



REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

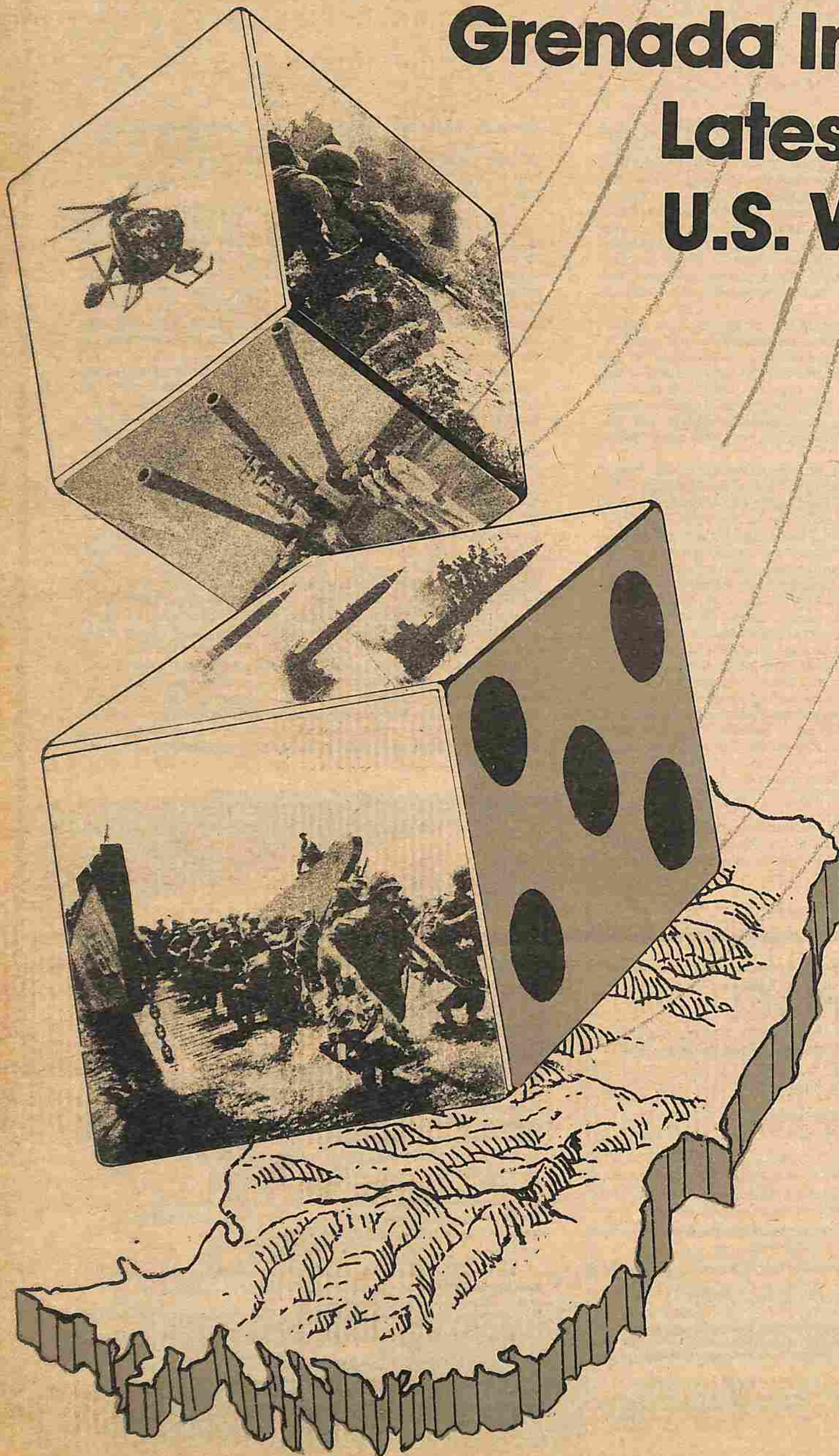
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Grenada Invasion: Latest Hit on U.S. War Roll



The broadcast was sounded throughout the tiny Caribbean nation of Grenada in the early morning hours of Oct. 25 as 1900 U.S. Marines and Army Rangers stormed ashore with their guns blazing. "Citizens of Grenada, military forces of neighboring Caribbean states and the United States have arrived in Grenada to restore order and protect lives. Do not hinder our efforts to stabilize your nation. . . . Your cooperation will ensure that peace and democracy will be restored in the near future." About a dozen U.S. warships, including the aircraft carrier *Independence* with 70 fighter jets on board, cruised just off the Grenadan coastline. As helicopter gunships strafed the land and U.S. troops battled to seize control of the country, the radio station set up by the U.S. forces at the onset of the invasion broadcast tunes from the Beach Boys (established symbols of Americana) and Hall & Oates (was it the tune "Maneater"?). On the second day of the invasion still another 1,000 troops were dispatched to reinforce the original band of imperialist marauders.

A few hours after the invasion was launched Reagan appeared on nationwide television in the U.S. to announce it and state why it was necessary. According to Reagan, the purpose of the invasion was three-fold — "To protect American lives, to forestall further chaos and to restore democratic institutions to Grenada." Standing by his side, Dominica's Prime Minister, Eugenia Charles, parroted this point — it was necessary " . . . so that Grenadians can chose for themselves the government they want and not have, every few years, governments imposed on them by persons who will otherwise." And so, all can now rest assured that the ground has been cleared for "democracy, civilized values and the American way" to take root in Grenada. Actually, no more fitting example of what this prattle really means — and what actually lies at the bottom of all political power — could be found than the ruthless invasion of an oppressed nation, the overthrow of its government and the subsequent military occupation of its territory.

Once again this time-worn and ragged banner of U.S. imperialism is being used to mask the real contradictions at work. There is definitely quite a bit more going on here than the removal of a government that the U.S. found inimical to its interests. More than anything else, the recent events in Grenada were determined by the heating up of the contradictions of the imperialist system on a global scale — most especially the contradictions between the U.S.- and the Soviet-led imperialist blocs, their accelerating drive towards, and preparations for, world war

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The Future, In This Country And The World, Is Coming Up For Grabs

There are moments rare in history. They may come only once in decades, but when they do, they place tasks and forms of struggle before the proletariat and oppressed peoples of the world which influence the course of things for decades to come. Today the world, including the U.S., is entering such a period. It is a time of crisis for a system which has subjected millions here and hundreds of millions internationally to daily agony, a system which in its normal times has almost uninterruptedly waged wars of plunder from one end of the globe to another. Such is the imperialist system, which is once again caught in a desperate and deepening economic and political crisis, fast approaching the point of worldwide explosion.

We who live in the U.S., one of the great citadels of this system of robbery and murder, face immense responsibilities and opportunities in this conjuncture. Today, as they have demanded of the people of the world, the rulers of this country also demand of the people here that we willingly and urgently ready ourselves to march—or be literally dissolved—into our graves in unprecedented numbers in order to perpetuate this imperialist system with the U.S. on top and provide future generations with this same “peace and prosperity”—and worse.

“There is no other way out, no way to return to the ‘happy days’ of the past, except for America to ‘rise to the challenge,’ rally its allies, meet and defeat the danger, especially from Russia, and revive America’s position as ‘number one in the world’—at whatever cost”—this is the message that is spewing forth in a sickening and rising chorus from every mouthpiece and propaganda organ of the U.S. ruling class. And the same is true of all the imperialist ruling classes of the world. This is also particularly true of the Soviet Union, itself an imperialist power and, like the U.S., heading up an imperialist bloc for war. The masses there, those within its “socialist camp” and under its international domination as well as those oppressed by and fighting against Western imperialism, are told by the Russian rulers to swallow the same basic swill—but with a Russian flavor. The only way to secure peace in the world and bring progress for humanity, according to this version of imperialist gangster logic, is to depend on, and sacrifice millions of lives in the service of, the expansion of Russian “influence” and the replacement of the United States by the Soviet Union as the dominant world power.

No choice but to be enslaved by one or another of the several major imperialist powers; no choice but the victory of one imperialist war bloc or the other; no prospect but untold suffering and sacrifice and unparalleled destruction to maintain and strengthen this enslavement—this is the future the imperialists and their hangers-on declare for the people. *And they are right—*

this is the only future—so long, *and only so long*, as the slaves of every country remain unquestioningly loyal and blindly obedient to their masters and set their sights and their aspirations no higher than the miserable horizons imposed by the ruling classes and the imperialist system.

But the whole history of humanity, as well as the present reality, shows that there is another path—the path which the oppressed in every society sooner or later take, the path not backward but forward—the path of resistance against and ultimately the revolutionary overthrow of their oppressors. Today, even as the imperialists on both sides are feverishly accelerating their preparations for world war in the face of their deepening crisis, revolutionary movements are gathering momentum and gaining strength in many parts of the world, confronting and pounding at the imperialist system and both superpowers.

Revolution is the only means to prevent world war. This is not some kind of general truth divorced from present reality, nor is it an abstract slogan with no concrete and immediate application. Only a major realignment of the world by the proletariat and its allies—only the overthrow of imperialism and reaction and the establishment of revolutionary regimes where the proletariat rules or is playing the leading role and is carrying the struggle forward to socialism in large and/or strategic parts of the world—only this can prevent the world war looming on the horizon. And should world war be brought about by the imperialists before it can be prevented by revolution, then revolution remains the only way the masses of people can break free of the chains of exploitation and degradation of the imperialist system and its vicious cycle leading repeatedly to deeper crisis and more devastating war. While the imperialists and their reactionary retainers insist that there is no choice, no “freedom” but to be enslaved by one or another of them, and particularly that a war started by and fought between them can only end in the victory of one imperialist bloc or the other, the truth is that the only real choice, the only road to real freedom and the only war worth fighting for the masses of people, is a revolutionary war *against* these reactionary classes—and in fact that a war started by the imperialists must be transformed into a revolutionary war of the proletariat and oppressed masses in all countries to overthrow and shatter the grip of imperialism and reaction.

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of the *Revolutionary Communist Party, USA*

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PROVOCATIONS

by Bob Avakian

It Would Be Enough

Recently I heard a startling statistic: one out of every four women in the U.S. will be the victim of a sexual assault during her lifetime. One out of four!, and the number is expected to rise to one out of three. Right there, even if this "way of life" did not produce any of the other seemingly endless outrages and genuinely monstrous crimes — all the way to world war — that it does produce; even if what stands behind that statistic were the only thing seriously wrong with this system, that alone would be enough to rise up against it and not stop until it had been overthrown and something better put in its place.

When the percentage is as great as that — one out of four — and on top of that when it is expected to rise even higher, to one out of three, then this is not something which is going to be eliminated without radically and thoroughly transforming all property relations, including those that now prevail between men and women, and with them the dominant morals and values. It is not some peculiar deviation from the dominant social relations, between men and women in particular and in society more generally — it is a concentrated expression of them, magnifying their essential nature. The *New Programme* of our party, in speaking specifically of the oppression of women, calls attention to the fact that the dominant social relations in this society, including between men and women, "perfectly mirror the economic relations — exploitative" and that "The proletarian revolution will change all that, through a prolonged process of struggle involving both men and women and including the children." (page 78) In a way the greatest indictment of the present system and its upholders on this question, and the greatest confirmation of the fact that only proletarian revolution will radically change these social relations and eliminate such evils as sexual assault, is the fact that the rulers and spokesmen of the present society do not and can not even claim that they will do this.

Cynicism and the Shift in World Relations

There is a lot of cynicism around these days. I notice that, in the cultural sphere in the U.S., one of the main ways this comes out is in the tendency, especially among intermediate artists, to treat everything as equally fair game for ridicule and contempt. In a way, those who are caught up in this are like people with a spiritual machine gun that is out of control: they spray bullets in all directions, blasting anything and everything indiscriminately, so that one minute they have scored a hit on the status quo and its enforcers, its stultification of everything creative and so on, and the next they have aimed a salvo at those who are the victims of this, including those who are rebelling against it.

In other words, one of the most significant and most harmful aspects of this is that it obliterates the fundamental dividing line between the oppressor and the oppressed and between reaction and revolution. This is a line that was very sharply drawn, not only within the U.S. but on an international level, in the 1960s. But since then things seem to have gotten more complex and the lines more blurry, even for many who do appreciate the importance of this fundamental distinction and are striving to take their stand on the side of the oppressed and for rebellion against reaction. This is very much related to the shift in world relations that has occurred since the 1960s, and in particular the shift in the principal contradiction in the world from that between the oppressed nations and imperialism to what is the principal contradiction today: the contradiction among the imperialists themselves and specifically between the two imperialist blocs. To put it another way, while there are important revolutionary struggles at this time, in the main confrontation shaping up in the world today — and shaping things in the world overall — it is not a question of the good guys vs. the bad guys, the oppressed vs. the oppressors, revolution against reaction, it is a question of both sides being bad guys, both being oppressors, both bulwarks of reaction. It is not hard to see how this could spread confusion and even feed cynicism.

But as I pointed out in the article "The '60s Weren't Always 'The '60s,' and the '80s Will Be Far Heavier," (*RW* No. 203, May 1, 1983): "No, this is not the '60s. But, as important as the '60s were and as much as they were a time of advance for the revolutionary struggle throughout the world, keeping in mind the objective situation today and what it will bring forth in the years just ahead, then overall and strategically and specifically in terms of the possibilities for revolutionary advances, the '80s are more favorable than even the '60s for the international proletariat." While certainly not without contradiction, the more that this process develops and sharpens and more particularly the more that revolutionary advances are made, the more it will call forth people, including

among intellectuals and artists specifically, who will recognize clearly the basic dividing line and take their stand with the oppressed masses and their revolutionary struggles. The fact that this statement itself may evoke a cynical response among many (including some who will find the best brought forth in them later, as this does unfold) is to a significant degree a reflection of the fact that the '80s are not fully the '80s yet, above all in terms of the revolutionary possibilities that will emerge among the upheavals and cataclysms ahead.

By the way, insisting on the importance of that basic dividing line referred to repeatedly above does not mean denying any positive role for criticizing and even poking fun at the weaknesses and shortcomings of the oppressed masses and revolutionary movements and forces, including in artistic works. Everything can and should be criticized, but everything is not everything. Criticism of the oppressed and the revolutionaries should be done on the basis of keeping firmly in mind that basic dividing line and in a qualitatively different spirit and with a qualitatively different content and aim than criticism and ridicule of the oppressors and reactionaries. Looking ahead to the future and socialist society, there will certainly be a role for works of art as well as other vehicles that express criticism of and poke fun at the weaknesses and shortcomings of the state, the party and other institutions and practices, pointing to contradictions between our objectives and declared aims and our actual practice. But, again, this can only play a positive role if it is done from the basic standpoint of supporting and seeking to strengthen the consolidation of the new society and its further revolutionary transformation and the leadership required for such an unprecedented struggle. An example from the other side should help to illustrate this. Johnny Carson, particularly in his monologues, has always poked fun at the politicians, at different government agencies and policies and so on, but this has always been from the basic standpoint of supporting and defending the present system and the interests of U.S. imperialism in particular, and they have always been able to count on him in this regard. Certainly the proletarian revolution and the future socialist society should be no less able to bring forward many who play a similar but at the same time radically different role on behalf of liberating humanity from the material and mental shackles of class-divided society and the strangulation of the cash nexus.

Rasta, "Revelations" and Revolution

Engels, in one of his essays examining religion, showed how the last book in the Christian bible, "Revelations," represented not some vague and timeless vision but the prediction specifically of the destruction of the Roman Empire within a short period of time. More fundamentally, he pointed out that it represented the desperate outcry of a section of the Jewish people against oppression by the Romans, infused with a profound hatred for the oppressor but also a sense of frustration, despairing of being able to bring down this monster, Rome, by worldly means alone and therefore invoking the intervention of divine retribution to destroy it. In short, it reflected the position of the Jewish people in relation to the Roman Empire in that period, a people sorely oppressed by but in many ways marginal to that Empire.

It strikes me that there is an analogy there to at least aspects of the Rastafarian movement of today. It, too, gives expression to the profound anger, but also I believe a similar frustration, of sections of the masses whose roots are in Africa and who have been historically colonized and enslaved by Western imperialism and are still victimized by it. And to a significant degree it finds its basis among sections of society that have been reduced to a largely marginal existence by the workings of imperialism — particularly peasants driven off the land in Jamaica into the cities, or even into other countries such as imperial Britain or the United States, finding themselves in a declassed or semi-declassed situation. That, however, is not the whole picture, because for one thing in a period like the immediate one, where in most countries and on a world scale the forces of proletarian revolution are still weak and still recovering from recent and devastating defeats (above all the loss of socialist China), more than a few oppressed proletarians will be drawn toward movements like the Rastafarians.

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Doing the "War Powers" Dance

On October 12, Ronald Reagan signed into law a congressional measure authorizing the U.S. marines to stay in Lebanon for at least another 18 months. This was the caper in the great War Powers Act debate which had occupied center stage for some weeks prior. The War Powers Act was approved by Congress some ten years ago in the wake of the Vietnam War. Popular wisdom has it that the law enables Congress to "constrain" the war-making powers of the president and combat "abuses of power," "excesses" by the administration, and so on.

It is alleged that the alarm over Lebanon was sounded in late August when it became clear to many congressmen that U.S. forces in Beirut were facing a "hostile situation." The "threat" to invoke the War Powers Act subsequently became front-page news.

And after such stern insistence that the provision be invoked — what happened? The Act was invoked, in the form of a resolution passed first by the House, then by the Senate, on applying the Act to Lebanon. But where was the "constraint of power"? In reality, the resolution differed not one iota from the overall U.S. policy now already in place in Lebanon! Tough cookies, these congressmen.

Reagan himself was delighted. After the resolution sailed through the House, the president remarked, "I'm especially pleased that this proposed resolution not

only supports our policy in Lebanon but now enables us to advance United States peacekeeping interests on the solid bipartisan basis that has been the traditional hallmark of American foreign policy." Tip O'Neill, that fiery orator from Massachusetts, stated that by endorsing the resolution Democratic leaders were "agreeing on the philosophy of the White House — to protect the Marines in Lebanon." They certainly do agree with the "philosophy" here — i.e., that the presence of U.S. forces in Lebanon is key not only to the U.S.'s regional necessities in the Middle East, but to its global goals as well. More, they are bound and determined to parrot the by now standard imperial parlance which covers the advance of U.S. interests with the "protection" of the marines.

There's a lesson here in bourgeois democracy. Here the Congress insists on invoking the War Powers Act — then turns around and does so only on the condition that the thing is meaningless! And there was some hint that this would indeed be the case even during the great debate: numerous Congressional leaders eagerly informed Reagan and the rest of the country that U.S. Lebanon policy was hardly threatened by Congress. Congress merely wanted its chance to officially approve. Given this, it's clear that the whole charade was an arrangement calculated to make a mockery of the entire notion of

"constraint" anyway. (And if it is objected that the resolution, particularly in the Senate, was not unanimous and was opposed by Democratic Senators, then one can only reply that those opposed to it knew very well that it would easily pass, and that since then — in the wake of the demise of marines in Lebanon — some of these same liberal Democrats have been out-Reaganing Reagan. Kennedy, for example, called the Beirut bombing a "terroristic Pearl Harbor of the Middle East," leaving little doubt as to what's on his mind.

Especially in times of crisis, Lenin noted, parliamentary bodies reveal themselves as nothing more than the marionettes of capital. It is not the case, as various strands of opportunism hold, that somehow the president personally (or the administration) represents the capitalist class, while Congress does not. Current events are a living refutation of this idea. The War Powers Act resolution proves that the whole bunch of them are united around what is being done in Lebanon and the Middle East — and on the general rush in war preparations. Constitutional "niceties" are precisely that, and precisely meaningless in the context of any serious issue. Of course, in the main and overwhelmingly, such niceties serve the higher interests of the ruling class; but where they may interfere, they are swept aside.

Consider, as well, an incident which took place in the same hallowed halls concurrent with the great War Powers Debate. Both houses of Congress unanimously resolved to condemn the Soviets for the downing of 007. Now there was some firm unity, some illustrative imperialist braggadocio. And there, again, the liberal Democrats were at their best shrieking that Reagan's measures against the Soviets hadn't gone nearly *far enough*.

All these events deserve close attention, especially by anyone looking toward "Constitutional guarantees," liberals in Congress, etc., etc., to thwart the obvious developments towards world war. Such illusions need to be cast away. If the experience around the Vietnam War wasn't ample evidence of the fallacy of these illusions, and if the recent congressional resolution isn't either, then perhaps one's attention should be focused on Grenada! A day after the invasion, Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Charles Percy stated that the invasion had the unanimous and bipartisan support of those congressional leaders who had been informed of it in a *secret* meeting held at the White House Monday night.

But if *that's* not enough, rest assured that there will be plenty of lessons along these lines in the future. □

PROVOCATIONS

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The point is that, on the one hand there are important things in common between the Rastafarians and proletarian revolutionaries — in particular we share a profound hatred for colonialism in all its forms and other manifestations of imperialist tyranny — but on the other hand there is a profound difference as well: communism, the guiding philosophy of proletarian revolutionaries, recognizes that the basis for the oppression of the masses of people throughout the world but also the basis for overthrowing that oppression must be sought in actual, material forces in society and not in fantastic, supernatural (or god-man) beings or forces. This is a reflection of the basic difference between the position of the proletariat and that of other classes (and declassed strata) in present-day society. The conclusion from this is not that there is no basis of unity with those in the Rastafarian movement — with at least many of them unity can and must be built — but that only the revolutionary proletariat and its guiding philosophy can lead the revolution that will ultimately destroy and uproot imperialism and *all* relations of exploitation and oppression throughout the world.

National Nihilism and Restorationist Nihilism

Our party has given, and will continue to give, great emphasis to the struggle against patriotism in the imperialist countries and to debunking the notion, with regard to those countries in particular, that communists should strive to be the best representatives of the nation. In the pamphlet *You Can't Beat the Enemy While Raising His Flag*, we pointed out that historically in the international communist movement the concept of "national nihilism" acted as a cover for patriotism and social chauvinism in the imperialist countries in particular, that this so-called "national nihilism" — the attempt to wreck, destroy or deny the whole history of the nation — was a straw man that "was meant to characterize and attack any view that did not base itself, ideologically and politically, on patriotic sentiments," and that indeed communists, especially in the ideological realm and especially in the imperialist nations, should base themselves on opposing patriotism and all forms of nationalism. To take the straw man as it has been given and to turn things rightside up, we can say that insofar as such a thing as "national nihilism" does exist, in the way intended by the use of the term historically in the international communist movement, then communists, particularly in the imperialist countries, should uphold it and put it into practice.

There is, however, another kind of nihilism that we must not uphold but oppose. This is the notion that the only important thing is to destroy imperialism, or at least the main bastions of imperialism, by whatever means — even if it merely means destruction at the hands of an imperialist rival (for example the destruction of the U.S. empire at the hands of the Soviets, or vice versa). The revolutionary proletariat and its communist outlook, however, are concerned not only with destroying the old but with creating the new and they grasp the dialectical unity between the two, including the fact that how and by what the old is destroyed has very much to do with what will replace it. Imperialism and relations of exploitation and oppression generally must be destroyed by revolutionary struggle led by the proletariat and must be replaced by a new society, by socialism and ultimately communism that will finally abolish such systems and relations all over the world. Otherwise they will be destroyed in one form only to appear, or rise again, in a different form, over and over again.

This is why, while we must firmly adhere to the orientation of welcoming the setbacks and defeats of "our own" imperialism, I refer to the notion that all that matters is that imperialism — or particular imperialisms — be destroyed as "restorationist nihilism": such an approach, even if and even where existing imperialism were destroyed, can only contribute to its being restored, perhaps with new leaders and some new forms but with the same essential content and consequences as present-day imperialism.

Related to this is the question of what I termed "fatalistic nationalism" that arises among oppressed peoples and nations, specifically concerning world war and nuclear devastation and "finds expression in the notion that if the imperialists blow each other up and destroy much of their own homelands, so be it and perhaps the world will even be better off as a result." (see "World War Must Be Opposed With Revolution, Not Peace" — *RW* No. 227) It is in fact a possible scenario that a world war will destroy much of the imperialist countries while in the oppressed nations there is much less devastation, at least less immediately. The point is that, if this should occur, it would then rest with the masses and the revolutionaries in these oppressed nations to take responsibility for the future of humanity in the fullest sense — not merely for its survival but for moving human society forward to a higher stage where such things as wars and the social relations and conditions that give rise to them would be eliminated finally, everywhere and altogether. From the point of view of bourgeois relations, bourgeois principles and bourgeois logic, no one has the right to argue that the nations now oppressed by imperialism should not take advantage of such a situation, if it occurs, to assert their own "place in the sun" in a new world order with themselves — that is, their ruling classes — on top. But from the point of view of the revolutionary proletariat, of the interests of the broad masses in those oppressed nations and in the world generally, and of abolishing bourgeois relations and all relations of robbery and plunder, something far higher, far beyond the narrow, historically limited horizon of bourgeois right, is demanded.

American Patriotism — A Challenge

One of the positive things that derives from — or more correctly, that can be drawn out of — living outside "your own" imperialist country in another imperialist country, is that in seeing the philistine and reactionary character of patriotism (and nationalism generally) there, it is possible to get an even sharper sense of the same essential qualities of patriotism in the "home country." You can see even more clearly how silly, stupid, narrow, rotten and vicious it is.

This prompts me to issue a challenge, and here it is: I challenge anyone to give an explanation of why they are patriotic Americans or why patriotism for the USA is a good thing, which cannot be shown to come down to a statement of why they want to perpetuate a situation where they have a position of privilege — relatively greater or lesser, but privilege all the same — at the expense of, and at the cost of tremendous suffering on the part of, the great majority of people in the world. This, I am convinced, cannot be done, but the attempt to do it would, I am also convinced, prove to be very educational.

And in order to avoid falling over backward into chauvinism myself, but instead to act consistently with the spirit of internationalism, I extend this challenge to anyone who wants to make the same argument about patriotism on behalf of any other imperialist country. □

U.S. Invokes Marine God in Lebanon

At press time, the death toll from the explosion last week in Beirut is still apparently climbing, though it is not expected to rise above 250 or so. By contrast, there is evidently no absolute limit whatsoever to the quantity of war-mongering, chauvinism, subterfuge, hypocrisy and philistinism that the smoldering ruins of the former marine compound is capable of producing.

Witness the remarks of Major General Alfred Gray, for whom the attack was a "godless type of thing, and we (the marines) are a force that knows our God." The general, speaking at a press conference on Monday, succinctly expressed the overall reaction of the U.S. imperialists to the incident: "If we were barbaric, we could defend against this sort of thing, but we're not. . . . It is difficult to counter this kind of attack when our honor, training and Western civilization, and our respect for human rights, is involved."

Now, were Afghani guerrillas to mount such an attack against Soviet occupation troops (as they have done), this would be considered an act of courage

and an ennobling sacrifice borne of a genuine fight for freedom. That the U.S. *Contras* in Nicaragua are waging an ongoing terror campaign against the border populations of that country involving routine bombings and slaughter of civilians is, of course, a sign of the vibrancy of democracy in the region. In Lebanon itself, the massacre of 1500 Palestinians in Tel Zataar by Phalangist forces in 1976 — acting under Israeli, U.S. and at the time Syrian guidance — was rewarded by growing Israeli (and by extension, U.S.) support for the Phalange in the ensuing years. The U.S.-backed Israeli invasion of last year — which resulted in untold thousands of Palestinian and Lebanese deaths, prompted the massacres of Palestinians at the Sabra and Shatila camps, and set the stage for the past year's intensification of bloodshed — attests further to America's "respect for human rights." Oh yes, General Gray, your "honor, training and Western civilization" — not to mention your god — is well known.

Witness, as well, the now immortalized wounded grunt who scribbled from his

hospital bed "*Semper Fi.*" *Semper Fidelis* — always faithful. But events proved that the marines are always *useful* to boot, irrespective of their particular state of health. By the time Reagan had finished his address to the nation Thursday night (during which he held back tears relating this story), it was being reported that any initial ambivalence toward the continuing U.S. presence in Lebanon resulting from the Beirut blast had been largely deflected: Reagan claimed bipartisan support in his speech. Yet another "scientific" ABC News opinion poll was hastily produced and ran two-to-one in favor of the president. Chicago papers began reporting that not only had inquiries at local marine recruiting stations mushroomed, but that one such inquiry was that of a 73-year-old woman "overcome with emotion," which only proves that philistinism knows no boundary in either space or time.

Naturally, this dramatic stirring of the national juices isn't simply the product of an America fighting-mad over the demise of a few good men in Beirut: a certain invasion boosted the clamor considerably.

But through the course of the week generally, the strident confidence with which the marines were projected as paragons of courage, bravery and honor stood in sharp contrast to the fact that the marines are among the most (if not *the* most) hated of any gendarmes on the planet Earth. And this strident confidence stands out in another important way: it is the "confidence" of a ruling class decidedly *unconfident* of its own future, facing the most severe crisis in its history, and compelled to wildly lash out.

So witness, most of all, how quickly Reagan got down to brass tacks in his speech Thursday night, though seemingly oblivious to any contradiction in the presentation. He repeated the common U.S. incantations that American (and NATO) troops in Lebanon are on the altruistic mission of "peacekeeping" to guarantee "Lebanese sovereignty," and so on. But then he turned right around and said that "We're a nation with global responsibilities. We're not 'somewhere else' in the world, protecting someone else's interests. We're protecting our

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The Peace They Keep

It is not just any order that the U.S. marines and other multinational contingent "peacekeepers" are in Lebanon to uphold. The Gemayel government is after all the most specific product of particular circumstance. The massive destruction wrought by the U.S.-Israeli invasion into Lebanon last year signaled, and helped set the terms for, the imposition of a broader Pax Americana over the Middle East. By expelling the PLO from Beirut, humiliating the Syrian forces in Lebanon, and bringing the Israeli-backed Phalange to power — first through the presidency of Bashir, and then Amin, Gemayel — the U.S. and Israel sought to drastically restructure the Lebanese political map, and in so doing set a new precedent and example for the entire Arab world. Furthering the Camp David "peace process," whereby one by one the Arab states were to enter into a "peace" fully legitimizing the Israeli settler state (which in based on the forced extirpation and expulsion of millions of Palestinians), was the regional objective. The savage brutality of the Israeli invasion was the appropriate agent. The introduction of U.S. marines and other national contingents of the "peacekeeping" force were emblematic of Western resolve that, under the new conditions created by the Israeli invasion, "peace" — i.e., enforced subjugation of the Lebanese and remaining Palestinian masses — would henceforth prevail. Such a "peace" involved the U.S. equipping and training a Lebanese national army that, in gradually absorbing the Phalangist elements into its leading posts, would ensure, under the rubric of "Lebanese sovereignty," the extension of what was in fact U.S. and Israeli sovereignty over Lebanon. The Israelis, for their part, argued that if the Phalange represented only a small portion of the Lebanese population, it nonetheless would be able to enforce its minority interest over the country as a whole, citing the experience of the Shah's Iran as a guiding example (in fact to this day, Israel's administrator of Lebanon's south is the former Israeli ambassador to Iran, in which capacity he served to strengthen Iranian-Israeli cooperation during the Shah's reign).

One of the most perverse of all the lies maintained about the "peacekeeper" mission has been the U.S. claim that its reintroduction last fall was made necessary by the Phalange-Israeli massacre of hundreds, perhaps thousands, of Palestinians in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps. The U.S. — which has never acknowledged the persistent and ongoing record of massacres, atrocities, and depredations incurred against the Palestinians by the Israelis and others — suddenly seized on this particular event, and the circumstance that it had occurred after the original Marine "peacekeepers" had left Beirut, in order to legitimize, indeed make more the imperative, the

return of the "peacekeepers" for their current, indeterminate stay. Under such a pretext, they have served increasingly as the underpinnings of the Gemayel government which has continued to wage terror, through regular government channels in concert with the Phalange militia, against the Palestinians throughout the country (as has the militia of Saad Haddad, under Israeli tutelage, in the south). In south Lebanon, in the Sabra and Shatila camps and elsewhere, kidnappings, murders, shootings, beatings and the like are daily conditions of life for the Palestinians; though, under the watchful eyes of the Lebanese international security department, no one in Lebanon dares speak of it much these days. Such occurrences have also been visited with increasing frenzy upon Lebanon's Shi'ite population, as well as the secular radical community which once comprised such an important factor in Beirut life.

Of course, even as the U.S. marines were helping to restore "order" in Beirut last fall, the Israelis were encouraging the Phalangist militia to move into the Shuf Mountains, helping set in motion the situation culminating in the recent rout of the Phalange, and by extension of the Gemayel government, in the Shuf. Here, and elsewhere in the country, the U.S. and Israel found that, having done their

best to inflame and foment the conflict in Lebanon so as to better divide and conquer, instead set in motion a process which now besieges them with intense contradiction. The Phalange no longer stands so clearly as the most powerful sectarian force, and the Gemayel government has proven increasingly incapable of either compromising with or effectively subjugating the Moslem majority. The fact that Syria — prominently backed by the Soviet Union in its most concerted bid for Middle East influence in years — has positioned itself to take major advantage of the situation, raises the stakes higher still.

In this setting, the U.S. marines have come to play an ever more active role. Increasingly, "peacekeeper" pretenses and "impartiality" in Lebanese "internal affairs" have been shed as U.S. armed forces have emerged as the most important element keeping the Gemayel government afloat. The rapid growth of U.S. offshore naval firepower during September has added immensely to the U.S. military activity in support of the widely hated Gemayel government, and has added a new "credibility" to U.S. threats against various Lebanese opposition forces and the Syrians. The arrival of the USS *New Jersey* (whose sixteen-inch guns fire two thousand pound shells each day every bit as powerful as the blast at

Marine headquarters on Sunday) was in itself a major factor in ramming through a "ceasefire" that has given Gemayel breathing space in which to maneuver anew.

Today the U.S. poses as the greatest of champions for Lebanese reconciliation. But with the failure of the force they had sponsored to serve as the backbone of the new Lebanese order — the Phalange — the U.S. has had to backtrack a bit on the whole sectarian premise. Yet in now advocating a limited compromise, the U.S. is primarily concerned with counteracting the growth of Syrian influence: if such is to be acknowledged in any new government of "national reconciliation" which may or may not result from the scheduled negotiations in Geneva, it is mainly for the purpose of containing it. It is not that the U.S. has entirely given up on Syria — it recognizes in the Assad regime an essentially conservative class of comprador rulers. The only problem is that these compradors are now more tightly tied to Soviet social-imperialism than before. For the time, the U.S. must attempt a combination of political maneuvering and continued projections of threatened — and perhaps actualized — military firepower.

Such is the "peace" they keep. □

The Political Utility of Ambiguity

Regarding the question "Who did it," some points are of interest. In the days following Sunday's bomb attack, U.S. officials and pundits have been generous in their speculations as to its perpetrators. That no hard information has been presented or even alluded to scarcely matters — it has all been duly carried and amplified in the media. Indeed, a quite purposeful ambiguity has been put to active use here. Reagan, in a statement shortly after the bombing, spoke of "those deeds (which) make so evident the bestial nature of those who would assume power if they could have their way and drive us out of the area," which, in the context of growing U.S. expressions of alarm over Syrian-Soviet influence in the area, clearly puts the matter at the center of U.S.-Soviet contention. Elsewhere, the Iranians have been targeted as likely culprits. "Strong circumstantial evidence" is said to exist to this effect — mainly the fact that the attack was directed at both the U.S. and France, whose support for Iraq in the Iran-Iraq war has made them a target of Iranian enmity. Interestingly, Caspar Weinberger, speaking after a White House meeting on Sunday, held that it was "irrelevant" whether the attack was launched under direct commission of the

Iranian government or was undertaken by Lebanese who profess support for the Iranian regime. Clearly, the U.S. is not willing to limit at this point the potential scope of its retaliatory measures, nor in any event limit the propaganda points to be scored against a number of adversaries, both within the Lebanon arena and internationally. Indeed, the emerging picture of the responsible part(ies) suggests a composite of Iranian religious fanaticism, Syrian ruthless cunning, and Soviet imperial ambitions — an all-purpose unholy trinity that guarantees to send blood pressure soaring throughout the civilized world.

As we go to press, U.S. officials are pointing the finger increasingly at Hussein Musawi, leader of the Amal Islamic movement headquartered in the town of Baalbek in Lebanon's Bekaa Valley. If the U.S. has anything other than the by now standard "circumstantial" suppositions to go by on this, it has yet to say so. What is certainly clear at this point is that Musawi-as-culprit is a proposition of great political utility for the U.S. As leader of a significant section of Lebanese Shi'ites and as opponent of the far more moderate, essentially pro-Western Nabih Berri — the Amal leader headquartered in Beirut — Musawi represents

an element whose influence must be curbed. Further, as an adherent of the Iranian regime who also operates behind Syria's lines and receives some Syrian support, he represents a fair approximation of the above mission composite. Finally, his position within Syrian occupied territory suggests that should the U.S. contemplate retaliation, it could gain additional leverage by making this prospect stand as either a potential or actualized threat against the Syrians.

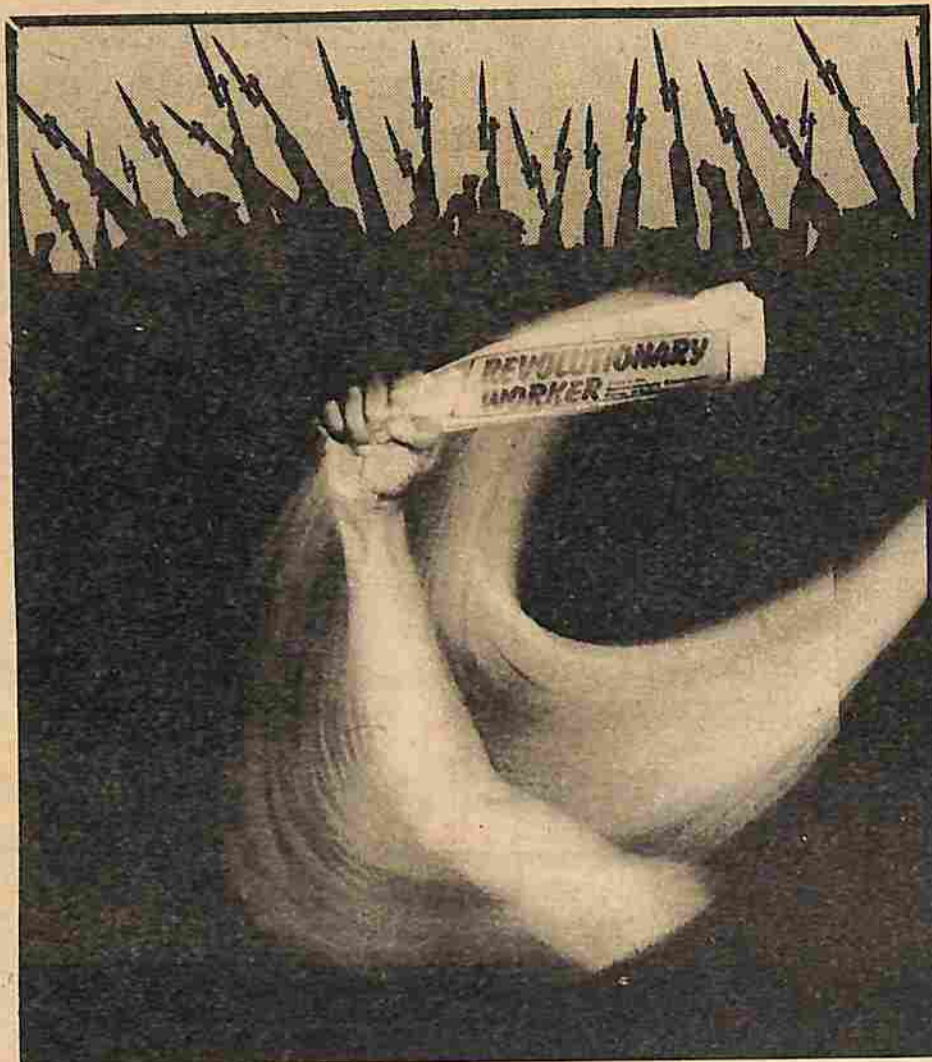
The point in all this is simply to underscore that for the U.S., the question of retaliation is a question of political utility first, "retribution" second. According to some Washington-based intelligence experts, it is likely that if the U.S. were to actually ascertain the identity of the "guilty party," they would be "disposed of" but never publicly identified. None of which would necessarily prevent the U.S. from going ahead and zeroing in on another target for a more publicized, and possibly far more messy, "retaliation" most in keeping with its more strategic objectives. Whether the U.S. takes this step, Reagan's announcement Thursday night that "justice" will be served indicates that is an actively considered option. □

They Are Actively Preparing and So Must We

— Take Up & Wield the RW

"Centering the Party's work now around its newspaper is not mere paperwork or aimless educational activity, it is the most concrete and practical plan for accumulating revolutionary strength — political, ideological and organizational — for the onslaught. The newspaper itself, which hounds the enemy and exposes imperialism and class antagonism at every turn, is a form of class struggle. But creating public opinion is not a mere 'battle of ideas' — though it definitely involves that. The heart of it, the key link, is exposure: penetrating and all-around exposure of the features and nature of this hideous and death-bound system, of the class that rules it and of all the classes, strata and groups in society, not just in this country but the world as a whole, including both those that are enemies and those that are (at least possible) allies of the proletariat. Life itself is the inexhaustible source for such exposure." (*New Programme and New Constitution of the RCP, USA*)

In the face of the intensifying daily outrages committed by the imperialists and their rapidly accelerating preparations for world war, the RCP, USA is calling on all those who desire to hasten imperialism into its grave to take up the *Revolutionary Worker*. Distribute it more broadly and widely, study it, correspond with it, financially support it — wield it as the powerful weapon it is in our own preparations for the storms of the future! To receive bundles of *RWs* for distribution (and to make financial contributions), contact the RCP in your locality (see local addresses, page 2). Contact the *RW* nationally at P.O. Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, IL 60654.



Grenada Invasion:

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and their respective strategies for fighting and winning that war.

A Loud and Strategic Message

One would be hard pressed indeed to actually make a point out of the supposed threat posed to the U.S. imperialists by Grenada — an island the size of Philadelphia with a population of 110,000 and a poorly armed military force of somewhere between 1200 and 2000 people — and its so-called "socialist revolution" (actually a welfare state propped up by the Soviets and their Cuban allies and governed by a radicalized section of the petty bourgeoisie through a coalition of social democrats and pro-Soviet revisionists). While Grenada's international alignment with the Soviet bloc and the possible use of Grenada by the Soviets and their allies to both spread their influence politically throughout the region and to militarily irritate the U.S. were thorns in the sides of the U.S. imperialists, they were secondary factors in relation to this invasion. And, with regard to the much ballyhooed threat of potential Cuban and Soviet use of Grenada's new airport to U.S. interests in the region, the politics of this charge smack of typical gangster logic. While the U.S. was definitely concerned about this possibility, the real matter at hand here was not so much the airstrip itself as it was the issue of which imperialist bloc controlled the airstrip. In fact, most of the other islands in the region have airports as big as, if not bigger than, the one being disputed in Grenada.

For the U.S. imperialists there were much more strategically important and globally related motivations behind the invasion. In general, "Operation Urgent Fury" (the U.S. code name for the Grenadan invasion) is part and parcel of the U.S. being "on a roll" in terms of accelerating its war preparations throughout the world of late. In addition to the invasion of Grenada, this roll includes the political points gained by the propaganda campaign around the Soviet downing of flight 007, the occupation of Lebanon by U.S. troops, the upcoming deployment of Pershing and cruise missiles in Western Europe, the onslaught of exposure of "Soviet barbarism" and the whipping up of a wave of American patriotism —

patriotism that has now been fed a "glorious military victory" and must be informed with the understanding that "our troops must be everywhere, our world is at stake." Primarily the invasion was intended to deliver a very loud and clear message — one that would be received in both the trouble spots in the region, including Nicaragua, El Salvador and Cuba and throughout the rest of the world — including both the Soviet bloc and the U.S. allies themselves.

Many have stated that the invasion represents a dangerous threat to countries like Nicaragua, El Salvador and Cuba. And it does. Jeane Kirkpatrick openly bragged in the UN that she found it of great interest that Nicaragua was so upset about the threat of invasion. Just what the U.S. imperialists are going to do next in this part of the world isn't exactly clear. But it will not be "peaceful withdrawal." The invasion most definitely is related to a reassertion of unqualified U.S. domination in the region. And, numerous U.S. spokesmen have more than hinted at the various options opened up to them in the wake of the invasion. At the same time, the meaning of the invasion is not limited to its affect on Grenada itself or to its broader impact on Nicaragua et al. The U.S. invasion is part of a much larger scenario — that is, it is part of a world in a prewar period, a world in which the major imperialist powers are moving into increasing instances of conflict, further troop stationings and accelerated military preparations. U.S. and Soviet troops have been positioned in a number of different parts of the world. The U.S. imperialists are pushing the Soviets at every possible opportunity and the Soviets are pushing back just as hard. The world today has increasingly become one in which neither the U.S. nor the Soviets can tolerate "the way things are" and one in which neither one of them can accept a major strategic defeat. In this context both the U.S. and the Soviets are paying particular attention to their actual political and military preparations for war — and it is here that the invasion of Grenada takes on its broader meaning.

The bottom line of the message concerned the graphic illustration of just what is and isn't going to be the accepted norms of behavior for a "great power" in the coming period. Military invasions, overthrowing governments, setting up

puppet regimes, scrapping treaties and flagrantly breaking their "sacred tenets" of international law are certainly all legitimized as necessary and acceptable parts of U.S. imperialism's preparations for the military showdown with the Soviet imperialists. Even the "Iranian hostage crisis" has been continuously invoked as a justification for this invasion — that is, the necessity of preventing a similar situation from developing in connection with the medical students in Grenada. The purpose of this was quite obviously to underline the point that the days of "pushing the USA around" are gone for good. Beyond this, at least a good many of these medical students played still another important function in legitimizing all of this through their neanderthal ravings about the powering glory of the U.S. military as it rescued them from their state of "high anxiety" produced by the "violent uncertainty" pervading Grenada over the last few weeks.

The Invasion

All of this was amply borne out in the whole way that the invasion was orchestrated, executed and later rationalized. The U.S. claimed to have been responding to a request from the poor, little, weak and defenseless Caribbean neighbors of Grenada for U.S. aid in mounting a "pre-emptive strike" ("not an invasion" as Dominica's prime minister repeatedly emphasized). In reality, the U.S. had not only pre-planned the invasion but engineered all of the behind the scenes diplomatic maneuverings necessary to pull it off. When CARICOM (a Caribbean organization supposedly modeled after the European Common Market) met to discuss what actions to take in response to the coup, military intervention by the U.S. was prominently featured on the agenda. And, when CARICOM was unable to reach a consensus on this subject, due to the opposition of a couple of more pro-Soviet members of the community, the U.S. pulled together a meeting of the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States — a rump organization created by the U.S. in 1981 to counter Soviet influence in the region and comprised of all of the various former British colonies neighboring Grenada. In addition to the various U.S. diplomats ferrying between these island states and the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States' meetings, the U.S. also pulled in one of its stronger allies in the Caribbean, Jamaica, to help

bolster the decision for the invasion. Having thus engineered their "unanimous request" for an invasion of Grenada, the U.S. next took on the task of presenting such an invasion as something other than "imperialism." Out of these discussions was born the "multinational" invading force. This is almost too blatant to even comment on since this multinational force consisted of 1900 U.S. troops and 300 Caribbean troops — most of whom were special police forces from the various islands (who had been trained by the U.S. in Puerto Rico) and who didn't even come onto the Grenadan shore until sections of it were secured by U.S. forces first. In the wake of the invasion and as U.S. officials were questioned about violations of the Organization of the American States' treaties and the UN Charter — that is, "international law" — U.S. officials promptly and blatantly proceeded to ignore the provisions of these documents and pointed to various other documents (sometimes even documents superseded by the OAS and UN charters) as justifying the invasion. This is certainly not a matter of stupidity or ignorance but more one of potentially rubbing the nose of any and all objectors to the U.S. actions in Grenada in the realities of the world today.

Hardly anyone even attempted to deny all this. Less than an hour after the invasion was announced, one ABC newsmen even moronically gloated that "only the U.S. has the muscle to pull this off." More official U.S. spokesmen were just as blunt. Secretary of State George Shultz went on about the Caribbean being "our neighborhood" and "those who want to receive a message will have to receive it." For their part, the "liberal" *Washington Post* was also very straight-forward on this question in a news analysis article appearing the day after the invasion. According to the *Post*: "The U.S.-backed invasion of Grenada and the emergency airlift of more U.S. Marines to Beirut are powerful symbols of the Reagan administration's increasingly evident willingness and ability to use force in international affairs.... The invasion of Grenada marks a more impressive and perhaps more important change: the administration's first direct application of U.S. military power in an unambiguous combat situation."

The invasion of Grenada was a product of both the necessity and the freedom which U.S. imperialists had to act. Beyond the general necessity of ac-

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Grenada

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celerating their war preparations, the events prior to the invasion of Grenada actually upped the ante to a certain extent. From the beginning of Maurice Bishop's government in Grenada, the U.S. had applied vicious political, economic and military pressure to his regime in order to destabilize it to the greatest degree possible with the aim of either forcing Bishop and Grenada out of the Soviet bloc or overthrowing and replacing him with a government more to their choosing. And, over the last two years the possibility of an outright invasion by the U.S. imperialists has been an ever-present one. In fact, in mid-1981 the annual U.S. military exercises on the Puerto Rican island of Vieques included one landing and assault exercise dubbed "Amber of the Amberdines" — a none-too-subtle allusion to Grenada of the Grenadines. The speed with which all of the different facets of the current invasion fell into place is indicative that such an invasion has indeed been planned out and prepared for well before it actually came down — some bourgeois commentators and unnamed government officials have even stated that this particular invasion had been in the works a week and a half before it occurred.

Much has been made of the recent coup in Grenada and the subsequent execution of Maurice Bishop as being the precipitating factor leading to the U.S. invasion. And, while all of the details surrounding this coup have yet to emerge a number of points must be made here. The U.S. claims that the Soviets and the Cubans engineered the coup because Bishop was getting soft in relation to the U.S. imperialists. Interestingly enough, the U.S. can offer no hard evidence to support this scenario. The fact that Bishop came to Washington and expressed the desire for better relations with the U.S. is certainly not evidence that he was about to desert the Soviets. In fact, such a move is an integral part of the Soviet strategy of historic compromise in areas of the world where the U.S. is the dominant power. As of now, it is not clear whether or not Bishop was about to switch his bloc alignment. Nor are all the cards in yet on what role the U.S. might have played in either instigating the coup itself or in the events surrounding Bishop's escape from house arrest and his subsequent march against the new regime

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Saving American Lives: A transparent and time honored pretext

Ronald Reagan was certainly "being Presidential" (as the U.S.'s top-notch political pundits like to say) when he uttered the magic words "saving American lives" as his "paramount concern" in launching the U.S.'s invasion of Grenada. "Saving American lives" is one of those slogans that gets regurgitated whenever there is a naked U.S. military aggression involving the killing of hundreds or thousands of other lives. Recent examples that immediately come to mind include the 1965 U.S. invasion of the Dominican Republic and virtually all massacres and murders that the U.S. committed in Vietnam. The ability to shamelessly utter such chauvinist remarks and make sure that they are in sufficiently compact form so as to be easily repeated in endless snippets on television and in the pages of the "free press" is clearly a prerequisite for the holding of any higher public office in the U.S., and most certainly for a President, the one who has the pleasure of announcing U.S. invasions. Of course, such a task is made easier by the fact that there are indeed Americans in every corner of the globe — from Holiday Inns in Beirut to General Motors executives in South Africa to American medical schools in Grenada, not to mention the various troops, officials, CIA agents and so forth. It is in the nature of an imperialist power that there are always plenty of its lives in danger wherever its interests call for an armed assault.

Of course, all this is already quite well-known, and in the case of the Grenada invasion this "saving American lives" scene has been *deliberately* transparent from the start. That is, while it was just fine and necessary to have the media repeat it over and over, making sure that the full jingoistic flavor would have its

most intoxicating effect on the loyal Americans, there were always some hard-headed analysts around to point out that — well, really, that wasn't the point, the U.S. had been looking for an opportunity to assert its authority over this area, etc.

But then, it seemed as if there might appear some unexpected problems in the U.S.'s "life-saving" story. The chief administrator at the St. George's Medical School came out and publicly criticized the invasion, saying that he had recently talked to his students and they had reported being safe and sound; in fact, he implied that it was the *invasion* that was most endangering these American lives. Ham radio operators also began reporting conversations with medical students saying that they had been in no danger prior to the U.S. invasion. The U.S. had reported that the students were being "held hostage" on the island and had no way of getting out, but it was revealed that Grenada's "neighbors," the Eastern Caribbean Commonwealth countries that supposedly precipitated the invasion with their "worry" had banned all flights to and from Grenada — so who was holding the students hostage? And it also came out that the government of Grenada had previously sent a letter to the U.S. State Department through embassy channels guaranteeing the safety of all Americans on the islands — to which the U.S. had failed to reply for a week, finally sending a message through *commercial* Telex (which may never have been received by the Grenada government) that it was "studying" the situation. After the invasion the U.S. imperialists just baldly stated that even though there was an attempt by the Grenada government to arrange for the students to leave, it didn't matter because they couldn't be believed. The last straw appears to be the initial reports that fully half the medical students were refusing to leave the island when "offered" a flight out by U.S. troops. On Wednesday afternoon, a cable news network White House correspondent reported that the press corps had become "skeptical" of the "saving American lives" theme, and that certain White House spokesmen were complaining privately that the State Department was not producing enough "evidence" of this — and the U.S. government was thus losing its vast and well-known "credibility." Clearly, something dramatic was in order.

Voilà, the plot twist — or should we

say the *arm-twist* — occurs. The chief administrator of the medical school changes his mind and announces that the invasion was, after all, a necessity; the transformation occurs following brain surgery (also known as a "briefing") by the State Department. The ham radio operators suddenly stop reporting their unseemly conversations — following a warning from the Federal Communications Commission that they are in danger of losing their licenses if such information is used. But the most dramatic development is the sudden appearance all over the news media of hand-picked and carefully selected live, warm bodies — in the form of certain "saved" medical students. Every channel is now filled with the glorious presence of these patriotic specimens. Two of them get off the plane in the U.S. and kiss the ground — a *lá* the U.S. spy-hostages when they came back from Iran. Statements like "God bless Ronald Reagan" and "Thank God for the U.S. Army Rangers" are suddenly on the lips of anchormen and reporters alike, all attributed to the students. And finally, a select few of them get to talk to the American people directly, with such statements as "I used to be a dove but now I don't want to hear anybody criticize the Marines," they did a great job, they saved our lives, ad nauseam. Equally important is their description of their "ordeal" — terrorized by the "awesome firepower," bullets flying over their heads, hiding under their beds, they were in grave danger until the U.S. military fortunately came and rescued them. Never mind that it was the *U.S. invasion* that had *endangered* them — it was the imagery here that was most important. It conjures up the turmoil ahead, when much more than bullets will be flying about the heads, and all are supposed to look to the U.S. military to once again "save American lives."

So, despite some apparent difficulties in mid-stream, the theme of this war movie came into our living rooms with crystal clarity. From Reagan's opening statement to the testimony of those whose cherished lives were in so much jeopardy, we have certainly been shown all the news we need to know. And as for any loose ends or nagging questions about the efficacy of this adventure in "saving American lives," they will undoubtedly be cleared up post-haste. As we go to press, the "free press" has been allowed on Grenada. □



NEWS ITEM: PARROTTROOPERS ESCORT U.S. PRESS INTO GRENADA

Finally, after nearly four days of constant griping, the U.S. "free press" has been allowed into Grenada. What a relief. Now, instead of sitting in Washington, D.C. or Barbados parroting the line of the State Department, the Joint Chiefs, etc., they can be right there inside Grenada, on the scene, parroting the line of the State Department, the Joint Chiefs, etc., etc.

News From the Frontlines— Accounts by Members of the World Without Imperialism Contingent in West Germany

Early this September, the RW published a call from the newly-formed Organizing Committee for a World Without Imperialism Contingent, which stated that "it is important and urgent that something other than missiles travel to Europe from the United States this fall." And this has occurred! These are the first reports from the Contingent, transcribed exactly as communicated from West Germany.

Report No. 1 — Written 10/25/83

On Saturday 10/22, over 300,000 people from the southern regions of West Germany flooded the streets of Neu Ulm, site of the U.S. Wiley Barracks, a possible Pershing missile deployment site. The night before and that morning hundreds blockaded the barricades. The weekend activities were part of the culmination of ten days of protest organized nationally mainly by the Green Party, the SPD¹ and the DKP.² Despite the efforts (and overall success) of some of these forces, particularly the DKP and SDP, to restrict and divert the protests into loyal opposition, the atmosphere was not devoid of profound questioning and debate about the direction of the peace movement, and war preparations of NATO and the Warsaw Pact, as well as festive and determined blockading during which the World Without Imperialism contingent was definitely on the frontlines.

On Friday afternoon, hundreds, mainly students and '60s-type people, converged at the Wiley Barracks and immediately sprawled out in front of the gates at the feet of the lines of West German police. The contingent unfurled its bilingual banner, "A World Without Imperialism, Not An Imperialist World War," and passed out copies of "We've Deserted America's Warmongering" in German, Turkish, and English.

Immediately the "deserters" were beset by youth, especially from various countries in Europe, who were both startled and delighted that such a group actually organized itself and crossed borders to join in these protests, and particularly on the basis of opposing all imperialism. Some of these youths took reams of leaflets, waded into the blockade, passing them out, and others helped translate.

As the sun set, members of the contingent, together with a recruited translator and bullhorn waded into the middle of the blockade and announced, "We are the World Without Imperialism Contingent from the United States. We have deserted America's warmongering and came here to join in this struggle to say that the question of the missiles is not just for the people in Germany but for the people of the world." The blockaders applauded wildly. Many more who were standing across the street crowded in as the speaker targeted the U.S. and Soviet imperialist blocs, including the West German government, as the source of mounting preparations for war, and the deployment of the Pershing and cruise missiles (which also sparked some controversy, particularly the indictment of the Soviet Union). At the end of this speech, the crowd burst into "Long live international solidarity!" The message spoke to the question and aspirations of a section of the blockaders, who were happy to see a rupture in the terms of this struggle from "Get the missiles out of Europe" to "Down with war preparations both East and West."

The night drew on. The police fortified

their lines and at 6:00 a.m. Saturday they drove the blockaders away and set up steel barricades and a quarter-mile buffer zone.

On Saturday, blockaders converged on the gates to the U.S. troops' living barracks, blockading the street as well. Rich Newburger, one of the Fort Mac 2 and a member of the RCYB,³ addressed the crowd with a special message to the GIs themselves.

Other youth tossed the leaflets over the fence and called on the GIs to read it. As hundreds of thousands who participated in the "human chain" from Stuttgart to Neu Ulm streamed to the afternoon rally, the contingent leafleted, sang "jodies," and spoke to crowds that gathered.

In the many discussions, the question was frequently raised, "And now what?" The government is still intent on deploying the missiles, while attempting to string people with illusions that the Geneva talks may produce something other than further steps towards war. Many of the protestors, particularly the youth, expressed frustrations at the limitations of the protest, the fact that they didn't really change things. One that was particularly angry at the fact that the official rally drained and sabotaged the actual blockade said, "We don't know what's going to happen. All along, the more militant forces were looking beyond these ten days of protest. I think they will pick up the banner."

More Report on Neu Ulm:

The contingent had a chance to stay with one large group where hundreds were camping together and had long night talks with many blockaders, within this diversity of people. One thing many people were saying: "Boy, everyone including the national media really focused on this '10 days of protest,' and we knew there was a limitation within that, i.e., so now you have a big massive showing, including Willy Brandt giving a speech in Bonn, and now what?" They were telling us how others in various parts of the country have been looking beyond that, and never put their whole hopes in these ten days of protest, and how to build up the mass movement. They are planning various actions and blockades through the month of November. The contingent is getting a finger on this pulse also through the various activities and regional actions which they've been relating to. While it will not be a quiet time, there is a broad effect where people are a little disoriented, asking "Where do we go from here?"

Especially because very widely people say "We know they're still going ahead with deployment, where do we go from here?"

So there's some disarray, but that one guy quoted about this (above) speaks to it — within that there will probably be a lot of motion, splitting off regarding where do people go from here, but definitely people not just finished after ten days.

Report No. 2, 10/25/83
"Books Box"

In the original call to go to the European frontlines, it was said that the "European guardians of order will not put out any welcome mats for this group." That was shown quite starkly early this week when, after the events of the weekend, a group of us stopped off in Frankfurt to pick up a box of books.

The customs officer in the freight office was suspicious from the jump. A well-fed, well-trained guardian of "die Ordnung," he undoubtedly was aware

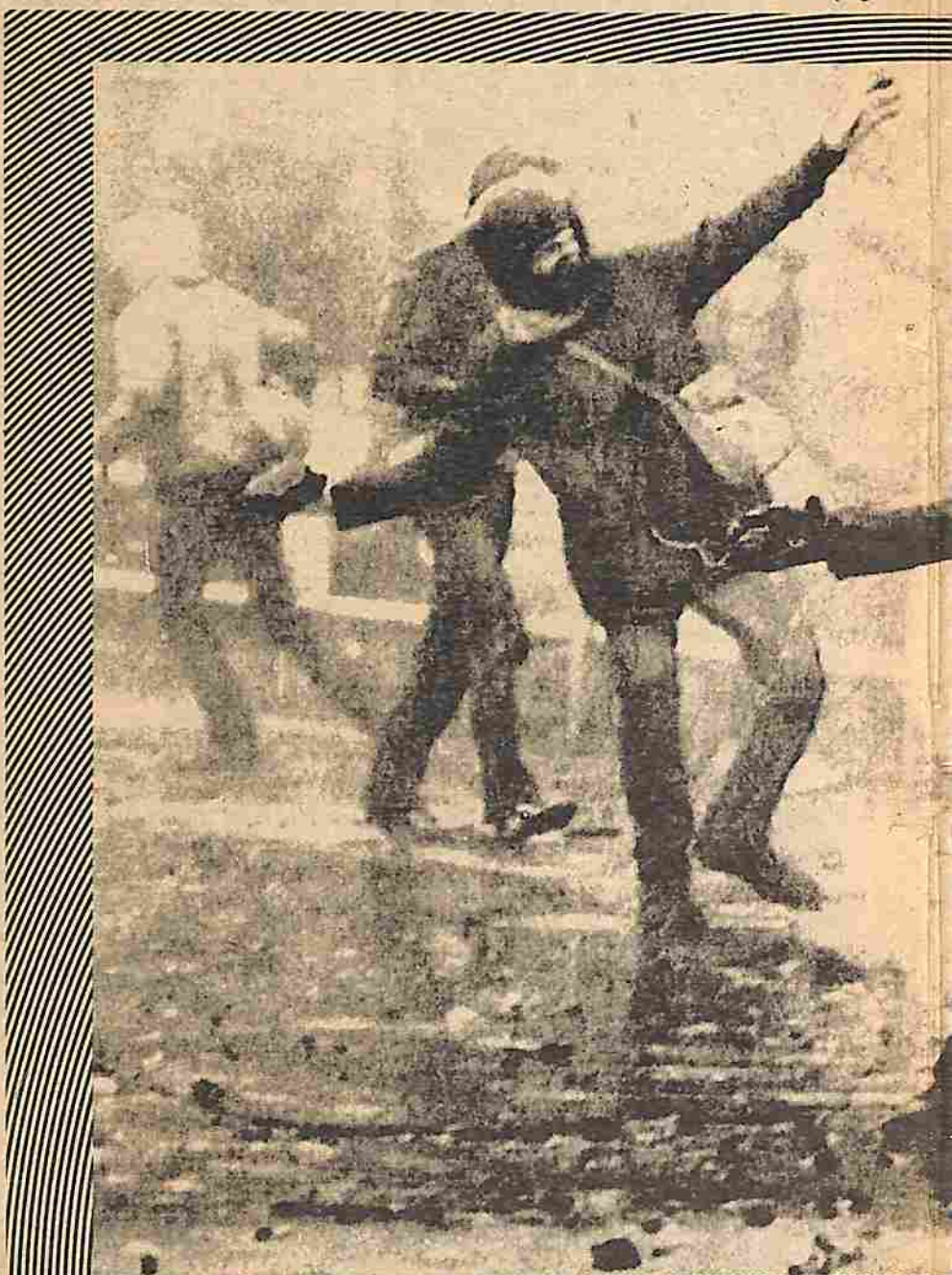
that armies of youth had been on the move at various fronts this past weekend. And two young Americans asking for a large box of books? "Was ist das?"

We were ordered to bring the box before him and open it in his sight. When he saw Mao Tsetung gazing at him from the cover of "Mao's Immortal Contributions," his face fell. So! As he had expected! All the junior customs officers

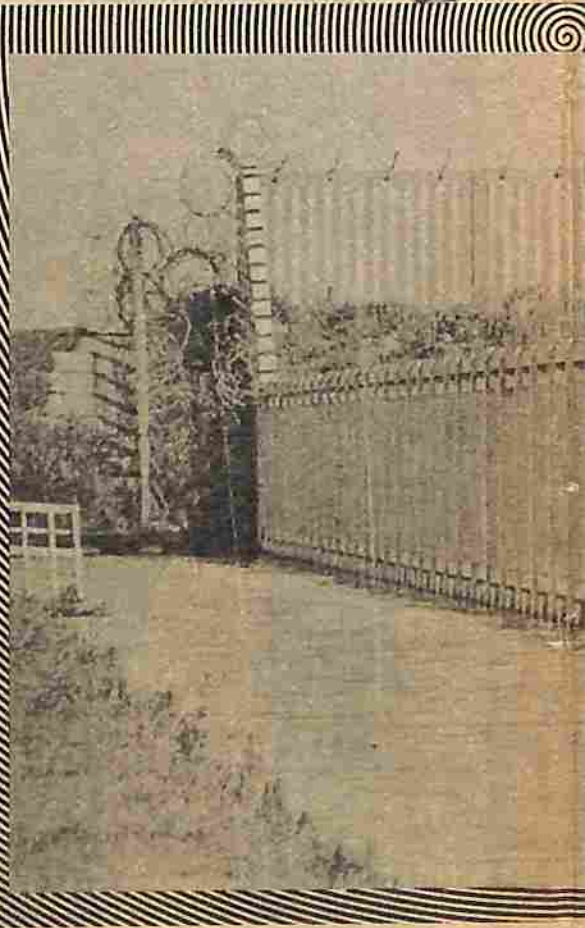
gathered around, as we, on their orders, carefully unpacked the books and laid them out on the counter.

Then they went through the material on the counter, making short comments like, "Mao Tsetung!" "Lenin!" "Revolution!" etc. When the top customs man turned over an old copy of the RW with the *Joint Communiqué* printed in it and found the phrase "Long live world revolution!" (which he repeated loudly), he had seen enough. He went to the rule book, searched for a few minutes, found a statute he thought was appropriate, and then ordered us to repack the box. We asked if we could now have our books. "No. One of the boxes is being detained until the nature of its contents can be determined." The offense the box was charged with was duly written on one flap and it was taken back to the freight office. We were told to call the next day once they had determined

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Above: Oct. 16th, "Autonomen" in action at Bremerhaven.
Right: Fortifications around this nuclear reactor in Kalkar include a moat.



1. SPD — the Social-Democratic Party of West Germany.
2. DKP — the revisionist Communist Party of West Germany.

3. RCYB — Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade.

Special to the Revolutionary Worker

West German Week of Resistance

Editors note: The following dispatch was received from an RW correspondent in West Germany.

Continuing opposition to the U.S. deployment of 572 new intermediate-range nuclear missiles on the European frontline exploded across West Germany in a week-long series of actions from October 15-22. The largest mass political protests in the "postwar" period, these convulsions which wracked oh-so-orderly West German society took a giant bite out of the carefully cultivated "democratic decision" of West Germany's imperialist rulers to cement their blood-compact with U.S. imperialism

through the "shared risk doctrine." In so doing, more than one sacred cow of West German politics has been thrown into question, with rifts in both the anti-missile forces and ruling class circles developing over the demonstrations and their aftermath.

The decentralized character of the protest demonstrations themselves reflected as much the divisions in the anti-missile forces as it did desires to involve the greatest numbers, divisions which became manifest from the opening gun of the protest week in Bremerhaven. Bremerhaven, on West Germany's North Sea coast, was chosen to kick off events, being the major port facility for the U.S.

Army in West Germany through which the new missiles themselves might be off-loaded. Yet Bremerhaven also became the "pacesetter" in the bourgeoisie's plan to keep the demonstration week one of orderly, preplanned, and boring events and in how the events were to be summed up in the battle for public opinion.

Already in the first week of September the West German bourgeoisie had brandished its "two-track" approach toward the planned demonstrations. At the U.S. base at Mutlangen, all activity of the base was shut down while peaceful demonstrators sat passively in the roads before the entrance of the closed facility. This exercise was given worldwide publicity, but when demonstrators showed up at the U.S. Air Force Base at Bitburg, where they were not supposed to be demonstrating, they were met with clubs and dogs. This police attack was blacked out of the bourgeois press, with only a few seconds of TV coverage permitted a full day later. The message of this carrot and stick (literally) offer was directed at both the militants as a warning and to those who see media publicity of reasonable, orderly protest as the road to winning the hoped-for majority of mainstream public opinion.

The protests in Bremerhaven actually began Oct. 13, with a blockade of the U.S. port facilities. The very first evening, the cops let loose with water cannons at demonstrators sitting in front of the gates. This early confrontation acted as a magnet for militant forces from all over North Germany. By Saturday the demonstrations had swelled to over 40,000. Police reinforcements of 5,500 were moved into Bremerhaven, while police roadblocks around the city stopped and searched the cars of over 200 suspected militants. The sharp divisions in the anti-missile forces became readily apparent as two parallel marches of decidedly different character moved by the thousands to the site of the blockade. The one column was made up of the good burghers of the Social Democratic Party (SDP), the West German Communist Party (DKP), and other mainstream and professional groups, while the other was made up of students and youth, and all the "Autonomen" groups in fundamental opposition to the system itself, and joined also by the Greens. It was this march column that passed through the heart of Bremerhaven's sleazy porno-district, and not a single sex-shop and peep-show was left unscathed as the youths whipped out their spraypaint cans.

Faced with a massive show of force at the U.S. facilities and official plans for the demonstration to disperse with only a whimper, many began to drift away. But with the official close of the demonstration, events took a new turn. Already by Friday night, the official "peacekeepers" had pulled back leather-jacketed youths from Berlin who tried to break through the police barbed wire wearing heavy gloves. Now, suddenly the air was filled with paving stones as ski-masked "Chaoten" let fly at the cops who replied with tear gas and water cannons. During the battle some Chaoten wielded iron bars. As the Chaoten attacked before the German Customs office, the "peace police" of the pacifist forces threw up a human wall between the two sides, and the fighting subsided with darkness. There were injuries on both sides and over 100 were busted by the West German cops. Many of those grabbed by the cops were taken some distance out of town and dumped.

The next day, however, the W. German press was effusive in its description of the Bremerhaven events as "peaceful, largely without incident," and in general a setback to the plans of the "violent troublemakers." The *Mannheimer Morgen*, for example, reported, "The scene in front of the barracks presented a peaceful picture with the sunny weather: demonstrators and police played soccer — although not together."

On the same day as the Bremerhaven action, there was also a march on the U.S. Air Base at Ramstein, site of the annual U.S. air power show. The march which intended to blockade the base entrances was met, however, by a massive force of riot police who blocked the road. In a quick-thinking move, the demonstrators did an about-face and took off for Miesau, the largest U.S. munitions depot in W. Germany where 5,000 nuclear warheads are stored in addition to conventional arms, catching the police by surprise with an unplanned action.

Throughout the week of protests, the willingness of demonstration organizers to meet and plan out events with the police became increasingly an issue. It became an open secret that meetings have been going on for months with the cops over how to identify and isolate the radical elements in the actions. In Bonn, where the issue of cooperation with the cops has been particularly sharp, a colorfully costumed group of activists invaded a meeting of the Bonn coordinating committee, distributed champagne and chocolate kisses, danced about and left leaving a note which read: "This morning we have visited the office of the Coalition Committee (KOA) and permitted ourselves to cut off the private lines between the KOA and the police. Since weeks of debate have not borne fruit, it became necessary to put, herewith, the telephone lines directly out of commission . . ." The outraged organizers looked around to find that their phone lines had been cut.

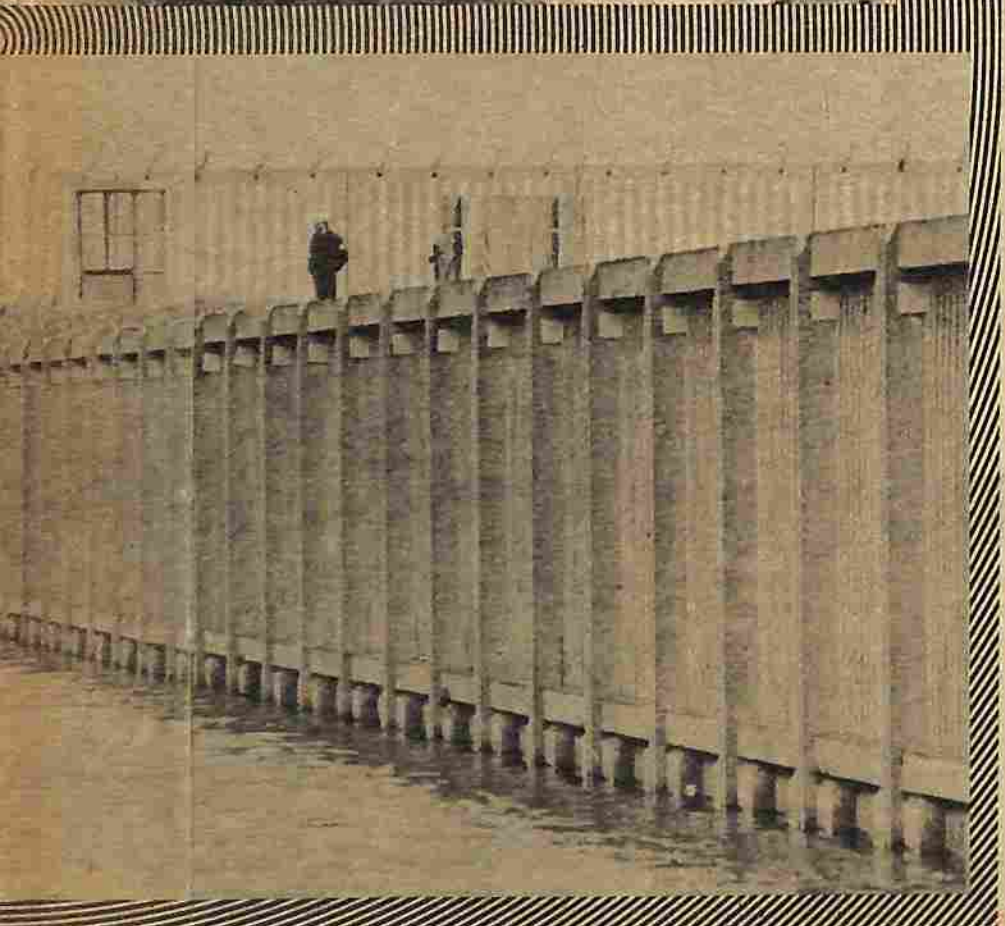
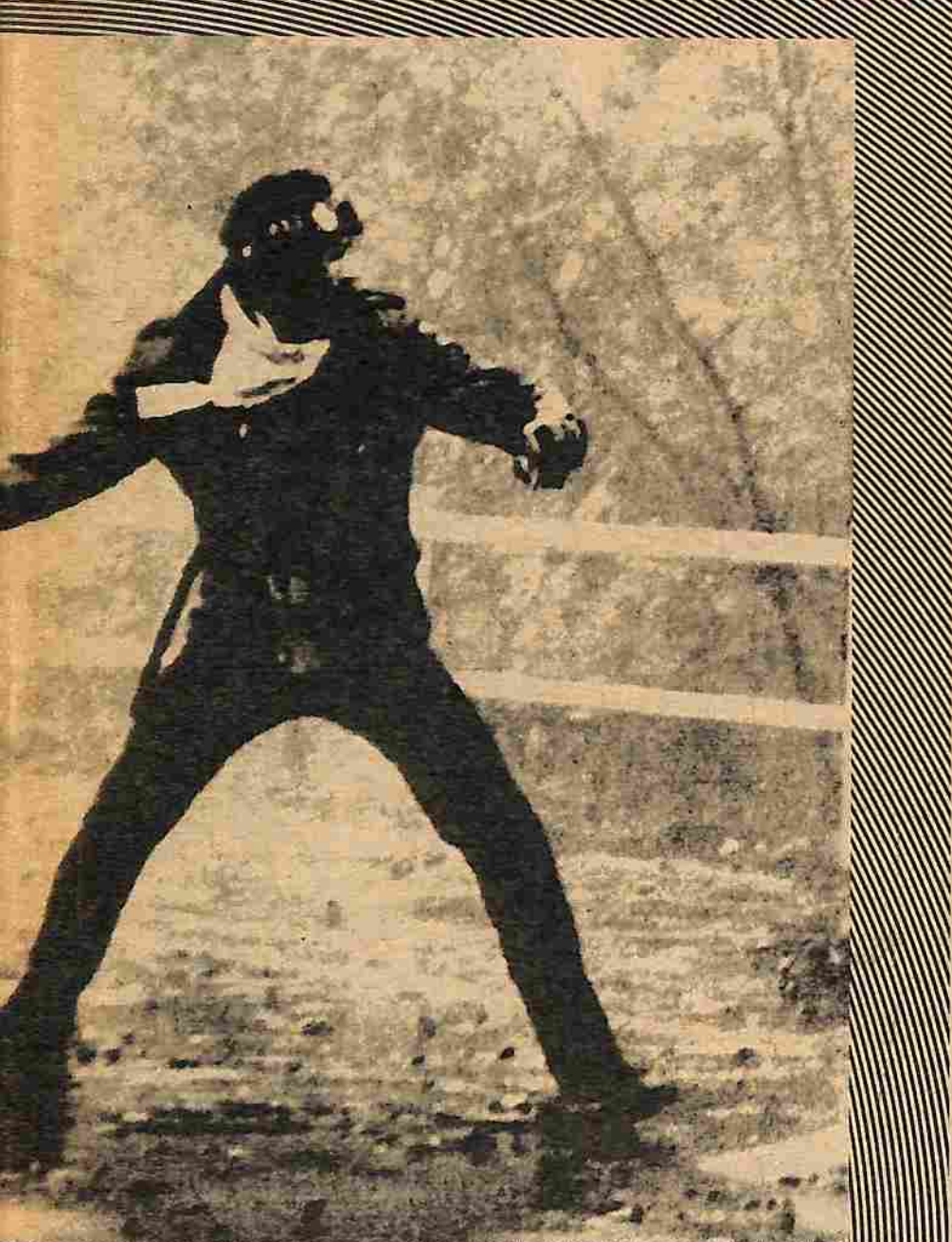
The week following the Bremerhaven events was dedicated to local mobilizations of different constituencies each day; thus Sunday was for church groups, Monday for women's groups, Tuesday for anti-militarism and solidarity with Third World struggles, Wednesday for workplace demonstrations, Thursday for high-school students, and Friday for local government and political party groups. Some of these events were lackluster fizzes, but many others showed real sparks of resistance. On Monday and Tuesday, 800 blockaded the entrance to the Münster First Corps Barracks, the largest West German facility, in an important targeting of the West German imperialist military forces. While in Hamburg, 50 military reservists turned in all their military gear in protest of German military policy.

On Tuesday morning over 1,000 blockaded the doors of a Litton Industries military electronics plant in Freiburg. All the workers were blocked from entering, and the cops were not able to get a door open until three hours later. After being ousted by the police, the demonstrators marched downtown to pelt a Victory Monument from the Franco-Prussian War which was valiantly protected by cops. The same day other demonstrators went to the offices in Bonn of Heckler & Koch, manufacturers of the German G3 assault rifle which is exported to 40 Third World countries, and staged a mock "shoot-in" in the lobby.

On Thursday thousands of high-school students and their teachers walked out of school in West Berlin from 10-10:30 in spite of an official school board ban. In some schools one-quarter to one-half of the students took part, while in other schools students were locked in. Unlike the teachers, many of the youth did not bother to return to class at 10:30. In Osnabrück over a thousand students went to a demo, although many students here were locked in and some had to climb out the windows. In Freiburg eight to nine thousand students went out and were issued traffic tickets by cops. In other places there were more controlled school assemblies around peace themes.

In all, millions took part in one manner or other in the week of protest, an unprecedented event over which *Der Spiegel* sounded the following alarm: "But the question in the next few months won't

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Cold Calculations of the Olympic Planners

Will the Soviets Be in L.A.?

Though current developments have for the moment blasted it off the front pages, there is still quite a bit to be learned from all the hypocritical braying and fierce maneuvering that has taken place around Korean Airlines flight 007 — not only on the international political stage but in the arena of international sports as well. And with U.S./Soviet confrontation accelerating rapidly, the realm of sports is sure to heat up still more. In basketball, a scheduled pre-Olympics tour of seven major universities by the Soviet national team was cancelled after the schools dropped out one by one; the head of Amateur Basketball, USA, the sports federation which runs the U.S. national basketball team for the Olympics and other international competitions, said that some of the coaches and athletic directors who might have had some reservations, for whatever reasons, about getting on the cancellation bandwagon, "took tremendous pressure about being communist sympathizers." In hockey, the cities of Detroit, Philadelphia, and Los Angeles had to be scratched off the list of a series of matches between the U.S. and Soviet hockey teams (now very tentatively scheduled to take place in December) when either the hockey arena operators or corporate sponsors made a public showing of their cancellations; the owner of the Detroit Red Wings professional hockey team, who controls the bookings in his town's arena, must have brought tears to the eyes of loyal Americans everywhere as he described flying across the Atlantic on a 747 (of course, he had his family with him — a nice touch) a few days after the 007 incident, "thinking about all those people who were just blown out of the sky," as the *New York Times* eagerly printed his explanation for refusing to allow the Soviet team onto his ice. And then there were the loudly threatened demonstrations and so forth which managed to convince the Soviets that the pre-Olympic sailing regatta, women's volleyball tournament, figure-skating event and archery competition — all of which were scheduled to take place in the U.S. in October — would be better off if they publicly declined to show up.

All the cancellations were, of course, the result of a purely spontaneous "groundswell," to listen to official government comment — and the U.S. State Department made sure that its spokesman was available to say as much to *Sports Illustrated* magazine. "I think it reflects the feelings of the American people," the spokesman said. "We would have been surprised if they felt they could have gone with sports as usual in this climate." Clearly, this was an expert opinion; leaving aside whatever direct hand it may have had in the cancellations, the State Department had more than a little to do with the creation of "this climate."

But for a variety of reasons, cancellations were neither required nor seen as beneficial when it came to the matter of U.S. teams traveling to the Soviet Union to compete in the World Championships of wrestling, judo, and weightlifting. In the first place, the prospect of such teams going to the Soviet Union just could not provide anywhere near the opportunity for the whipping up of the "spontaneous groundswell" as that offered by the Soviets setting foot on U.S. soil. What's more, the U.S. has not been particularly strong in these sports for some time, and the Soviet trips would provide an opportunity to compete against the world's best and thereby gauge the possibilities of perhaps pulling off a "stunning upset" — particularly against the Soviets — during the 1984 Olympics when so much more will be at stake. At the same time, it was clear that any official cancellations of these trips would have unnecessarily (to the U.S. imperialists' way of thinking) exacerbated certain contradictions with many of the U.S. athletes — and there is so much more mileage to get out of them

in the coming year.

Still, these careful considerations vis-à-vis the athletes did not apply in the same way to such patriotic sports officials as Werner Holzer, the president of USA Wrestling, the governing body for the U.S. wrestling team. While ultimately deciding that it was okay for the team to go to the Soviet Union, Holzer publicly refused to accompany the athletes. And the *New York Times* was most cooperative in allotting plenty of space to this sports official's ever-so-profound reflections on his grand protest. Highlights included such gems as "sports means nothing in comparison to peace and survival throughout the world" (if you thought this meant that Holzer was about to make some sort of anti-nuke statement, you just haven't been paying attention), and Holzer's sudden realization that "the Soviet government... has shown itself to be a brutal dictatorship." Why Mr. Holzer, one can only wonder why you never felt compelled to register your serious thoughts about the state of the world before — say, for example, when you were on the U.S. Wrestling team at the 1968 Olympics in Mexico City. Could it be that the massacring of hundreds of protestors by the Mexican government, with assistance from its U.S. protectors, was not quite so worthy of your lofty concerns and sentiments? Oh, but we almost forgot — we are dealing with unparalleled "barbarity" in the case of 007.

However, it seems that some people just don't know when enough is "enough." Take the ladies and gentlemen of the California State Legislature, for example. Amid the ranting, raving and all-around caterwauling from the White House to Congress to the free press, and the above-mentioned sporting accompaniment, the California legislators unanimously passed a resolution calling on the president to ban the Soviets from the 1984 Olympics in Los Angeles. And some businessmen from Orange County (more familiarly known as the home of Disneyland) immediately organized a massive petition drive to collect a million signatures calling for the same thing. Now, isn't that utterly ridiculous? Don't these people know the difference between demonstrations of appropriate "outrage" at the proper moment and violations of the sacred trust of international sport? Why, even the State Department spokesman who took note of the "feelings of the American people" hastened to add, "at this point I don't think it relates to the Olympics." And Peter Ueberroth, head of the Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee, scurried off to Washington, D.C. and announced reaffirmed pledges from Reagan and Congress that the U.S. would live up to its "commitment" to the Olympics — which means allowing all athletes approved by the international Olympic Committee full access to the big games.

But with the shifting around involved here and the seeming change in emphasis from cancellations to commitments, there was bound to be a great deal of confusion. Fortunately, there has been a recent addition of that foremost public opinion clarifier, ABC TV's *Nightline*, to straighten us all out. And in keeping with the democratic tradition to which it owes its success, *Nightline* featured spokesmen for both sides of this important issue.

On the one hand, appearing at this time as the "lunatic fringe," were those who favor banning the Soviet team from the 1984 Olympics. Participants here included: California State Senator John Doolittle, the author of the infamous resolution, who in effect tried to declare the Soviets ineligible for the Olympics (unless they beg for forgiveness for their transgression) on the basis that shooting down the South Korean plane was "unsportsmanlike" and went against the "Olympic spirit"; one of the Orange County petitioners who shrieked about "murder in

the skies" and pledged to bring out "the true feelings of the American people" (a popular phrase, it would seem) to such an extent that the Soviets won't want to come; and a columnist for the Moonie-owned *Washington Times*, who called for kicking every Soviet official of any type out of the U.S. right now. Although Ted Koppel — and virtually all the other participants as well — kept expressing their total understanding for this crew's well-planned "outrage" over 007, the fact that they were totally lacking in the "spirit" of the Olympics was duly noted. Despite Senator Doolittle's feeble efforts, this wasn't exactly a field that came across as dedicated to the cause of international sports.

But arrayed against this team of crass reaction stood an all-star aggregation of Olympic hopefuls, with something for everybody. Yes, given the international political situation, it was quite necessary to have at least one hard-bitten realist who bluntly weighed the political consequences and called for doing what was most "effective" for the U.S.'s international political interests. In this case, Jody Powell, a former spokesman for President Carter fit the bill nicely. He not only upheld the 1980 boycott of the Moscow Olympics for its demonstration of American resolve and the fact that it focused "attention on Soviet behavior," but also argued *against* a 1984 ban on the Soviets on essentially the same basis. His reasoning: It would shift the focus of controversy away from the Soviets and on to the U.S. instead, taking away the valuable political edge the U.S. holds from 007. Powell said that in order to really maximize U.S. effectiveness, the U.S. should invite the Soviet team in and show them "the sort of expression that we allow in this country" — anti-Soviet billboards and demonstrations! Powell was being much too modest. Not only do "we" allow this type of activity in this country, "we" whip it up — and the coming year will undoubtedly provide numerous opportunities for witnessing this magnificent example of the extent of freedom of expression in the U.S.

But Powell's political "realism" was overshadowed by his teammates' positive zeal for the glory of sport as exemplified in the upcoming Olympics. On film, we were treated to a California state senator assuring everyone that the legislators had not realized that they were voting against the Olympics for goshsakes, and that this will be rectified as soon as the state legislature comes back into session. Also on film were several athletes saying, "It's not fair," to deprive them of the opportunity to go for the Gold after they had worked so hard for it, as they had been deprived back in 1980. Live and in person, we were subjected to the real heavy-hitters — 1976 Olympic Decathlon Gold Medal Winner and all-around all-American Bruce Jenner, and "self-made" (with a little help from his friends in certain U.S. foreign policy preserves) millionaire Peter Ueberroth. Jenner has already shown his consummate cleverness as a representative for U.S. imperialist interests in the realm of sports with, for example, a previous appearance on *Nightline* where he essentially called for martial law during the Olympics — purely in order to "protect the athletes" of course; and in a previous statement to the *L.A. Times*, he stated that it didn't matter that he couldn't remember where he was storing his Gold Medal since, "It's enough for me to know that it's here. It's not in Avilov's house." Of course, Avilov was his principal Soviet competitor in 1976.

But at this time, and deliberately in sharp contrast to the "ban the Soviets" calls, Jenner spoke of the "brotherhood" in the Olympics, recalling the time he had hugged his Soviet rival after the competition. (Of course, there were political differences, Jenner slickly pointed out, exemplified by the time that he went to Moscow and wanted to get together with

his rival for old times' sake, but the latter was prevented from doing so by Soviet officials. Jenner may yet have a future in acting — or perhaps running for political office — if he keeps up the good work.) Ueberroth piped in with a plea that "some place along the line we have to make steps in this world to develop human understanding," and, of course, the 1984 Olympics was precisely that "some place." (Undoubtedly, such understanding will be immeasurably enhanced by ad campaigns like "America First" for the gymnastics team, and "Support the Home Team" for the sale of Olympic coins, but somehow Ueberroth failed to point this out.) But both the businessman and the former athlete were particularly dripping with their touching concerns for youth — with Ueberroth worrying about "the youngsters" having their hopes dashed if a ban were to take place, and Jenner announcing, "The Olympic Games are for the youth of the world." Through all this, and Koppel masterly serving up the "higher ideals" questions to keep the mood flowing, it was clear that the word had come down from the highest ranks of U.S. officialdom — put down the ban, and do it seemingly for nothing but the very noblest of purposes, the very essence of the "Olympic ideal."

However, it is not some abstract set of noble ideals, but the ice-cold calculations of imperialist realities that are lurking behind this game. Indeed, virtually all the media analysts, including Koppel himself at the start of his bogus "debate," have rather crudely admitted in their coverage of preparations for the 1984 Summer Games that international sport in general and the Olympics in particular are bound to be used for crass political advantage. A representative example was recently provided by *Time* magazine in an article lauding the work that Ueberroth and his crew are doing. The article openly declared that "Hardly anyone for some time has regarded international athletic competition as a refuge from the troubles of mankind," described the main event at every Olympics as an "international tug-of-war," even took on the "hypocrisy of amateurism" describing the politically necessary legalization of formerly under-the-table bribes to keep the U.S.'s best athletes in the game, and offered the summation that "the state of the Olympic dream... (is) a pipe dream." There are no tears or complaints about all this — it is simply a matter-of-fact phenomenon. What better exposure could there be of the truth that this so-called "debate" between the previously unleashed "ban the Soviets in honor of 007" side and the currently favored "bring them here for the brotherhood of sport" side is nothing but the cynical balancing of naked political interest on the part of U.S. imperialism?

So far, the U.S.'s calculations have taken principal note of the very valuable opportunity (and necessity) that a go for the gold, especially against the Soviets, provides. As a correspondent on *Nightline* intoned, "In the hands of a propagandist, Olympic success signals ideological superiority." Significantly, while the correspondent was talking, the TV screen was filled with a filmed segment of a current TV spot — *not* of the Soviets and their efforts to use previous Olympic victories as crude propaganda but of the U.S. hockey team and its victory in the 1980 Winter Olympics, complete with the sports announcer crying out, "The impossible dream come true." The message was unmistakable. Who could forget that glorious time when the "underdog" U.S. defeated the big, bad Russians (and everybody else) while the crowd chanted U-S-A over and over, and the entire superstructure milked this "spontaneous" wave of patriotism for months afterward? And isn't such a demonstration of "ideological superiority" needed even more these days — on

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“Burn It!” Berkeley Rebels’ Answer to Invasion



Tuesday, as news of the U.S. invasion of Grenada began to hit the headlines, the reactionary talk shows began to stink up the airwaves in the San Francisco Bay Area with the know-nothing howl of imperialism's loyal followers. As announcers feverishly solicited, and got, patriotic grunts of joy at the bloodshed and imperialist legions unleashed, a particular local target began to receive verbal fire: one talk-host bubbled, "What do you think of that, Berkeley? Oh, but you're not listening, are you Berkeley? You're over at the federal building." (At that moment, a rally was going on at the Federal Building in San Francisco, denouncing the U.S. invasion of Grenada.)

Berkeley has been plunked onto the receiving end of the talk-show firing range in the last few days here, drawing venomous attacks. One sorry, right-wing Berkeley city councilman was even driven to call a show and apologize for representing the people of Berkeley. And while reactionaries have typically done their best to paint a picture of a world in which you have to be either pro-Soviet or pro-U.S. — and in which Berkeley symbolizes the enemy — events Tuesday night showed that by invading Grenada the U.S. has stirred up a lot more than pro-Soviet opposition.

Throughout the day on Tuesday, word had circulated through Berkeley, partly through hastily prepared leaflets and partly through word of mouth in the various political channels: the anarchists, the feminists, the anti-nuke movement, the solidarity with Central America forces. The word went something like this: The invasion of Grenada, on top of outrage after outrage the U.S. has committed, is too much; something has to be done; meet at the Shattuck BART (Bay Area Rapid Transit) at 8 o'clock; bring everybody. Not too long after 8 o'clock, after a short rally, around 1,000 people left the BART to march through Berkeley: students, activists, a healthy sprinkling of punks and anarchists. The marchers seized the streets from the very beginning, and by the time people had gone up past Telegraph Avenue to College Avenue, then back down along the edge of the UC Campus to Shattuck, numbers had grown to over 3,000, perhaps 5,000; people from nearby apartment buildings had looked out their windows and then joined the march, and people had been pulled in from the campus and the streets.

The march had become a festive and strong rejection of the invasion of Grenada and the wave of patriotism flooding from the media. The few frat guys who tried to raise the American flag in the face of the march were quickly routed. By the time the march returned to

Shattuck, a group of punks, anarchists and youth were at the head. And as they reached the corner of Shattuck and University Ave., one of the main intersections in Berkeley, the group of several hundred people at the head sat down in the middle of the intersection, encircling a smaller number of people who burned the American flag, while youth clapped, raised both fists in the air and whooped at the grand sight of the burning flag. It all was a refreshing contrast to the TV news shots of hand-picked all-American boys and girls from Grenada Medical School who yucked it up with the Marine butchers as they stepped off the plane from Grenada and proceeded to mouth every shabby piece of propaganda which the U.S. government asked for.

Of course, there were different forces and programs represented in the march besides those who wanted to burn the flag. Members of the All People's Congress (APC), for one, had most of the bullhorns at the march; after the flag burning, while the youth who had been sitting down in the street wanted to stay, continuing to block the intersection, after five minutes or so the APC and other activists were able to pull the march a few more blocks down the road, to city hall, where the Berkeley City Council was passing a resolution to denounce the U.S. invasion and to support a memorial for Maurice Bishop.

Gus Newport, Mayor of Berkeley and founder of the U.S./Grenada Friendship Association in the Bay Area, had introduced the resolution. Newport, who is close to the revisionists, and who has a clear predilection for the kind of social democracy represented by pre-invasion Grenada, addressed the crowd which jammed the city hall steps and massed out into the street. As he was walking back to the crowd after finishing his speech, one young guy yelled, "What are we gonna do tonight?" Others yelled, "Let's do some direct action." Gus spat back, "Fuck that. Ain't gonna be no direct action tonight. Let's go home."

Although Gus and others succeeded in dispersing the bulk of the rally at that point, several hundred rebels went back to one of Berkeley's major intersections and sat down. They built a bonfire and stayed in the middle of the street for several more hours. They were not attacked by the police, but they kept at least one late night TV news team alert and wondering what assaults on public decency might come next.

That evening, Marine Corps recruiting officers held a press conference of their own in Berkeley. It seems the Corps had run a full-page ad in the UC Berkeley student newspaper, the *Daily Californian*, announcing a recruiting drive to be held

on campus this week. Now, at any time, this is a dangerous undertaking for the infamous crew of butchers. This week, it seems, one invasion was enough for the marines: they cancelled the recruiting drive, so the press was told, on the advice of campus police who suggested "waiting until the dust clears."

The next day, Thursday, was to become dustier still. It started quietly enough with the traditional rally at Cal Berkeley's Sproul Plaza, at the heart of the campus, the gathering organized by Students Against Intervention in El Salvador. By the time the speeches got underway, between two and three thousand students and others had filled the area, listening and arguing over the speakers from various political tendencies, from pro-Soviet types to more radical figures.

From Sproul Plaza, people marched to the campus ROTC building along a winding path through the campus, picking up more students coming out of class. There was a one-minute vigil at the ROTC building, which was guarded by police, then an estimated 1,000 people took off for the city of Berkeley, marching through the middle of the streets. Within the march, which had a very broad character, there were a number of anarchists, youth, and advocates of direct action from the Berkeley campus who were looking for ways to break through politically and make more powerful statements.

The march went to the campus of Berkeley High and straight through the campus, chanting and calling on the students to ditch school and join the march. And many students did take the opportunity, breaking out of school for

the rest of the day, debating furiously and excitedly with marchers on the campus grounds; then at least 50-100, both Black and white, joined the action.

The post office was next, where three young women punks hauled down the American flag. The flag wouldn't light, so it was thrown into the middle of the street and people started throwing matches on it, while others chanted, "Burn it! Burn it!" One monitor tried to rescue the flag and a tug-of-war ensued which ended with him running off with the flag to jeers of "Fucking liberal!"

From the post office, the group headed up to the Bank of America on Shattuck Ave., where the flag was again pulled down from the flagpole and a similar struggle ensued over whether or not to burn it. At one point a brick thumped hard against a bank window, which turned out to be a surprisingly sturdy — the brick bounced off. A man accused of throwing the brick was then jumped by an undercover pig, but they were both completely encircled by the crowd, which was filling up Shattuck Ave. and completely blocking this very busy street. The police were unable to haul the man away, and the crowd, chanting "No arrests! No arrests!" forced the police to release him.

The group, which consisted of about five hundred people by this time, then marched to the corner of Shattuck and University and seized the whole intersection. People got up and agitated, small group discussions raged for about a half an hour longer, and then the group marched back to the campus, leaving many wondering what the next days and weeks will bring. □

Revolution

CONQUER THE WORLD?

The International Proletariat Must and Will

By Bob Avakian

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

Its sections are:

- * Further historical perspectives on the first advances in seizing and exercising power—proletarian dictatorship—and embarking on the socialist road;
- * More on the proletarian revolution as a world process;
- * Leninism as the bridge;
- * Some summation of the Marxist-Leninist movement arising in the 1960's and the subjective factor in light of the present and developing situation and the conjuncture shaping up;
- * Some questions related to the line and work of our Party and our special internationalist responsibilities.

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I am writing this letter in praise to the writer of the article in the October 7, 1983 edition of the *Revolutionary Worker* under the caption: "The American Dream Road Show — and the Real Way Out of the Nightmare," which, to say the least, is a superb analysis of the accommodationism of the Black (still American Negro) bourgeoisie and how they are still being manipulated by the Ruling-class in this society, albeit willingly.

My first reflections of the article was, is there a historical analogy between that of the Roman slaves, who, during the apex of the Roman Empire, owned their own slaves and private property, and who also went to war with and for their Roman masters and these Ruling-Class promoted leader Preacher-Pimps, as they have been so aptly described by the writer?

And my second thought, is that the writer of the article is undoubtedly a White American who is being agilely tactful and constrained in pointing out how foul and lousy the Black bourgeois in this society really is because of the obvious sensitivities that criticism of Blacks by Whites presents no matter how genuine. But I am an African-American genuinely concerned about the oppression of my people and all people of the world — who are also my people because I have transcended all narrow concepts of race and only recognize one race — the human race, and that it is not *who* you are but *what* you are. And I don't have to pull punches. I have a pathological hatred of all accommodationist handkerchief-head negroes who are still begging and hankering to be part of their master's tea party. Because I have enough knowledge of history and human nature to understand that they (the pseudo-leader preacher pimps) are the same black dogs in kind that gnashed upon Nat Turner, Denmark Vesey, Gabriel Prosser, Malcolm X and all other real freedom fighters who have ever come along and sought to break the chains of mental and physical slavery that bind my ethnic group, and that the Top Dogs — their Ruling-Class capitalist masters continue to use them to placate the masses of Blacks in this society with false hopes that real freedom, justice and equality can be achieved under capitalism, and also sic them on anyone who opposes the system and use them as an instrument of a crime against their own ethnic group, and that they are aiders and abettors of those real criminals in the perpetuation of neo-slavery here and the world over among Third World peoples; and they need to be given no capitulating respite. So, I just had to write and make this comment on the article. And I want to add that it's time for my Black brothers and sisters in America to start to seriously consider some of the observations made by Malcolm X with regard to how these Black preacher pimps who are passing themselves off as leaders and all those dogs who want to be a part of this dog-eat-dog system must be dealt with, if we are to ever throw off the shackles of slavery and take our rightful place in this world with all oppressed peoples who are genuinely struggling to be free, and who have no desire to slave in the spoils of America's rape of the world.

I hope you will print this letter in your paper.

Your Buddhist Unchained Friend,
Huntingdon, PA

Will the Soviets Be in L.A.?

Continued from page 10

the eve of imperialist world war? For example, it's no accident that the big story, in the U.S. at any rate, of the Helsinki World Track and Field Championships last August is how the U.S.'s "darling," Mary Decker, beat the Russians in an area of *their* strength, the women's middle-distance events. Imagine how much bigger such a demonstration of "ideological superiority" would be if it occurred in L.A. in 1984. For the same reasons, the Soviets have so far seemed down for the confrontation, while, like the U.S., dropping hints that this could change. (At the same time, it's no wonder that the "youngsters" are coming in for such loving attention, since it is the *mobilization* of youth that this "superiority" is dedicated to achieving. And it is hardly *sport* that they are being mobilized for.)

Given the current scenario of actually pulling off the Games, Russians and all, the "brotherhood of sport" cant has been given some play of late, especially when it comes from those who are responsible for organizing and putting on the Olympic Games. In spite of *Time's* hard-bitten realism, the "Olympic ideals" are a necessary fixture of participation in this arena, and for actually being able to gather together the international field of teams and athletes that are indispensable to the staging of the 1984 Olympics — as it is presently being conceived.

Of course it is also conceivable that international political developments could overtake the current Olympic plans and perhaps warrant any number of revisions of the proposed scenario. Certainly, these developments are occurring fast and furiously, and things have changed even since the *Nightline* show in question two weeks ago. This is why the open and blatant representatives of the U.S.'s cynical machinations — the political "realists" — will always have their opportunity to put out the hard-headed assessments of the current situation and make sure that no matter which hypocrisy is most useful at the moment, it will not be too difficult to rein it in at a given moment should the requirements change. Certainly, the U.S. will make its *final* decisions on the question of "welcoming" or "discouraging" — or perhaps even outright banning — the Soviet Olympic team based on the same calculations and assessments of the world situation. And the Soviets, for their part, are making their own calculations as well, weighing the benefits of Olympic participation against the hostile political climate in L.A., which now more than ever seems inevitable, while also trying to gauge the overall political situation and the possibilities engendered for some kind of broadly-backed boycott. After all, it is the coming demonstration of *military* superiority that all this is meant to serve — and the matter of demonstrations of "ideological superiority" must be carefully calculated, and timed, to see if they will best serve this aim. □

U.S. Invokes Marine God in Lebanon

Continued from page 5

own." What is this if not a blunt admission of the imperialist essence underlying such catch-words as "peacekeeping", and an ugly self-exposure of precisely *for whom* Lebanon is to be kept "sovereign"? And Reagan went on to explain *against whom* not only Lebanon, but the whole Middle East, must be kept "sovereign": "Can the United States or the free world for that matter stand by and see the Middle East incorporated into the Soviet bloc?" To ask the question is to answer it, eh Ron?

Of course, one would have had to spent the week on fantasy island to conclude that the issue is one of the United States standing around and merely *watching* much of anything (and the same goes for the rest of the free-worlders, especially in

Europe). The message that what's underway in and by the U.S. is very active preparations for world war has been literally bludgeoned into people's skulls from all different angles. Two incidents related to the Beirut explosion may have escaped attention, however. First, at a press conference early in the week, Reagan was asked why "more isn't being done" about the bombing. Reagan replied by suggesting that to "do more" would be to risk World War 3. (This little trick was a carbon copy of a similar Reagan remark in the wake of 007.) Only the most gullible could draw from this that the president is simply trying to "be reasonable." Instead, it is being floated for consideration, discussion and agreement that World War 3 actually is the on-

ly solution to these "Soviet assaults." Second, recall that many of the wounded marines were flown not to Israel — which is 20 minutes away — for medical help, but some eight hours away to *Germany*. Israeli medical people were astonished by this, especially since they have amassed so much experience on these particular kinds of casualties. Why Germany? Because it would illustrate the "heroic sacrifice" made by U.S. imperialist troops on behalf of the "Western democracies" and that war, not peace, is on the agenda — and all this smack in the midst of the massive anti-nuke demonstrations.

"I received a message," said Reagan Thursday night, "from the father of a marine in Lebanon. He told me: 'In a

world where we speak of human rights, there is a sad lack of responsibility. My son has chosen the acceptance of responsibility for the privilege of living in this country. Certainly, in this country, one does not inherently have rights unless the responsibility for these rights is accepted.'" "Let us," Reagan said, "meet our responsibilities."

The bombing in Beirut was catapulted into an open war cry by the U.S. imperialists. The ultimate retaliation against the "terrorists" is bound up precisely with "accepting responsibility" for the "privilege of living in this country." And the dead marines are held up both as examples of what to emulate and of what to expect. □

Over the weekend, demonstrations against the Euromissiles and against nuclear war were held in the U.S. in solidarity with those in Europe. The character of the demonstrations differed greatly from place to place; in general, many of the rallies on Saturday were billed as mass, legal gatherings, led in many cases by pro-Western social-democratic forces or pro-Soviet revisionist groupings. On Monday, by contrast, protesters in at least two places that we know of strove to mount a real challenge to the deployments and to the imperialists. At Seneca Army Depot, in Romulus, New York, a major warehouse of nuclear weaponry and target of a women's peace encampment over the summer, hundreds of people blocked gates to the base. While all fourteen gates were effectively blocked by the bulk of the demonstrators, other affinity groups fanned out and began scaling the fence and marching right in to the base. MPs in jeeps and even in helicopters charged down on people; forty to sixty people made it to the depot airstrip and sat down even as choppers flew down at them, scattering placards and clothing. Three hundred and eighty people were detained.

At the Savannah River Project (SRP) in South Carolina, a weapons-related nuclear plant, two groups of protesters blocked the gates, backing up traffic for five miles on Atomic Road, (its actual name) the main entranceway to the plant. One group of scores of women, wove themselves together with twine and blocked a roadway in the face of a show of force by South Carolina pigs. In the course of all the actions, seventy-eight were arrested. In the women's jail in Aiken, most would not cooperate, or even give names, and vowed to stay in jail at least a week. On the men's side, a teach-in was held on nuclear war and its causes, after which a group of the jailed men wrote the following statement and called it to the Revolutionary Worker from jail:

To our brothers and sisters in struggle at the frontlines of Europe from war resisters in Aiken County Jail, Aiken, South Carolina:

In solidarity with your frontline resistance to war preparations we are in jail for successfully blocking two gates of the Savannah River Plant for more than one hour, resulting in loss of manhours, disruption in production and exposure of the true nature of America's bomb plant. The SRP plant produces all the plutonium and tritium used in America's nuclear weapons. Tritium production alone produces material for one hundred and fifty A-bombs each year. Only an internationalist view can guide us in our common quest for the future.

Twelve blockaders on the men's side of the Aiken County Jail.

The following letter, also, was sent to the Revolutionary Worker by one of the demonstrators.

Saturday, October 22nd, I passed at least 100 military vehicles on I-20 while I drove from Atlanta to the protest planned that weekend at the Savannah River Project. Not sure how many or what forces were involved at the protest I had paranoid feelings that the convoy was going the same place as I was; but I was wrong at this time, the bourgeoisie already had enough forces to protect its precious bomb plant in South Carolina. The convoy must have been going to Fort Gordon in Augusta, I have been told since.

To be honest I felt confused about being at the protest. Why was I there and

what could I do to be most effective, I was wondering. Certainly I was not there just to protest the production of U.S. nuclear weapons. . . . How could I unite with an organization that seemed to me to say nonviolent, Gandhi-type tactics are the highest form of dealing with the growing threat of nuclear war (not to mention the profound conditions giving rise to that threat).

Sunday night the stage was set so I could see the terms of the protest acted out by the forces most in control, when representatives of the South Carolina governor's office, the state patrol, and law enforcement department (SLED) came to the camp and sat down with spokespeople. . . . to negotiate, feeling each other out one last time before the action took place. Both sides seemed to want the action to be smooth and painless as possible without making a complete and utter circus out of it. The South Carolina authorities asked several times where exactly we would be blockading, but, at least, they did not learn that.

At 6 a.m. Monday the affinity group started moving into position. It had been decided that only the two main gates out of five would be blockaded. The women's peace encampment blockaders had one gate to themselves as they wanted. I was a support person for the May 4th Rainbow Brigade, an affinity group comprised of a dozen actual blockaders, two support people, and followed by about four media people.

Around 7 a.m. we were driving on Highway 185, a conventional four-lane highway divided by a grass median that led to what was referred to as the Jackson Gate. Driving down one long

hill and beginning up another, we slowed down as planned, a car loaded with blockaders in each lane. When we stopped the blockaders got out, some sitting down on the road and some unfurling a long poster in three parts that said, "Stop in the name of love." It was still dark and the traffic piled up as bomb plant workers came en masse to begin their shift. Impatiently many workers drove across the median, spinning tires around the blockade, some hurling phrases out their windows. The blockaders effectively blocked traffic in three lanes and the median though aggressive drivers still made it through the fourth lane. The sight was awesome as headlights backed up on the dark highway for three miles and the blockaders stood fast, singing John Lennon's "Give Peace a Chance."

Fifteen minutes later enough cops had arrived to begin the slow process of carrying and leading the blockaders off the road. We had completely surprised them by blockading several miles from the project. When all had been arrested who were going to be arrested, I drove on up the road with the rest of the traffic until there was a complete halt in movement. The other affinity groups had blockaded nearer the plant, stopping traffic to where the workers got out of their cars and talked. After dealing with some very open hostility (my car is a statement in itself), I returned to the encampment.

At the jail in Aiken, South Carolina, the first word we heard was that bail would be set at \$20 or \$25 as predicted. Overall, 78 blockaders were arrested for disobeying an officer. An hour later bail

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Grenada

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— the incident which triggered his murder. What is quite clear is that the coup and especially the murder of Bishop — which the Cubans in particular have tried to distance themselves from — opened that "little window of opportunity" for the U.S. (as reactionary columnist George Will put it) to embark on an invasion which fit well with their overall necessity and strategy for pushing ahead their war preparations. It should also be remembered that at the time of the 007 incident, provoked by the U.S., Mr. Will barked, well "if they downed one of our planes, why don't we down one of their countries!"

Looking at it from another angle, it is also possible that given certain contradictions, the Soviets may have had their own rationale for such a scenario. If it was the case that Bishop was actually moving to switch blocs then it is conceivable that the Soviets would have summed up that their backs were against the wall and that since they were going to lose Grenada anyway, why not do it by pulling off a coup that would provoke the U.S. into invading. Perhaps the Soviets (who, like the U.S., have been playing their cards in Grenada totally in relation to global strategies of contention) summed up at a point that they'd rather lose Grenada with a bang than a whimper and maybe try to gain some ground in the international furor that would ensue when U.S. troops landed.

At any rate, speculating over who pulled the coup and who murdered Bishop is hardly the main question here and is somewhat similar to arguing over who fired the first shot in an inter-imperialist war. The key point is that these recent developments in Grenada, a coup, the establishment of a regime more closely aligned with the Soviets and the turmoil it generated both inside Grenada and internationally, added to both the necessity and to the freedom with which the U.S. was faced and it offered the perfect opportunity for the U.S. to make their move. It should be pointed out here that the U.S. did indeed have quite a bit of freedom since they were, after all, acting in what they consider their backyard — that is, in an area in which the U.S. imperialists have overwhelming political and military superiority and which is located very close to their own borders. For the U.S. imperialists it

was a cheap and easy victory — one whose impact was much more valuable than any of the costs incurred in achieving it. With the invasion underway, various U.S. mouthpieces were already arguing the old "nothing succeeds like success itself" line in order to produce the desired political gains out of all this. It should be noted that if the U.S. does indeed "succeed" in Grenada, it will be the first U.S. military victory since the invasion of the Dominican Republic in 1965. Bragging references were made continuously to this invasion including a comment by the very sophisticated Mr. Peter Jennings on ABC that the 82nd Airborne, which brought democracy to the Dominican Republic, was also bringing it to Grenada. They even sent in the "secret" Delta Blue Light unit, which is remembered for the aborted invasion of Iran, to clean up its record and get a victory under its belt. The accompanying propaganda value of such a "success" has been a loud war whoop to puff up their yahoo social base — a "battle cry", as Reagan put it in his speech Thursday night, aimed straight at the Soviets. True grit, the "Duke" rides again, and marine recruiting soars! (And they accuse us of "crude propaganda.")

Blocs of Hypocrisy

As can be expected the U.S. invasion has also given rise to unbounded heaps of nauseating imperialist hypocrisy from every quarter. First and foremost among these unmitigated hypocrites stands the U.S. itself. According to the U.S., the invasion was precipitated by the overthrow of the Bishop regime — "events that have no precedent in the Eastern Caribbean and no place in any civilized society." What more can be said other than to point out that the source of this statement is none other than the same imperialists who, over the years, have murdered and overthrown such an array of heads of state as Diem in Vietnam, Lumumba in the Congo, Allende in Chile and a legion of others throughout the world. Beyond this, U.S. imperialism's sudden concern for the Bishop regime is indeed touching — especially since the U.S. itself has bent every effort to depose Bishop and his government since it came into power in 1979. The U.S. denunciation of the people who overthrew and executed him as barbarous thugs and power-hungry assassins and madmen is also quite interesting especially coming from

those who just launched a ruthless invasion of Grenada in the style of a reactionary Hollywood war epoch. In connection with this, it is even more nauseating and somewhat amusing to hear the various hymns of praise being sung to the bravery of the big, bad U.S. Marines who invaded the tiny island of Grenada while Mr. CIA, Vice President George Bush, is hopping up and down about "cowardly terrorists" in Beirut.

The various imperialist allies of the U.S. also deserve honorable mention in the hypocrisy department. A number of them have stated their opposition to the U.S. invasion. France in particular has been most vociferous in denouncing it, even having the audacity to raise the principle of "non-intervention" as one of its grounds for opposing it — this was despite the fact that the footprints (and feet) of French paratroopers are still very much visible in the desert sands of Chad and the fact that, even as the U.S. invasion was being launched, French president Mitterand was busily declaring his determination to continue the role of French troops in the military occupation of Lebanon. Britain, on the other hand, only mildly criticized the U.S. invasion. Of course, Britain does have its own particular interests in keeping up on what happens in its former colonial empire: all of the Caribbean countries which supported the U.S. invasion of Grenada are still part of the British Commonwealth. The British were consulted on the invasion before it was launched; and, although the Thatcher government reportedly expressed reservations about the invasion and rejected participation in the "multinational" invading force, they did succeed in getting the British parliament to stop short of condemning it. They have their own imperialist invasion of the Falkland Islands on the record; and only days after the debate in Parliament, joined with the U.S., France and Italy in reaffirming their participation for the Western bloc invasion of Lebanon.

While the various Western European imperialists do have their contradictions with the U.S. imperialists — contradictions which reflect their own individual imperialist aspirations and interests — this so-called opposition to the U.S. invasion is very definitely being cast as an intra-family affair and is principally a product of the longstanding division of labor set within the bloc between the U.S.

and its Western European allies. Within this, the role of the U.S. is that of the classical "tough guy" — a role dictated both by the U.S. position as leader of the bloc and by the necessity it has to pull the bloc together on an ever-tighter war footing. For their part, the Western Europeans often play the role of the more refined and reasonable imperialists and even as un-imperialists — a role which also makes it somewhat easier for them deal with the masses of people in their respective countries.

In fact the whole terms of this recent family quarrel have been cast to try and minimize the impact of the invasion in Europe. All of these European imperialists have made it clear that nothing should stand in the way of the Pershing and cruise missiles and the strengthening of the NATO alliance. And this division of labor where the U.S. plays the part of the cowboy charging ahead, while their allies play the critics has everything to do with advancing all of these imperialists' interests and pushing ahead with their war preparations.

And at last, but certainly not least, stand the Soviets in all of their hypocritical glory. While the Soviets quickly condemned the "international banditry" of the U.S. imperialists in Grenada, they also just as quickly put the whole affair in an international context and attempted to turn it to their own advantage. Not to be outdone by the U.S., one Soviet commentator on ABC *Nightline* actually attempted to use the invasion of Grenada as a "justification" for their own "international banditry" in places like Afghanistan and Ethiopia. And it is also well worth noting that in the wake of the U.S. invasion of Grenada the Soviets quickly removed the black hat that they have worn so proudly during the arms negotiations and offered up a new and more "flexible" peace proposal which was deliberately timed to try to press their own interests in Western Europe and put the whole thing clearly in the context of world war.

All in all the events concentrated in Grenada over the last week or so hold many important and valuable lessons. In a very real sense, they outline the shape of things to come and they should be recognized as such.

WORLD REVOLUTION, NOT WORLD WAR! □

West German Week of Resistance

Continued from page 9

only be what the protagonists of the peace movement have written on their banners, but also how W. Germany tolerates this showdown, the greatest challenge since the founding of the republic. Never yet have the governed so massively opposed the governors. Never yet has a protest movement put the political establishment under so much pressure, that it now brings the entire system into question."

While the system itself is hardly being questioned to the extent implied by *Der Spiegel*, it is quite true that the sharpening of the conjuncture of the world imperialist crisis has definitely concentrated some of its contradictions on the W. German faultline, and what masses of W. German people would have accepted without blinking an eye only several years ago today produces a massive outpouring of protest. Even the bourgeois press in W. Germany admits that two thirds of the population is opposed to the missiles, including even supporters of the conservative Christian Democratic ruling party.

For the future, the *Economist* of Great Britain made some suggestions on imperialist strategy. In its October 8 issue, the magazine explored "the best way of dividing and disarming the anti-nuclear campaign," which it said would be to "go on producing practical proposals at the two Geneva negotiations, at the Vienna talks on cutting ordinary armies..." and so on.

It was a truly blatant explanation of imperialism's "peace wars." Their purpose is nothing but a diversion to cover the actual escalation of war preparations. Within the "two-track" strategy, it is the negotiations track that covers the missile emplacement track. But at all cost, to defeat the effect of the anti-missile movement people must be won to believe in and hope for the negotiations track. And their energies must be preoccupied with the merits and defects of the myriad of new disarmament plans that will be floated out as fast as both blocs can dream them up.

The W. German imperialist rulers, unlike their Soviet counterparts, are, however, deeply encumbered at the moment by their own highly organized peace movement, and this represents a problem that no flurry of peace proposals can resolve in the short-run. This was made

clear by the failure of W. German Foreign Minister Genscher to bring back so much as a stuffed peace dove from his two-day talks with Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko on the eve of the national anti-nuke actions. In fact, the Soviets used the occasion to tighten the screws on the W. German leaders by repeatedly threatening to pull out of the missile talks if W. Germany allows the implementation of the U.S. missiles. A distinct switch from the "walk in the woods" atmosphere of a few months ago, and distinctly in line with Soviet policy to disrupt the U.S.-W. German military alliance to the max. (Editor's note: our dispatch predated the most recent turn back to a pose of "flexibility" by the Soviets in the talks.)

Thus the newly-created situation is producing yet another contortion in W. German domestic politics. In the middle of the national week of actions, SPD chairman and former chancellor Willy Brandt announced that he would accept an invitation to be a principal speaker in the culminating rally in Bonn on October 22, and would speak against the missiles. This, by the chairman of the party which first proposed the stationing of the U.S. missiles, which held power in W. Germany when the decision was made, and which still today is officially on record in support of the missiles! This slick move had the immediate effect of focusing media attention of the final rallies on a major spokesman of the bourgeoisie, while unleashing a storm of controversy within the already divided anti-missile movement. For the SPD and DKP part of the spectrum, it was a dream come true. At last, the mainstream! A sure sign that the all-party unity over the missiles was breaking up. A victory for the movement. The Greens, by contrast, were horrified. If the SPD now picked up the anti-missile flag, what would happen to the Green party? The SPD would eat up its social base and knock them out of parliament by pushing them below the 5%-of-the-vote threshold. Thus with two speakers from the Greens already scheduled for the Bonn rally, the Greens announced that they would whistle Brandt off the stage (the German equivalent of booing), while for the more militant wing of the opposition, the appearance of Brandt in stage center of the anti-missile rally was only a disgusting

confirmation of the bankruptcy of politics-as-usual on the eve of imperialist world war.

Brandt's move was indeed a well thought out one, approved by a meeting of the SPD presidium. Now out of the government, the SPD has the freedom to make such a move which would have absolutely no effect on the decisions already made. An SPD congress slated for mid-November will most likely approve the new line. The official explanation for the about-face will be that the SPD originally only agreed to the missiles as one track of a two-track policy — the missiles would supposedly force the Soviets to bargain for mutual reductions in the second track of negotiations. But now with the negotiations having gone nowhere, there is a pretext to backtrack. By the time the SPD official machinery endorses the new line, of course, the missiles will be in and the SPD — not the Greens — will be the voice of "responsible opposition."

This is admitted in a column by the *N.Y. Times*' Bonn correspondent, James Markham, who reported that "in private, some party leaders (of the SPD — RW) have reassured inquiring Western diplomats and others that the Social Democrats' turbulence is just a 'tactical' shift to embrace, smother, and eliminate the bothersome Green Party. Once this historic task is accomplished, they say, the party will move back to a pro-alliance position..." For the party which, under then Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, actually proposed the missiles in the first place, this would be entirely plausible and not the first time the SPD has made a complete about-face in order to accommodate political winds and the hard realities of holding power in an imperialist country. At the same time, there is a sharp note of worry in the Markham article and elsewhere that the SPD, a major participant in W. German ruling circles, has taken a position opposing the deployments for any reason. The development cannot help but underline the seriousness of the situation in the country.

The rally at Bonn is, however, only one of four rallies planned for that day. This decision to culminate the week in four rallies rather than one represents a major compromise by the protest week leadership. One problem thrashed out behind closed doors was that having one big rally

would bring millions to one place and thereby create too much freedom for the Autonomen, Chaoten, and Spontis to seize the initiative. Second, having demos in Hamburg and Bonn takes some of the force away from the planned demos in South Germany at Stuttgart (headquarters of U.S. strikeforces in Europe) and Neu-Ulm (one of the first Pershing II missile sites). The prospects of hundreds of thousands of W. German youth overrunning a U.S. installation conjured up one of the bourgeoisie's worst-case scenarios: GIs opening fire on W. German citizens.

Thus in the South, the plans call for a "human chain" to stretch from Stuttgart to Neu-Ulm, effectively dispersing the demonstration across 100 kilometers of countryside! In hyping the South German action, the conservative sections of the movement and the bourgeois press have tried to create a whole air of expectation over the human chain. Will they make it? Can it be done? And groups from all over W. Germany are assigned their respective kilometers around the route (according to zip codes!) with runners riding back and forth to smooth out the line.

Of course, not everybody is buying these plans. In Hamburg the militants have shifted the focus of the action to a blockade of the jingoist Springer publishing plant, W. Germany's most infamous reactionary voice, to block the delivery of Germany's largest Sunday paper. The group calling for this action is using the slogan "War Preparations also take place in the Head." While this action is attracting militants from all over North Germany, the SPD and the revisionist DKP have come out against it. The DKP denounced it as being "against the people, sectarian, and aimed against the workers at Springer." (Once again we must thank the stalwart burghers of the DKP for explicating their unfeeling support of the established social order under the thinnest of economist pretexts!)

In the South, most militant forces are making tracks for the blockade of the Wiley Barracks in Neu-Ulm. While in Berlin yet another round of actions is planned.

12:30 am, Oct. 22

News From the Frontlines

Continued from page 8

whether the box was guilty or not.

The next day we spoke to a lawyer. After getting a runaround from customs, he called them. A short time later he had spoken with them and he let us know that our box had "been sent to court." So we went out to the customs office to wait for the verdict. Eventually the officials came out and told us the box had come back from the Stadtbau (City Hall) and it could go now. Perhaps they had decided that the nature of democracy in West Germany was becoming too clear these days to add the additional exposure of deporting a box of books belonging to the World Without Imperialism Contingent. They undoubtedly expect other opportunities to deal with us in the future.

Report No. 3 — 10/25/83 Contingent

Friends in Hamburg had arranged for us to speak at a rally prior to one of the theater marches that was to join the mass demonstration. When we arrived one of the rally organizers came over wanting to see our speeches. He immediately said we could not use the word "imperialism." He said the speeches had to be kept apolitical, otherwise they would have to allow every viewpoint to be represented. Over the next four hours, we argued our point. Each time we destroyed one of his objections he raised another and he kept trying to pass the buck.

When we arrived at the rally we were accompanied by two advanced anarchists who had translated our speech into German for us. The organizer said we could not speak, giving as a reason that there was supposed to be 50 of us there and

there were only eight (note — the Contingent split up for three different rallies). We were offered use of a soundtruck by our friends, and the anarchists wanted to agitate about how the organizers were hiding the truth. Also we learned the organizers were with the social democrats and the pro-Soviet Communist Party. We did get a very enthusiastic response from the anarchist agitation and from our speeches, from a crowd of about 500 people who listened to us.

We think it was very significant that these anarchists went to such trouble to help us. They really agreed with what we were saying about war and imperialism.

There are a lot of anarchists in West Germany. We talked with one who was a peace movement organizer for six years. He thought there is no proletariat in West Germany, and that the petty bourgeois peace movement had to get control of the government one way or another. They agreed that imperialism was the source of the problem but did not want to deal with it, they were focused on the immediate problem of the missiles, using "time" as the reason for this. They hoped that the more advanced peace movement would now turn away from civil disobedience toward direct action.

That night we entered a very different terrain, a blockade of the Springer group of newspapers, which are big promoters of reaction. This was organized primarily by anarchists, the alternative Green Party, and autonomous groups. The official peace movement, like the SPD, did not take part in the blockade. About one thousand people set up blockades at eight points to keep the Springer trucks from delivering the Sunday papers. By accident rather than design we ended up where the

police used force to bring the trucks through. We handed out flyers and people read them. The police eventually used water cannons to disperse the crowd. The crowd however would disperse to avoid the water and then regroup to reform the blockade. We continued to leaflet and got very positive responses. One of the chants at the Springer blockade was "German weapons and money go to murder around the world." People were very interested in our anti-imperialism.

Another thing was that we had a meeting with a group of Turkish workers and our impressions of them were that they were very advanced, they asked real crucial questions about what it takes to overthrow imperialism, were real curious about conditions in the U.S. and the possibilities of any sort of end to the bourgeois government in the U.S. They were real interested and real supportive of our contingent.

Euromissiles Catch Flak in U.S.

Continued from page 13

was officially set at \$110.25 per person, throwing off many who were not prepared for it. Outside the jail we congested the sidewalk, one man doing Yoga exercises, some of us learning a song from one of the women from the Seneca Falls Encampment last summer. Finally a big fat pig, the kind we are used to in the South, waddled out and cleared the sidewalk.

I hung around the parking lot with a friend and we were approached by SLED officers in their army green uniforms. We talked politics, hampered somewhat by their guns and the proximity of their jail. These were a young, lean breed of piggles, one who said he fought in Vietnam, lamenting the lack of support at that time of the American public. He pointed at the red handkerchief hanging out my chest pocket and informed me that 50,000 Americans had

died in Vietnam. I asked him how he felt about the two million Vietnamese who also died. "Good," he said, "I wish it had been 20 million." That attitude seemed to sum up what we have to deal with and the social political base of such areas as the bomb plant. Several people I was with said that they saw signs of some workers who waved or gave the old peace sign. I'm sorry to say that was not my experience.

Frustration and anger were the feelings I went home with. Also I held the image of the blockade I had supported and felt that image multiplied by 10 or 100 was the future held in store. I imagine some of the workers and law officials might have sensed that number also.

A Reader

The Western Press examines the peace movement

Now Here is One Self-Serving Diagnosis!

Inside West Germany, debate raged. Spilling even onto the pages of the bourgeois mass-circulation weeklies, the questions flowed: what impact, what direction from here? Outside West Germany, though, the public opinion-making machines churned out a somewhat different product: a loud pronouncement that the peace movement was dead on arrival.

Already on Monday, the *New York Times* had a ready assessment that the "autumn of protests may not live up to its advance billing," and, as for the Greens, "Mr. Kohl's steady support for the United States missiles was spreading despondency among their supporters." As a major piece of evidence, the *Times* cited the confrontation at Ramstein Air Force Base described in the accompanying dispatch, leaving no trace in its grossly distorted picture of the massive display of force by riot police at Ramstein, and didn't care to mention either that the action was thereafter shifted to Miesau, but reported instead that the protest "was disbanded a day early for want of supporters."

By the weekend, of course, with over a million people jamming the streets of Bonn, Hamburg, West Berlin, Stuttgart, and Neu Ulm, there could not be the same crowding over lack of numbers, but instead the house organs strenuously pointed to the respectability, nonviolence, and above all, the *futility* of the protests: "The demonstrations, of course, will not stop the deployment," *Newsweek* casually announced. Newspapers were filled with "the carnival-like atmosphere" of the demonstrations, of protestors consorting with cops; interviews were chosen to show German people as fearful of nuclear war but not, at heart, opposed to America and the West. Nowhere during the week were people outside West Germany informed about events such as those we have described, with the exception of some secondary mention of events at Bremerhaven. And after the weekend, of course, with other points in the world flaming violently, it was almost as if the demonstrations had never happened.

The tactics of the imperialists were best capsulized by *Der Spiegel's* soul-mate in England, *The Economist*, in its October 8 issue: "So the missiles will move in, unless something goes wrong, over the dead body of the anti-nuclear movement. The next question is how long the body

will take to resurrect itself. The anti-nuclear movement is now arguing about where it goes from here...." *The Economist* then goes on to outline the political task at hand as one of winning back the middle forces who have been influenced by the anti-missile forces' arguments. "...the chief answer to the persuuable middle-grounders has to be that arms-control talks can actually bring arms under control.... The best way of dividing and disarming the anti-nuclear campaign is to go on producing practical proposals at the two Geneva missile negotiations, at the Vienna talks on cutting ordinary armies, in the arguments about chemical war and the military competition in space. But be patient. The Russians, unencumbered by their own organized 'peace' movements, can afford to play it long."

That certainly helps to put the divisions within the West German peace movement in some perspective. Overwhelmingly, the austere burghers of the opposition, along with the aspect of "balloons and nonviolence" as one young protestor sneered, have been granted legitimacy and the world spotlight, precisely because, as the *N.Y. Times* straightforwardly put it at the end of the week, these politics "fail to shake the country's foundations." They are politics based on the "middle-grounders," who are, as one U.S. newspaper analyzed, "in the main middle-class schoolteachers, university students, and tenured bureaucrats," that is, the young of the petty bourgeoisie, and these are classes who, though genuinely outraged, are filled with illusions, including especially the view that, at least in the democratic West, they will get a hearing by the powers that be. Thus *The Economist* advocates that even more in the endless train of "arms reductions proposals" be aimed at this class.

Nevertheless, the fact is that the breadth of opposition to the Pershing and cruise deployments, ranging widely into these strata of "middle-grounders," is one indication that, in reality, the Euro-missile opposition is by no means a dead body at this point, that there is a large section of the German masses that is surely "persuable" by the imperialists but is not, in fact, all wrapped up by them, and that these exist alongside other uncontrolled sections of the masses. The situation is still, right now, open and fluid. For one thing, the NATO powers are now poised to deliver a grand lesson in democ-

racy; everything's been heartily debated and the movement has had its say, now stand aside all you bleeding-hearts, 'cause the almighty missiles are a-goin' in! (The first cruises may be delivered as early as November 1, at Britain's Greenham Commons.) On the very day of the mass protests, Saturday, Reagan avidly defended this democratic process by blasting the Soviet Union who, he said, "exploits peace demonstrations in the West but brutally puts down any demonstration for reduced weaponry in its own country." Isn't it wonderful to live in a system where one can debate the new weapons of war *before* they are rammed down your throat? For another thing, the unfinished business of deployment and its opposition must be seen on the background of events in the Caribbean and the Middle East and, indeed, the world as a whole. In the short-run, for example, there is the clear possibility that resistance to the missiles in Europe could become a focus of sharp opposition to imperialism's bloody actions elsewhere. The Soviet response to the deployments, about which the Soviets are still playing coy, will also obviously condition the way things go down in the immediate future. In the broader picture, not only will the Euro-missile crisis be affected by world events, but it will itself become, and be consciously used as, a factor in the murderous global chessboard of confrontation between the U.S. and Soviet Union now heating up so rapidly.

This is really the only way to explain a statement on the medium-range missile talks by Yuri Andropov only a day after the invasion of Grenada and smack in the midst of the fighting. The statement was played by much of the Western press as just another hard-line threat to break off the talks, but this was a deliberate distortion. In a switch typical of both blocs, the Andropov statement, when read a bit more closely, is plainly an attempt at showing "flexibility" again in the talks. Since the 007 incident the Soviets have, of course, been hunkered down, unmoving and indeed hinting that they would soon depart. And while the threat to quit the talks is repeated this week (and no doubt is serious), the bulk of Andropov's talk is made up of three concessionary "additional steps," as he put it: first, that the Soviets would reduce their European-based SS-20's to 140; second, a reiteration that the Soviets would reduce their SS-20 arsenal by destroying the missiles

rather than moving them west of the Urals; and third, offering flexibility on the part of the talks concerning nuclear-capable medium-range bombers.

None of these are earthshaking compromises. The most sensitive issue touched, that of the question of French and British missiles, drops the projected Soviet totals to a figure somewhat less than the 162 missiles now deployed by France and Britain together. But the SS-20's are mounted with three warheads apiece, while the older French and British weapons have one each — Soviet firepower would still not "match" the Europeans as it claims. (From the U.S. point of view, even an *equitable* proposal to "match" Soviet missiles to French and British totals will be turned down for many reasons — not the least of which is that the Europeans intend to expand and modernize their forces drastically soon, and the Soviets would thus be free to "match" the burgeoning European nuclear stockpiles!)

The more interesting switcheroo by Andropov is the suddenly expressed willingness to compromise...oh, the acrobatics these imperialists will perform to exploit the moves of the other, in order to pin those nasty rival imperialists with the label of aggressor, the one who will be responsible for shooting first when the real deal goes down! Only a few days before, when the 007 was "linked" to every world issue in sight, the roles were completely reversed — but that's the name of the peace-talks game. With the Grenada invasion front and center, it is apparently time for another quick change of principles by the Soviets.

What stands out at the moment is that the crisis of the missile deployments is being played out, not as the result of an arms race "with its own insane, self-destructive logic," but on a global field of warfare and imperialist contention which has for the moment pushed the missile news to the back pages. It is a striking vindication of the fact that the nuclear confrontation is an extension of the imperialist politics now being demonstrated so rapaciously in the Middle East and the Caribbean and is not something separate. And it is events in the furthest reaches of the globe which — contrary to the confident bluster of the imperialists and their press — make for the continued volatility of the missile crisis in Europe. □

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FOR A HARVEST OF DRAGONS

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

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

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

By Bob Avakian

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

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

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

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

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