the work of America. You run its factories and offices, work its farms, transport its produce, maintain its buildings, teach its children, nurse its sick, clean its streets and..."—after all, what would the smart kids, healthy people and clean streets be worth without the concluding punchline?—"...clean its streets and fight in its defense."

Hence, the bottom line of Labor Officialdom, even if it is under somewhat different conditions than Kirkland and Co. have been forced to confront in the past (and for present purposes, somewhat submerged beneath protests against "Reaganomics"). Solidarity Day wasn't some kind of reaction on the part of a few hacks aimed at misdirecting an economic surge of the workers, a sort of bureaucratic response to the "demands of the rank and file." Solidarity Day was more important than all that. It was the assertion of a bourgeois political pole, the claiming of the mantle of "the workers" by tested and true representatives of the U.S. ruling class—the Lane Kirklands, the Doug Frasers, the Sam Churches (not to mention the Corretta Kings and the Eleanor Smeals)—within an international situation which is rapidly approaching a worldwide explosion of world war, revolution, or both.

At this stage of things—with the manifestations of imperialist crisis shooting out everywhere, affecting even the better off sections of the working class—how could the labor lieutenants do anything but direct a little friendly fire at Reagan and still attempt to claim this mantle? "We are out here in front," said Kirkland, "and we shall not fall back to hide and wait for better political weather. But the winds are changing like they always do." Brother Kirkland, need we say, wasn't talking about revolution.

But overwhelmingly, neither was "the left." The weeks—even months—preceding Solidarity Day witnessed such a widespread and essentially uncritical outpouring of publicity and support for the event on the part of these forces that one was moved to wonder if the term "revolution" had been deleted from the English language. Any and every puny reformist plan was advanced. *The People's World*, west coast newspaper of the

Communist Party USA, warned in a front page headline: "A century of labor at stake," and then issued the call, "Historic coalition battles Reagan cuts; All out for September 19." The SWP's *Militant* shrieked "SOLIDARITY" in green ink, nonetheless adding some demands the AFL-CIO had overlooked, like that for a labor party. And "FIGHT THE RIGHT!" said the *Guardian*, in a special issue printed up "to distribute at the AFL-CIO's mass Solidarity Day demonstration..." From the paper's front page editorial, we draw the following gem: "The Solidarity Day action in Washington promises to be an historic moment in labor's struggle—if it is followed up by a vigorous campaign to fight the right by organized workers. Even labor's leadership, not generally known for its militancy of class solidarity, is beginning to get into the fightback spirit. AFL-CIO's Lane Kirkland is showing up on picket lines these days and directing barbs at the White House. His reference to a President without a heart in his Labor Day message hit the nail on the head, but what are he and the other labor leaders going to do tomorrow?"

The problem, of course, goes deeper than simply grasping (or exposing) the reactionary class nature of the AFL-CIO leadership. What's revealed in all this—and obviously not only in the editorial policy of some political opportunists, but among the masses and within the ranks of the revolutionary-minded as well—is the deadly influence of economism, and the sheer weight of spontaneity, a weight which grows heavier with rapid twists and developments in events. A big gathering of workers—no matter what their outlook or political inclinations—has set these people's heads spinning. And if such flagrant tailing is the order of the day in a period like this, it's not hard to guess what these people would do, for example, at the outbreak of world war when at least sections of the better-off workers would undoubtedly take a pro-imperialist and chauvinist stand.

The last time the AFL-CIO called a demonstration of this sort was in 1974 (which, we should point out, was also the last time the Democrats were out of the White House). At that time a section of the more unruly workers, mad particularly at the layoffs which were quite dramatic at the time in auto and other industries, took to drowning out "labor's friend Hubert Humphrey" and some even took over the field of the stadium—disrupting the entire rally. Some "leftists" showed the far gone conservative destiny of those preoccupied with "workers unity" by fretting about this action and wishing something less controversial could have been done. Once the "unity of American workers"—especially these mainly better-off strata—is placed at the fore, economism—and capitulation to imperialism—is upon us. But this only shows the *depth* of economism, for the task there and then was not simply to tail or cheer or even narrowly "organize" the more rebellious ones—but to *divert* their activity, to raise their *political* consciousness of the worthlessness of the entire system and its rotten foundation on worldwide robbery of the proletariat and the oppressed.

Such are the deep pits of out and out economism. But the point isn't to try and pretend that the consciousness of the working class (certainly not the generally better off strata represented mainly at Solidarity Day) is someplace where it isn't. The point is to do work aimed at transforming the spontaneous trade union consciousness of the workers into revolutionary consciousness as the objective conditions develop toward a revolutionary situation (which they may well in the coming period). This means doing revolutionary work—especially agitation and propaganda—broadly throughout society while building the most reliable base among the lower sections of the proletariat. And at the same time it certainly does mean reaching elements among the better-off sections as well, not through shameless tailing of imperialist politics, but through revolutionary work, with

the aim of winning them over to the revolution, or at least to a position of "friendly neutrality."

Yes, there were some politically advanced workers at Solidarity Day—but to the extent that this means that they too were bedazzled and stifled under the weight of this mainstream of American labor—this was a *problem* and the task of revolutionaries was to assist them in *breaking* from this road, not pushing them further along on it. Yes, there is significance in sharp economic battles such as the PATCO strike. There is even significance in the fact that quite a few of even the better-off workers at this march would pick up a Red Book or a revolutionary newspaper on their way to pressure their Congressman. All this is different from even a decade and a half ago, and a symptom of the deepening rot of imperialism. To take advantage of this *for revolution* is one thing. But to stake revolutionary strategy on work among this strata, "pushing them to the left," can only mean suffocating the heart of revolutionary strategy under the mainstream and sacrificing the real revolutionary interests of the international proletariat.

The economism of today is similar to that of Lenin's day—people who, as Bob Avakian notes in his article, *Coming From Behind to Make Revolution*, "wanted to keep the working class movement on the level of waging only the economic struggle and wanted furthermore to degrade the communist movement to the level of trade unionist, reformist politics, attempting to smother the enlightened (advanced) workers, and the socialist organizations as well, beneath the spontaneous level of struggle and (bourgeois) consciousness that still characterized the majority of the workers."

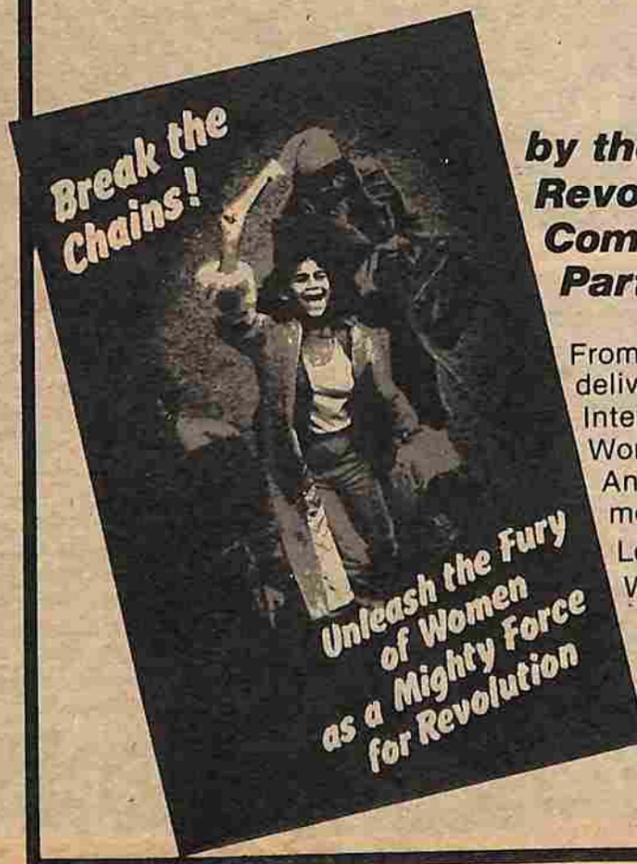
The basic approach of these forces in the movement has been that the AFL-CIO leadership is taking a good and correct step "to the left" and that what's now demanded is that they stick to it—or be "pushed further along," or even "exposed for not doing so." The problem is the road itself. This road is well-worn already by a counter-revolutionary line, the main social base of which lies among a privileged aristocracy of labor and which holds the allegiance of many more temporarily bourgeoisified workers. It's been part of

the political complexion of U.S. society for years and will grow more pronounced in the coming period. "In the years ahead, as millions and tens of millions are drawn into political life, into sharpening debate and struggle, what road they take—and whether they fight and sacrifice in the cause of preserving the enslavement of the world's people, and their own as an inseparable part of that, or in the historic battle to abolish that enslavement—will depend not only on the objective conditions but also to a significant degree on the stand and actions of the class-conscious workers, all along the way as well as at the decisive hour. The banner of the working class will be increasingly claimed and contested for by both the class-conscious proletariat and the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class, for both the representatives of the proletariat and those of the imperialists recognize, with opposite viewpoints and opposite aims, the potential role of the working class to overthrow imperialism. Within the working class two camps, representing two roads, will be increasingly shaping up and facing off: those, a privileged aristocracy representing the minority who will cling to the bribes imperialism affords them and fight to keep U.S. imperialism supreme in order to ensure the blood-soaked spoils; and those who have no stake in this system, representing the great majority, who lead the masses in fighting for their real interests—to forge a revolutionary way forward out of this outmoded and barbarous system." (*New Programme and New Constitution of the RCP, USA*, pp. 9-10)

CORRECTION

In the article "Diablo Canyon: Blockade Throws Up Questions" (*RW* No. 122), a misplaced word rendered the content of one sentence incorrect. The first sentence of the fourth full paragraph in column four (p. 2) should read: "Many have expressed opposition to the 'mainstream' line and desire to unite with the proletariat and the oppressed masses."

**Break The Chains!
Unleash the Fury of Women
As a Mighty Force For
Revolution**



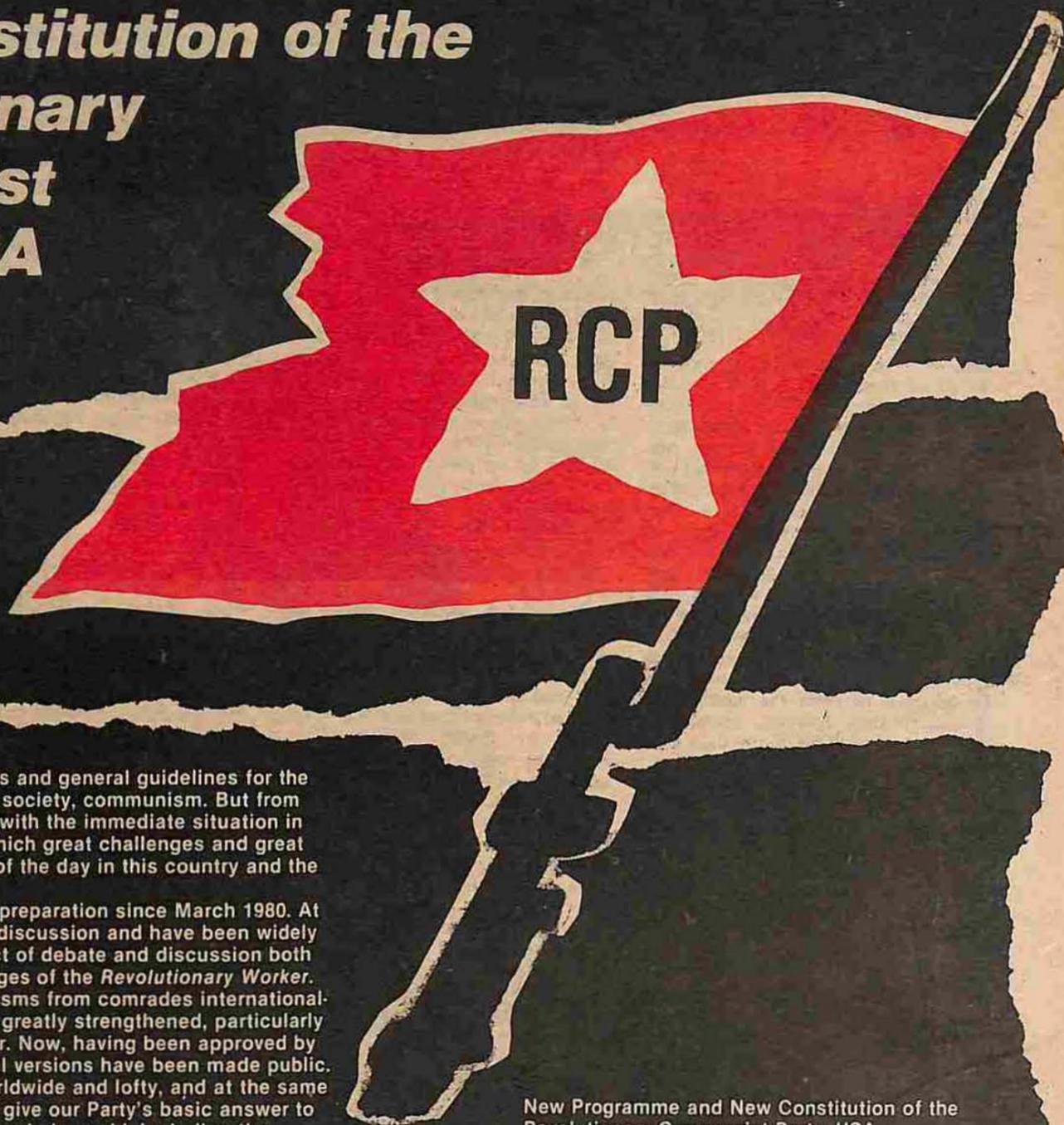
**by the
Revolutionary
Communist
Party**

From speeches delivered at International Women's Day, 1979. And a solidarity message from the League of Fighting Women of Iran.

\$1.00

RCP Publications
Box 3486
Merchandise Mart
Chicago, IL 60654

New Programme and New Constitution of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA



These documents contain basic principles and general guidelines for the struggle all the way to worldwide classless society, communism. But from this perspective they are written especially with the immediate situation in mind. This is a battle plan for a period in which great challenges and great revolutionary possibilities are on the order of the day in this country and the whole world.

These documents have been weapons in preparation since March 1980. At that time they were published as drafts for discussion and have been widely circulated. They have since been the subject of debate and discussion both within the Party and more broadly in the pages of the *Revolutionary Worker*. This process included comments and criticisms from comrades internationally as well. In this way, the drafts have been greatly strengthened, particularly in their proletarian internationalist character. Now, having been approved by the Central Committee of the Party, the final versions have been made public.

These are documents whose vision is worldwide and lofty, and at the same time which pose immediate challenges and give our Party's basic answer to the urgent situation facing the people of the whole world, including the masses of this country. Not only are the problems addressed, but so too are the basic solutions offered by the road of proletarian revolution.

With the publication of these documents, our Party calls on people to take them up and invites individuals and groups broadly to engage in serious discussion with us about them. Write us, meet with us—unite with us to carry them out.

New Programme and New Constitution of the
Revolutionary Communist Party, USA.
\$3.00 (include \$.50 postage)

RCP Publications
P.O. Box 3486
Chicago, IL 60654

Published as a separate pamphlet

New Constitution

*Contains a section on the General Line
of the RCP, USA and 11 Articles*

**What does it mean
to join the
Revolutionary
Communist Party,
USA?**

New Constitution
\$.75 (include \$.50 postage)

Article 1

Any proletarian or any other person involved in the revolutionary struggle who accepts the Constitution of the Party, is committed to working actively in a Party organization, to carrying out the Party's decisions and to observing Party discipline and paying Party membership dues, may become a member of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA.

Those who join the Party should be fearless in the face of the enemy and dedicated in the cause of the proletariat. They should expect and be prepared for persecution, imprisonment and murder at the hands of the enemy, and not a soft job, a comfortable position and a career. But beyond that, they must be guided by the largeness of mind characteristic of the proletariat, study energetically and actively apply the science of Marxism-Leninism and be prepared to go against any tide that is opposed to Marxism-Leninism, be vanguard fighters among the masses and be ready to take up any post, fulfill any task that serves the revolution, not only in the particular country but internationally. The Party must be made up of people whose lives are devoted to the revolutionary struggle of the international proletariat and the achievement of its historic mission: worldwide communism.

from the New Constitution