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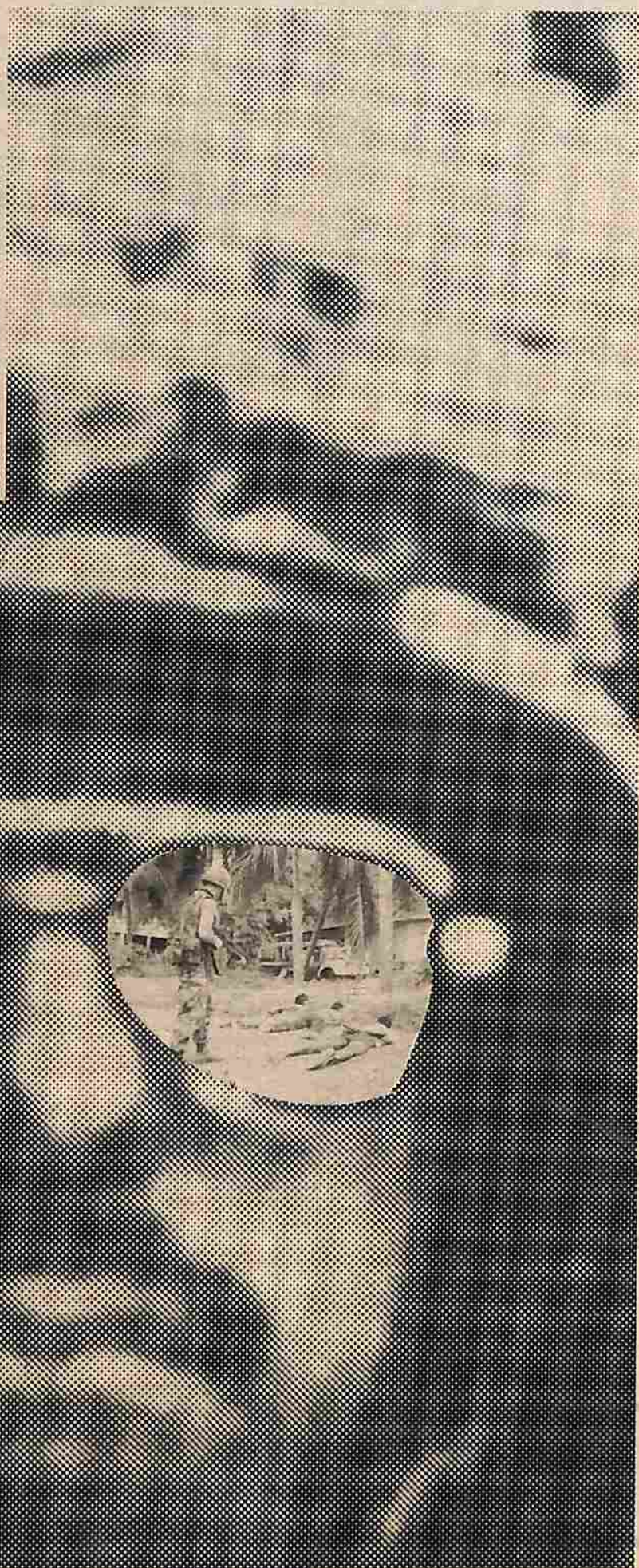


GRENADA: THE BLOODY BUSINESS OF POWER PROJECTION

Nine days after U.S. marines and army paratroopers stormed ashore, the U.S. government has announced that the fighting in Grenada is over. Of the more than 6000 troops that took part in the invasion (actually, it has been revealed over the course of the last week that there were altogether about 20,000 U.S. troops stationed in the area and ready for possible use), 1900 marines were withdrawn and sent on their way to Beirut, although they did take a quick detour in order to rampage through the tiny Grenadan island of Carriacou. Soldiers from the 82nd Airborne have been sent in to replace the marines and Army Rangers — actually to occupy the country for an unspecified period of time. By November 3, the U.S. government had announced that the occupying force was being reduced — possibly to 3000 by the end of the week. Of course, these forces will be replaced by yet another “peacekeeping force.” In fact, there are already a couple of different proposals about just who this peacekeeping force should be composed of — policemen from the various Caribbean islands or a paramilitary force composed of police and troops from the British Commonwealth nations. Interestingly enough, the Commonwealth nations have already announced that if they are chosen they would prefer to be called a “policing force” since “peacekeeping” implies that they would have to engage in battle.

All of this is possible because, as we have been told so endlessly since the invasion began, a state of normalcy has been returned to Grenada — the “madmen”

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The Parrottroopers and the Censors



The parrottroopers of the free press apparently had their beaks bent out of shape by the "unprecedented restrictions" placed on them during the U.S. invasion of Grenada. No sooner had the media initially been barred from the island than the editors of the country's most prestigious newspapers like the *Washington Post* and *New York Times*, the heads of the major TV networks, and others fired off "stiff protests" to the government. *Time* magazine called the exclusion of reporters "an outrage to press freedom" and noted ominously that even during the Thatcher government's severe restrictions on British journalists covering the Falklands War, at least newsmen were allowed to "accompany the task force and go in with the first troops. Says ABC vice president David Burke: 'And they don't even have a First Amendment!' U.S. journalists do...."

By late last week, this furor was even being aired before a House subcommittee. Among other notables, NBC's John Chancellor blasted the restrictions: "We are frustrated because we were not able to do the reporting job the public expects of us." Our men died in Grenada for American values, he went on, and "One of those values is the right of the citizenry to know what their government is doing and to learn that from a free and independent press."

Now right there, considering events at hand, you've got to begin to wonder — not to mention begin to gain some appreciation of — the nature of this protest. Among those things dutifully reported by these warriors of freedom was that at the beginning of the invasion the call to arms being broadcast over Radio Grenada was forcibly terminated by U.S. forces and replaced by pre-recorded tapes which announced the "liberation" of the island and threatened, "Do not hinder our efforts to stabilize your nation." Understandably, this particular "restriction" on freedom of the press elicited no protest from the anchormen on the floor of Congress or anywhere else! The question, evidently, has a class character.

Besides, the dispute has largely boiled down to media complaints that the U.S. case could have better been made *with their help*. Parrotting the State Department line, they seem to be saying, is easier from the perch, so to speak. Reflecting on U.S. assurances that the Cubans were turning Grenada into a "military fortress," *Time* magazine pointed out that "Eyewitness reports from correspondents might have made that claim quickly convincing." Similarly, one well-known reporter who had joined the clamor against the restrictions, pointedly remarked that after finally being allowed onto the island, and searching high and low, "I couldn't find a single Grenadan who didn't welcome the Americans." Praise be to the first amendment. "This nation," said Walter Cronkite, Dean of the American newsmen, "is founded on the belief that people have a right to know and that we participate in our govern-

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OVERRULE THIS, MOTHERFUCKER

If Our Party Didn't Take
An Internationalist Stand
It Wouldn't Be Worth A Damn
And I Wouldn't Be Worth Defending

by Bob Avakian

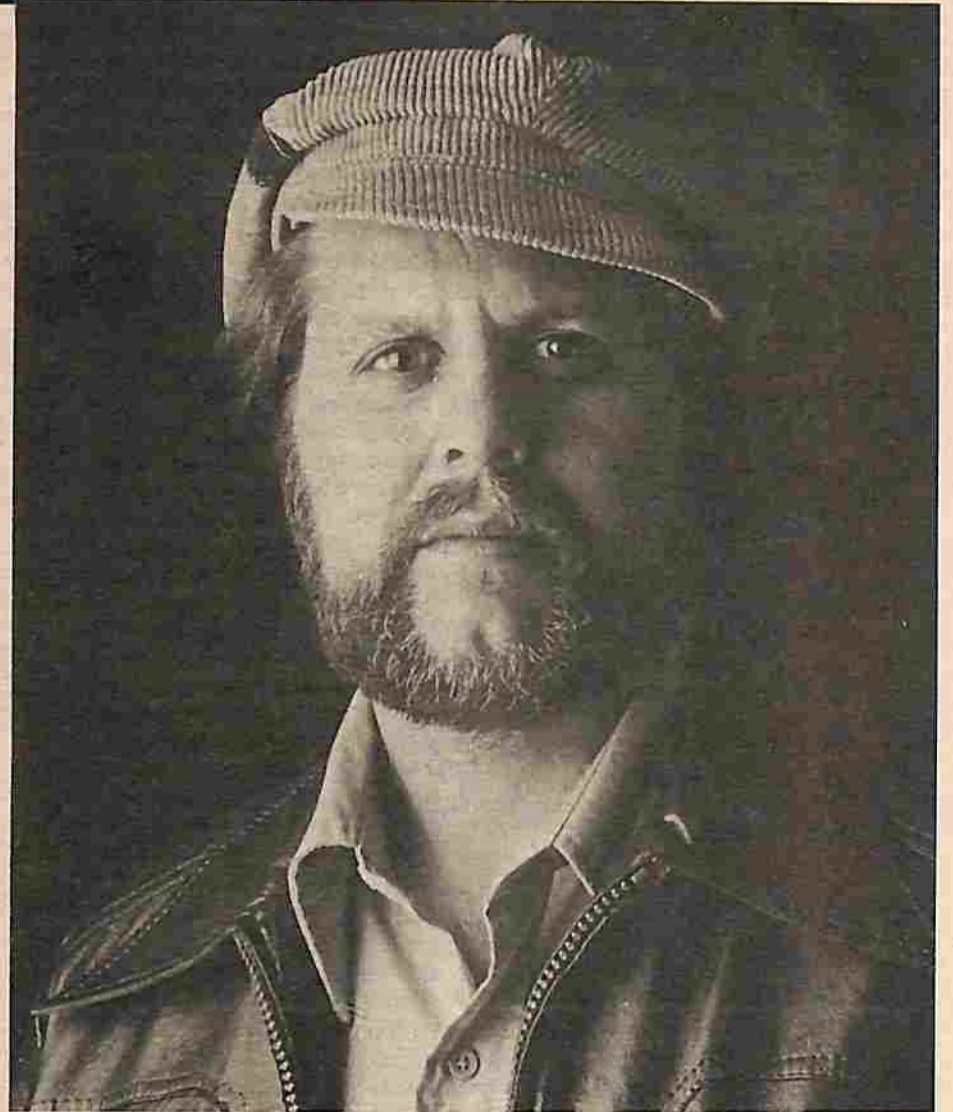
Beginning with this issue the RW will be printing a series of substantial excerpts from material compiled from the speaking tour by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the RCP, USA, in 1979, soon after which he was forced into a situation where he could not speak publicly and even had to become an exile in France. Some of the material in this series (including the segment in this issue) has been published before but much of it has not previously appeared in print. While there have been important developments in the world in the four years since that tour (including important changes in Iran, with which this first segment deals), those developments have represented precisely an intensification and heightening of the questions and contradictions focused on by Bob Avakian in the speeches, interviews and more informal talks and discussions from which this material is taken. What is striking and what is driven home very sharply in reading this material is on the one hand how well it stands up — not only in terms of the basic outlook and general programmatic thrust presented but also in its more specific insights and analysis, especially concerning the character of the present decade as one marked by the conflict between the trends of world war and revolution and how the "normal" routine and framework will be shattered, bringing forth unprecedented challenges and opportunities — and on the other hand how crucial it is precisely as this unfolds, indeed is accelerated and accentuated, approaching an explosion of worldwide dimensions, that the deadly serious attempts of the imperialists to silence this voice and rob the revolutionary movement of this leadership be decisively defeated. — ed.

Now in connection with our effort to beat back the current attack on our party, some people out of good intentions, as well as some out of bad, have raised: "Well, this Iran thing is kind of hot, you know; there may be some people who support you, but if you raise this Iran thing there will be a lot of controversy; a lot of people don't understand it, a lot of people are being dragged along with this backward garbage, and maybe it would be better if you cooled out your stand on Iran right now. Maybe it would be better if you didn't bring this up and stand firmly with the Iranian people now." There are some people, from a well-intentioned position, who are falling into the pragmatic error of looking only in the most narrow and separate ways at different struggles of people, not seeing the common thread that runs through them, and not seeing the common enemy we have to go up against. They are falling into the trap of the enemy's thinking and not understanding that the masses of people in this country can be won over to the correct understanding of the heroic role of the Iranian people's struggle and can be won to stand firmly in unity with them.

I'm going to say one thing to the ruling class of this country and to anyone who, out of bad intentions and in order to serve them, is trying to tell our party through intimidation or any other method that we should not stand with the masses of Iranian people. I'm going to say one thing to anyone like that, trying to tell me that in response to the need to carry forward this battle to stop this railroad and to beat back these attacks on our party, trying to tell me or trying to tell us that we should not stand shoulder to shoulder with the Iranian people in this country as well as in Iran: If anybody thinks that, *they can kiss my ass.*

I'm going to tell you something: if our party did not take the stand that it took in complete solidarity with the revolutionary struggle of the Iranian people; if we became narrow and selfishly concerned only about our own party and the immediate battles we are involved in, or narrowly concerned with the situation of the people in this country; if we began to view the struggle we are involved in only from the standpoint of the immediate effect of things on the people in this country; if we didn't raise up the banner of our class — the international working class's stand on its whole world view of proletarian internationalism — of standing with, supporting, and fighting shoulder to shoulder with the working class and oppressed people in every part of the world, especially, most especially where they rise up and deliver powerful blows against the very enemies that are crushing and degrading us here, as well as people all around the world; if our party took that kind of stand, if we did not completely and wholeheartedly stand with the people of the whole world, and if we did not go out and struggle and bring forward the masses of people to take that stand — our party wouldn't be worth a damn and I wouldn't be worth defending.

I want to tell you something else. I remember 15 years ago when people, including myself, were beginning to become aware of what was really going on in Vietnam. We were going out to start trying to struggle with people and educate



them about that. And by the way, those who were involved remember, or should remember, and those of you who are new should know that it was not all the way it was in 1969 and 1970 when you had marches of a couple of million people against the Vietnam War. Back in 1963, '64, and '65 when five or ten or twenty thousand people went out to march and demonstrate against the war in Vietnam, people came out there and raised a lot of the same reactionary racist chauvinist horseshit that is being raised right now. They'd say, "Goddamn traitors." They'd take the American flag and wave it in your face and say, "Kiss this." And you had to tell them what they could kiss in return.

They'd call you traitor, they'd throw oranges or garbage at you, they'd spit at you — everything that is going on right now. Yet we were able to win millions to support the Vietnamese people because that did correspond to the actual fundamental interests of the masses of people in this country. If we didn't win them, on one level or another we influenced the great majority of people to have a better understanding of the Vietnam War, and on that basis many stood clearly in support of the Vietnamese peoples' struggle. The same thing is going to happen around Iran and every other place where these vicious imperialists attempt to carry out their oppression and exploitation.

I remember in those days, 15 years ago, when we were first taking up the question of Vietnam, taking it out to the students and taking it out off campus and into the communities to the masses of people in this country — that was an unpopular position. I remember when you got up to speak, the same thing that is happening now was happening then. Here would come all these silly frat-rats and jocks running up there with the American flag trying to act all big and bad. And no matter what else happened, one thing you could count on when there was a group of Iranian students on that campus — if nobody else on the entire campus stood with you, stood up in the face of those reactionaries, and stood squarely with the Vietnamese people and other oppressed people in the struggle against imperialism all around the world — the Iranian students did, and we will never forget that.

There is nothing they can do to make us forget that or to make us forget our duty to the whole international working class, to our class brothers and sisters and the oppressed people throughout the world. If they think that we are going to stand by and watch them whip up this reactionary chauvinist hysteria — all these neanderthal clowns coming out from under their rocks in various parts of the country, CIA agents and FBI agents posing as normal people — if they think that we are going to stand by while they try to initiate these pogroms against the Iranian people, try to institute this persecution of the Iranian students here, try to force them all to come under even more vicious repression at the hands of the state and the imperialist ruling class that put the Shah into

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Overrule This

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power in the first place, if they think for a minute that we are going to stand by and let this happen, they got another think coming. They can kiss my ass once again because it's never going to happen. . . .

Pushed Around Too Long?!!

Think about it; you don't have to think too long once you become awake and begin to have a scientific view of the world. Here you have the greatest criminals in the history of the whole world — the ruling class of this country which is responsible for the suffering, misery, and the deaths of tens and hundreds of millions of people all over the world. Responsible for those they have murdered outright in their wars of plunder, those they have sent off to fight and be killed to try to preserve their system, and those they condemn day in and day out to the slow grinding agony of suffering from starvation and disease all over the world, wherever they extend their bloody tentacles. Literally — and it is no exaggeration to say — the lives of hundreds of millions of people have been wrecked and mangled and destroyed by these greatest of all criminals in the whole history of the world. And here they have the nerve to come out before the people of this country and to come out in front of the whole world with the blood of millions and tens and hundreds of millions of people all over their hands and the blood of their victims literally dripping down their bloodthirsty fangs. Here they have the *nerve* to come out and talk about, "We've been pushed around too long. We are not going to stand for this any longer — the Americans have just been pushed around too long. No, no, we are not imperialists. We are not imperialists and we will not be pushed around."

This is nothing but straight-up gangster logic, that's all it is. It says the imperialists, the exploiters and the oppressors have the right to do anything they want to do, so long as they can do it, to their victims all over the world. But it says the oppressed people, the people they have been victimizing for decades, lifetimes, and centuries, those people have no right to rise up and fight back against it. As for the question of whether they have been pushed around too long: They haven't been pushed nearly enough and they haven't seen anything compared to what we and the people all over the world are going to do to them.

Imagine that. Imagine the most monstrous criminals in the history of the whole world talking about the fact that they have been pushed around too long, that they've got to draw the line somewhere. But they have a purpose in all this, they have a reason for all this. They are not just lashing out blindly, they are not just striking back in rage. They have a very clear political and ideological purpose in all this: they are preparing the masses of people in this country. By whipping up the reactionary sentiments and the reactionary movements among the social base of people they can unleash behind this bloody red, white and blue, they are trying to create public opinion and to create the kind of reactionary frenzy among sections of the American people who in the short run will support them if they feel that they have to go in and attempt to pull off a reactionary invasion or reactionary coup in Iran. In the short run that is precisely what they are trying to prepare people for, soften up people for, and brainwash people into supporting.

You see some of this right around here. They've got all these marine bases here and they put the officers and some of the rest all over the news. They're building up all these "typical American citizens" — marine sergeants and drill instructors wearing T-shirts with a picture of a machine gun pointed at the head of an Iranian that says, "How much did you say the oil costs now?" But our rulers have a problem here. They have brainwashed and drugged these people they have trained to be their military enforcers. They have shown them too many John Wayne movies, trying to bury and forget what happened to them in Vietnam. The people that these imperialists have trained are swollen and arrogant enough to believe that they can just go over to Iran, parachute some elite division or land the marines, and all the Iranian people will say, "We're sorry, please forgive us," and they will fall down on their knees and beg for mercy. I've got news for you: It's never going to happen!

In fact we were talking, half-jokingly, about maybe calling a press conference and making an announcement to all these frustrated would-be John Waynes, inside and outside the military. We would announce that if they were so bad, if they were so determined to go over there and do something with the Iranian people, then we would arrange for transportation for them to go over there — because they would learn something very profound. Reality would be brought home to them real quick. All the John Wayne movies would go out of focus right away because they would find that imperialism, and especially the imperialist rulers of this country, can no longer bully their way around the world. They still have *some* room to do it, but especially in the face of a politically aware and aroused people, as the Iranian people are increasingly becoming, they can't bully their way around.

The revolution in Iran is not finished yet. The leadership and government controlled by Khomeini have to be broken through and broken beyond in order for that revolution to thoroughly destroy the stranglehold of imperialism and move on to abolish all forms of exploitation and oppression in Iran together with the oppressed people and the working class throughout the world. But the Iranian people have been aroused in struggle. They have stood up to the most vicious, murderous repression where the Shah in one weekend alone — this poor pitiful, sick cancerous creature — sent out his armed forces with U.S.

equipment (U.S. tanks and U.S. machine guns) and in one city alone murdered ten thousand people in cold blood. Still that could not stop the surging tide of the Iranian people's struggle. For everyone who fell, ten more came forward to take their place, and they went forward from unarmed struggle to taking up arms and striking powerful blows to drive the Shah out, striking tremendous blows against these imperialist bastards.

So if you think you're just going to go on over to Iran and the people there are all going to fall down on their knees and ask to be enslaved once again — those millions of people who went into the streets and put their lives on the line and hundreds of thousands who haven't shed their blood to advance the Iranian revolution this far only to see the chains of imperialism fastened back more tightly on them once again — you go ahead and see what happens. The same thing that happened in Vietnam will happen on an even broader scale. A lot of these troops they are preparing to send over there (if the ruling class thinks that they have to and that they can), a lot of these chumps and fools who think they want to go over there and act so bad, if they do go, they will find an aroused Iranian people. They will get their ass kicked and that will be the beginning of their education.

At the same time we are not just leaving it up to the Iranian people to wage the struggle. Especially living in this country in the very belly of this beast, being right where they have their foundation and stand to reach and stretch their tentacles all over the world, our party recognizes that the working class in this country cannot allow these reactionary dogs and deathbed clowns (like George Meany, the chump Gleason in New Jersey, or even the so-called "progressive" leaders of the ILWU in the Bay Area) to speak for us. They have the nerve to talk about how they represent the American working class in taking a stand with these imperialist dogs against the struggle of the Iranian people. We have to go out to educate, mobilize, arouse and bring forward the actions of thousands and tens of thousands and more of the American people to stand shoulder to shoulder with the Iranian people in the common struggle against our common imperialist and reactionary enemy. And that's exactly what we're going to do. That's exactly what we're already doing, and nobody and nothing can make us back up off it.

They are not just trying to whip up reactionary hysteria, racist and chauvinist frenzy, for the immediate purpose of preparing the conditions to reinstate the fascist dictatorship with or without the Shah of Iran, to pull a coup in Iran, or even outright military intervention. More than that they are right now utilizing the situation in Iran — what they've whipped up and the calculated moves they've made, *knowing* that the Iranian people would fight back against the outrage of bringing the Shah here — they are right now trying to whip up this hysteria and frenzy in preparation for marching the people of this country off for the next bloodthirsty imperialist war, World War 3. Right now they are trying to divert the anger of the masses of people in this country at the increased suffering they are going through onto our comrades and friends, our allies and brothers and sisters in other countries, to divert it away from the *real* cause of our misery and suffering which is this ruling class that preys on us and the people of Iran and people all around the world. . . .

Middle Ages

Now I saw some of those reactionary clowns out there, and I remember one woman in particular. You know, the Pat Nixon model — face frozen in a pitiful, forlorn, zombie-like look. She had the nerve to hold up a sign that said, "Iranians go home to the Middle Ages where you belong." I feel quite confident in saying that this woman (or at least people like her), only about a month ago, was down on her knees slobbering at the feet of the major monument to the Middle Ages and the Dark Ages in the whole world — the pope. She's got the *nerve* to talk about how the Iranian people should go back to the Middle Ages where they belong when she undoubtedly (and others like her for sure) was out slobbering and kissing the ring — if not other things — of this major and leading representative of superstition and ignorance in the *entire world*.

You know, we don't agree with Khomeini. We don't agree with his attempts to fasten chains of medieval degradation on not only the women but the masses of Iranian people. We understand that he cannot lead the revolution forward but can only lead it backward, that he cannot lead a thoroughgoing struggle against imperialism and break its hold on Iran. And more than that, he can't advance the struggle to the stage of socialism and moving on to completely eliminate any basis for exploitation. Of course we don't agree with Khomeini that America in the abstract is the "devil." We don't believe in any devil in the first place. We don't believe that Khomeini is the representative and spokesman of god and that's why the Iranian people's cause is righteous.

But I'll tell you something that really gets me and gives me a kick. I know that the reason these neanderthal, backward people out here have the nerve to talk about how other people ought to go back to the Middle Ages, the reason they are so furious at Khomeini talking about how they're the devil, they're satan, and how god is on the side of the Iranian people, is that they believe that god can only be on the side of American imperialism! And how dare anybody else say that god's on their side! God belongs to them. Nobody else can have god.

I don't believe, and our party doesn't believe, in god and the devil in the first place, but this is the lie they've been running out for war after war now. We went and interviewed some chaplain in the air force and he said we should nuke the Russians and get into World War 3 because it would be "carrying out god's will." They will use anything to try to deceive and fool people.

Excerpt, Speech on November 18, 1979, in Washington, D.C.

Parrotrroopers

Continued from page 2

ment's actions. These are *our* Marines, *our* Rangers down there. This is *our* foreign policy and we have a right to know precisely what is going on. . . ." And the media has always had not only the right, but the duty to convince any laggards out there of the glory, the omnipotence, and the justness (and the benefits) of "*our* foreign policy" — and to denounce and subject to ridicule (or worse) anybody who might happen to disagree!

Still, though, the news establishment was clearly miffed at the usurpation of its traditional prerogatives, though it is like-

ly that many will come to their senses even on this count, once things are clearly spelled out to them. It may appear that the government invited more difficulties than advantages with its media restrictions, but this would be shortsighted. While the U.S. undoubtedly did want to minimize coverage of such things as "stiffer resistance than expected," the bombing of the mental hospital, and so on, the limitations imposed on the press were not mainly with an eye toward controlling information about this *particular* invasion. Rather, the restrictions were intended to set, and enforce, a precedent and establish some basic ground rules for

approaching war-times when U.S. military efforts will be directed at something more than "subduing flyspeck islands," as *Time* characterized the invasion.

The point is certainly *not* that America's loyal parrotrroopers will for a moment be denied their traditional right to serve up the appropriate imperialist news-squawk. The point *is* that this function will be tightened up, that various incongruous elements of the process will be eliminated, and certain equally incongruous prejudices left over from peaceful times will be overcome.

A week or so after the invasion, the

New York Times reported that as Grenada "edged back to normal," "St. George's was opened to allow several busloads of journalists flown from Bridgetown and Barbados to wander freely about the city. . . . The St. James hotel was offering rooms and meals to reporters." The newshounds could be seen sipping fruit and rum mixtures, lounging about with the marines, and pondering the appropriate superlatives with which to describe the liberation of Grenada for an information-starved public back home. The task would be easier, one of them mused, now that things had become freer. □

Barbarism: A Clinical Comparison



"We got there just in time!"

Ruins of the mental hospital bombed by the U.S. during the invasion of Grenada.

One of the points around which U.S. spokesmen did quite a bit of boasting in the first few days after the invasion of Grenada had to do with the supposedly minimal number of civilian casualties by the guns and bombs of U.S. imperialism. To hear U.S. officials explain it during those first few days, the U.S. military exercised "surgical care" in carrying out their invasion. Over the weekend, however, this bubble of deceit was burst when a Canadian magazine reported that at least 47 Grenadan civilians — mostly bed-ridden mental patients — were killed when U.S. bombers and off-

shore shelling from U.S. destroyers demolished a Grenadan mental hospital on the first day of the invasion.

Of particular interest here is the comparison that can be made between this U.S. slaughter of Grenadan mental patients and the Soviet downing of Korean Airlines flight 007 back in September. And, what is most striking in such a comparison is the living illustration it provides of the gangster logic of imperialism as it pursues its equally gangster class interests. At that time the U.S. denounced the Soviets for the "blatant barbarism" and "inhuman cruelty" exhibited by them in

purposely killing innocent civilians. Based on this, it is quite revealing to do a little point by point comparison between the two events. The Soviets were denounced for refusing to even admit that they had shot down the Korean airliner until days after the incident occurred. Interestingly enough, the U.S. had also refused to even admit the possibility of having bombed-out the Grenadan mental hospital until a week after they did it and even then it was only because the incident had already been exposed in the Canadian magazine *MacLean's* and later picked up by the *New York Post*. On Monday, October 31, the *New York Times* reported that a Defense Department spokesman said, "We have no information to confirm or deny that report," referring to an eyewitness account by the Canadian reporter who had been shown through the rubble of the hospital by one of the nurses. And, when they did finally admit it, U.S. officials would only admit to having killed 12 peo-

ple — an estimate that has slowly been revised only as each new corpse has been pulled out from underneath the rubble.

When the Soviets tried to explain their shooting down of the airliner by claiming that they mistook it for a military spy plane, they were denounced for an "innate paranoia" which fed their natural inclinations for barbarism. Yet, the U.S. now claims that the Grenadan hospital was mistaken for an anti-aircraft emplacement and that's why it was bombed. When the Soviets claimed to have been unable to distinguish the Korean airliner from the U.S. spy planes frequently flown over Soviet territory, the U.S. called this "preposterous." The U.S. claims that their "mistake" was understandable since the hospital was unmarked and was in the vicinity of gunfire which was being directed at advancing U.S. troops. In the Soviet case it was inexcusable murder, in the U.S. case we are now told that it was a case of justifiable — if regrettable — error.

The Soviet claim that the Korean airliner was actually engaged in military spying against Soviet territory was an unacceptable affront to all standards of human civilization according to the U.S. imperialists. Now, however, in the case of the Grenadan hospital the tables have been turned and the standards of human civilization have been appropriately adjusted. The U.S. explains its bombing of the Grenadan hospital by claiming that it was justifiably believed to be a military outpost since the Grenadan army had raised a flag in front of the hospital and had supposedly armed various patients and hospital staff members and ordered them to resist the U.S. invasion!

And, last but not least, the Soviets have been roundly denounced by the U.S. imperialists for supreme callousness in their refusal to admit any wrongdoing on their part or even issue so much as an apology for the killing of the airliner's passengers. For their part, the U.S. has shown in this latest incident that they can at least match their Soviet rivals in this arena. Commenting on why the U.S. didn't admit to blowing up the hospital immediately after it happened, White House press spokesman Larry Speakes glibly declared that there weren't any bodies visible when the U.S. arrived on the scene so it was impossible to tell that a number of civilians had actually been killed. According to Speakes, this "lack of bodies" was not due to the fact that they were hidden under piles of rubble but more to the strange "religious custom" that the Grenadans have of "burying their dead early." (It should be pointed out here that Roman Catholicism is the main religion in Grenada.) And, Speakes' asinine statement could only be topped by the likes of Speaker of the House of Representatives, Tip O'Neill. Mr. O'Neill, who, following the downing of 007 was not to be outdone by anybody in the number of times he hollered "barbarians," and "this is the Soviet Union vs. the world," now in regard to the bombing of the hospital in Grenada somberly declared, "I was shocked, but that's the heartbreak of war. Those things happen." □

Pike Place Market, Seattle Washington: On Saturday, October 29, a march of several hundred people proceeded through Seattle, Washington in opposition to the U.S. invasion of Grenada. Though major organizers of the march were close to the revisionists, within the march a real red flag contingent drew an increasing number of people; two banners "U.S. Get Your Bloody Hands Off Grenada and Lebanon," and "A World Without Imperialism, Not Imperialist War," were carried aloft amidst about forty people.

Later, a group from the contingent led by the party went to the busy Pike Place Market. A revolutionary raised a bullhorn: "The topic for the day is hypocrisy, the hypocrisy of U.S. imperialism." Some two hundred people massed on all four corners, with dozens spilling into the street to hear the speaker, and sharp debate in every part of the crowd — a mass political event reminiscent of scenes during the Iran hostage crisis (complete with tomato throwing reactionaries). People read from leaflets to make a point (or criticize one) and gesticulated with red flags. In one group of Chicanos, a man was heard exclaiming, "You can do nothing but go with the United States or the Soviet Union." Another, sporting the line of the revisionists, chimed in with a push for Fidel, while a Salvadoran argued for "revolution against the U.S. and Soviet Union," punctuating his remarks with a rolled-up RW.

A short ways off, a West German man surprised to find a scene like this in the U.S. was taking home-movies to show his friends.



Brazil — gleaming skyscrapers piercing the Amazon jungles, overflowing market places, resplendent carnivals and fiestas, luxurious playground for the fabulously wealthy. Such is the West's "miracle of development," whose image, though tarnished by the swollen debt, is still the best offered: the oppressed nation that has traveled furthest and fastest along the contours of development shaped by the Western powers.

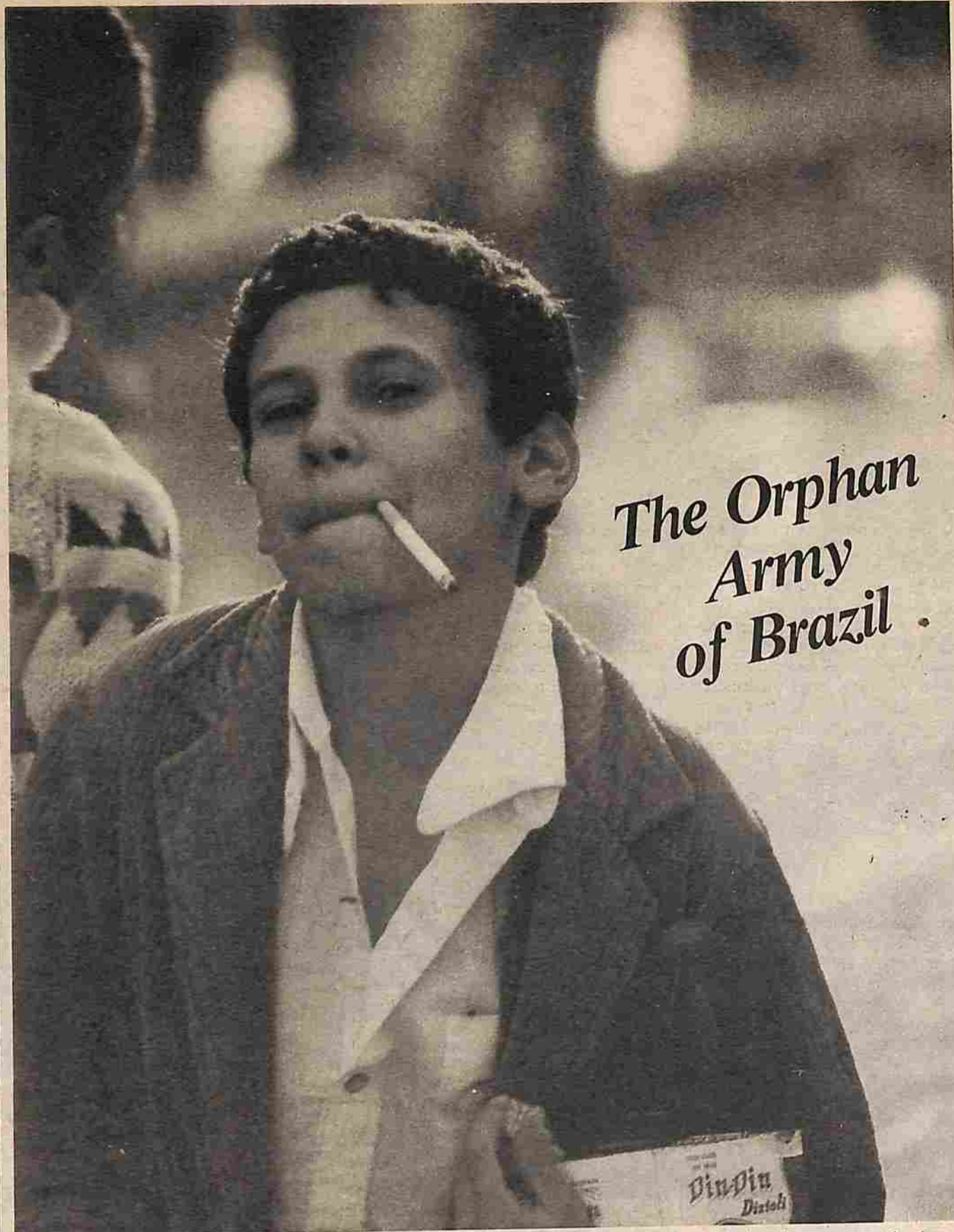
But a telling slice of life in the "Brazilian miracle" is presented in the conditions of millions of Brazilian children. The sheer number of children who have been abandoned in Brazil is staggering. On the Latin American continent, there are about 40 million such children; over 20 million are in Brazil alone, one of every two Brazilian kids under the age of 15. Their days are spent on the streets; their nights, on park benches, in construction tubing, beneath sheets of plastic and cardboard, or under a roof when there's a few *cruzeiros* to bribe a watchman. Some see their parents occasionally. Many never do.

They are described in various terms: the *abandonados*, the *marginalizados*, or, as "the children who belong to no one."

They are vulnerable prey for the cops in particular. One newspaper in São Paulo reported that over 100 boys had been murdered in the past year by the police. The object was not just to terrorize a potentially explosive group — for the cops also routinely run rackets with the kids, taking protection money to cover their thefts, using them as drug runners and the like. Young girls are used as prostitutes, not only by the cops but by welfare workers too — and boys and girls alike are frequently raped in the cells.

Many of the kids are abandoned by unwed mothers unable to raise the kids themselves and stigmatized by the rigid strictures of the Catholic Church. Even today, over 100 infants are abandoned on doorsteps and hospitals every month. Many are simply left by mothers or fathers unable to feed them; but, increasingly, others, the older children, 8, 10, 12, leave their families themselves.

The grinding poverty of the *favelas*, the shantytowns, tells part of the story. Up until the last few decades the vast majority of Brazilians lived on the land, and Brazil was self-sufficient in agriculture. Today it is even the second largest exporter of agricultural goods in the world. But what Brazil exports now are cash crops for consumption in the advanced Western imperialist countries, principally the U.S. and West Germany: coffee, refined sugar, tropical fruits. Much of Brazilians' own staple foods, particularly black beans, now have to be imported,



The Orphan Army of Brazil

especially from Mexico. As this transformation of rural Brazil took place — in part through the Alliance for Progress

programs — the life of the small peasants was shattered, and millions were driven into the cities. In Recife, the crumbling capital of Brazil's northeast, two-fifths of the children die before the age of five. Many of the children that survive are debilitated for life by malnutrition. The children then were born into a situation of desperation — and millions were born.

Officially, the street children are anonymous — they come into the world without birth certificates, they often leave it with death certificates of anonymous paupers. Much is made of liberal reform programs to care for the kids, many organized and originated in the U.S. But Brazilian researchers estimate that of Rio's two million abandoned kids, only 20,000 have come into contact with the government. And those who have are the unfortunate ones. Besides the routine police savagery, the reform schools and orphanages are centers of corruption and depravity. Prison doctors routinely give the boys female hormones to "contain aggression." The least cooperative are often sold to farmers and plantation owners in the deep Amazon Basin as slaves. Rio papers have recently uncovered baby-selling operations: for the right price, a light-skinned baby can be bought for delivery, often to the U.S. or West Germany. Rumors of even more sinister practices abound, particularly concerning one program where Brazilian babies with serious medical problems were sent to the U.S. Both the Brazilian and U.S. governments for some reason kept the program secret for the several years of its existence. Even so, enough escaped from people around the project to prompt a statement by the Brazilian State Foundation for the Education of Minors: "The children that were sent to the United States for treatment were not the objects of experiments or studies for

the development of drugs or technology." No, of course not — anyone who doubts that such might well have been exactly the object of such a program should recall the medical experimentation on Black prisoners revealed to be routinely conducted in various U.S. penal institutions.

The authorities have tried to ignore the existence of the street youth. This is becoming increasingly difficult — and not merely because their numbers are burgeoning. Police estimate that in São Paulo there are 1,200 youth gangs with up to 10,000 guns. Brazilian magazines are full of accounts like the following: "Gangs of juveniles besiege Brazil's cities. . . . Gang leader Wanderley Cirilo, 17, recently made headlines. Some members of his gang of 15 children were arrested and taken to a State reform school near São Paulo. One morning around 2 a.m., Wanderley showed up at the school with six heavily armed juveniles, overcame the guards, and freed 19 juveniles in addition to his own pals." In early April, riots, spiraling off of street demonstrations, left 400 to 500 businesses destroyed, as 10,000 riot cops were deployed against raging crowds, including large numbers of children.

Media campaigns have called for a crackdown, including ideas for sending a large number as essentially forced labor into the Amazon region. But for the Brazilian authorities and their imperialist overlords, no prospect looks too encouraging, as they seem to admit on occasion. One Brazilian magazine labeled the kids "our terrorist children," and then asked ominously: "What would happen if the army of children united?" □



Once Again on the Internal and External Causes of Change and the Material and Philosophical Basis of Proletarian Internationalism

by Bob Avakian

One of the most important aspects — perhaps the most important aspect — of the development of our party's line in the past several years has been the analysis that (as I summarized it in the article "On the Philosophical Basis of Proletarian Internationalism"—RW No. 96) "in an overall sense the development of the class (and national) struggle, the development of revolutionary situations, etc., in particular countries are more determined by developments in the world as a whole than by developments in the particular countries — determined not only as a condition of change (external cause) but as a basis of change (internal cause)." This has also been a controversial analysis. In the largest sense what is involved are basic questions of philosophy, of materialist dialectics, and at the same time the problem of how to assess the material reality — and its motion and development — that determine the main and essential features of this era and more specifically of the world situation today. In this article I will not attempt to present an overall analysis of these questions (for that I refer the reader to other material published by our party, including the article mentioned above and *Conquer the World*, and I particularly urge the study of the soon-to-appear *America in Decline: An Analysis of the Developments Toward War and Revolution, in the U.S. and Worldwide, in the 1980s*, Vol. 1, by Raymond Lotta with Frank Shannon (Chicago: Banner Press). Here I will focus on some of the specific points of controversy and what I think are significant misunderstandings concerning our party's approach to this question, and finally on some of the crucial political implications involved.

Much of the controversy centers around the fact that our party's analysis is in opposition to how Mao Tsetung applied to the relationship between different countries the basic principle (on which we are in agreement with Mao) that internal causes are the basis of change while external causes are only the condition of change. In *On Contradiction* Mao applies this principle to argue that while "There is constant interaction between the peoples of different countries" and "In the era of capitalism, and especially in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, the interaction and mutual impact of different countries in the political, economic and cultural spheres are extremely great," still "These changes, however, (within different countries, including China—B.A.) were effected through the inner laws of development of these countries, China included." (Mao, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 314) Here I believe Mao has incorrectly posed (or grasped) the contradictions involved and mixed up different contradictions.

It is true that if two different countries and their interrelations are examined, the effect of the one upon the other can only be external, secondary as a cause of change, while the contradiction and struggle within each will have much more to do with, be much more fundamental to, change in it. But that is not the same thing as — nor is it as central or essential as — the relationship between any particular country and the world as a whole. Nor, further, is the relationship between any particular country and the other countries in the world the same thing as, or as central or essential as, the relationship they each and all have to the world taken as a whole, and in its motion and development, to the process of development in the world overall. Another way of saying this is that a correct understanding cannot be arrived at by taking as a point of departure a particular country and then examining its relations with other countries; the most fundamental thing and point of departure, even in terms of the development within any particular country, must be the world arena, taken as a whole. This is because, with the advent of imperialism, different countries and the internal contradiction and process of change within them become integrated into a larger process of change, a single and at the same time complex process, composed of many different processes but determined in its overall development by the fundamental contradiction of the bourgeois epoch — between socialized production and private appropriation — at least so long as the bourgeoisie and bourgeois relations are still dominant in the world. This certainly does not mean that the particular processes and their underlying contradictions within particular countries are obliterated or exert no influence on the development of this overall world process — far from it — but it does mean precisely that they are integrated within that larger world process and in a fundamental and overall sense their development is more determined by the development of that process (and its fundamental contradiction) than by their own specific fundamental contradiction and process of development.

Perhaps an example will help clarify and sharpen the point here. The cells making up the human body have their own internal contradiction (and for one-celled organisms, having an independent existence as such, the contradiction within them can be said to be the most important basis of change in them). But the cells within the human body are obviously integrated into a larger thing (or process), that human body, and what goes on in that body as a whole — including its interaction with other things — is more decisive overall in determining what happens to the individual cells within that body than the specific contradiction and struggle within the cells themselves as such. And the interrelationship between these different cells, as such, is less determinant of their development than what happens to the body, taken as a whole. Of course it is not possible to correctly and fully understand what is happening to (within) the human body without understanding not only its cellular structure in general but also changes within and the interaction between different cells; but for all that, these cells, as part of the human body, are more determined in their

development by the overall process — the body as a whole — than by the contradiction and struggle within the cells as such. This analogy can be extended to — the same principles can be shown to be involved in the case of — the organs within the human body (the heart, lungs, liver, kidney, etc.) in their relationship with each other on the one hand and on the other hand with the body as a whole, the most determinant thing (or process) overall. And, returning to the main point here, it is the same with the relation between particular countries, their interaction with each other and most decisively their relation to the overall process of developments in the world as a whole in this, the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution.

It strikes me that the reason Mao made the error that I pointed out — posing (or grasping) incorrectly the contradictions involved and mixing up different contradictions — has much to do with the fact that he was combating the tendency within the Chinese Communist Party (which exerted an influence throughout the history of the revolution in China and exerted a very powerful influence in the late 1930s, when *On Contradiction* was written) to not only attempt to copy the model of the Russian Revolution but to place more reliance on the Soviet Union than on the struggle, and the conscious activism of the masses, in China to bring about a successful revolution and build a socialist society. As the editor's note accompanying *On Contradiction* points out, it was written (along with *On Practice*) with the specific aim of "overcoming the serious error of dogmatist thinking to be found in the Party at that time" (Mao, *SW*, Vol. 1, p. 311); and that dogmatist thinking to a very significant degree took the form I have just referred to (looking to and relying above all on the Soviet Union). This clearly influenced how Mao identified the contradictions involved: In the midst of the passage cited earlier (on the internal and external causes of change) Mao specifically notes that "The October Socialist Revolution ushered in a new epoch in world history as well as in Russian history. It exerted influence on internal changes in the other countries in the world and, similarly and in a particularly profound way, on internal changes in China." (Ibid., p. 314) It is immediately after this that he insists that "These changes, however, were effected through the inner laws of development of these countries, China included." (Ibid.)

It is true that the contradiction and struggle ("the inner laws of development") within China were more important in determining changes in Chinese society — and in particular the development of the revolutionary struggle in China — than were changes in the Soviet Union, in and of themselves. But the basic thrust of Mao's argument is not correct; it is a misapplication of the principle concerning the relation between the internal (the principal) and the external (secondary) causes of change in a thing. The correct way to view the relation of China, the Soviet Union and other countries at that time (and different countries in the world today as well) is that changes in the world as a whole — the overall development of the worldwide process determined by the fundamental contradiction of the bourgeois epoch — are on the whole the more determining of developments within particular countries than the contradictions and struggles within those particular countries; Russia and the changes within it, including even the October Revolution and the birth of the socialist Soviet Union, represented a tremendously important development in the world but this was a subordinate part of the overall developments in the world at that time (as were the changes taking place within China and other countries then) and it was these developments overall that were most determining of what was taking place in the different countries, China included.

This is not to deny that at a given time and in a particular situation the changes within a particular country (or conceivably a bloc of countries) could be the principal and determining thing in the world as a whole (to return to the earlier analogy, what was happening to a particular organ of the human body could be decisive for the organism as a whole at a given time — for example a heart attack). But two things must be stressed in this connection: (1) this would represent not a refutation but a particular, concentrated expression of the fundamental principle that changes in the process as a whole (the world or the human body) are overall more determining of changes in particular parts of the thing or process (organs or cells of the body, different countries in the world) than changes within these parts themselves — here the relationship between fundamental contradiction and principal contradiction is involved, the former being determinant of the process overall and in the final analysis, the latter representing the main and most influential contradiction at a given stage of development of the process; and (2) even where changes in a particular part of the overall process (for example, a particular country or perhaps group of countries) were decisive and determining at a given point, they would be so precisely because of their effect on the process as a whole and not because of their relation directly to other particular parts (other particular countries) in and of themselves.

Political/Strategic Implications

This both takes us back to the more general error made by Mao on this question and lays the basis for understanding more fully what the correct approach means, and does not mean, in terms of political strategy and orientation. With regard to Mao, beyond the mistakes occasioned in part at least by the struggle

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BLOODY

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running the government prior to the invasion have been overthrown, their state apparatus has been dismantled, the Cubans and the Soviets are under something similar to house arrest in their diplomatic compounds and a new "rational and legitimate" interim government has been set in place. And, as the sincere, well-oiled tones of the U.S. newscasters tell us about the "normalcy" in Grenada today — the little boys and girls returning to Catholic school in their blue and white uniforms — video tapes obligingly show U.S. troops and tanks patrolling the streets, helicopter gunships circling in the skies, warships cruising just off the coast, bombed out and smoking buildings, Grenadians suspected of resisting the invasion being arrested and marched off to jail at the point of a dozen guns and the infamous airport now jammed packed with U.S. military troops and traffic. Ah sweet, normalcy!

And such democracy! What a contribution to "free expression" when U.S. commanders make open statements about "hunting down" Grenadians who were supporters of the previous government and U.S. artillery positions on the island sport signs like "Fire Base Gator—you yell, we shell"! The U.S. has made its point quite clearly for all good voters to weigh just what sort of government it finds tolerable on Grenada and what consequences a "wrong government" will bring. A lesson once again in the fact that political power comes out of the barrel of a gun. Such is the stuff all free elections are made of.

Such normalcy does provide a graphic lesson in the principles of the gangster logic of imperialism and imperialist hypocrisy. Grenada was an unacceptable abnormality to the U.S. imperialists when the Cuban and other Soviet bloc advisors and construction workers roamed

about at will. The threat of the Soviet imperialists potentially making use of the new Grenadan airport for a projection of their military power in the region was (and is) widely proclaimed to be a horrible crime against humanity. Now, however, it is the U.S. patrolling the streets of Grenada and making military use of the airport. And, it is a U.S. admiral declaring that the U.S. imperialists are "always looking for new forward base areas," in response to a question about the future role of Grenada in America's strategy for the Caribbean region. Make no mistake about it, this is indeed imperialist normalcy in the world today — after all, what could be more normal than the U.S. asserting its domination and running the show in "their own neighborhood." What could be more symbolic of the times than the U.S. sending such a clear message of its power and aggressive global intentions to the whole world?

Rhetoric Escalates Against Cuba

Since the invasion there has been a continuing — and mounting — flood of charges directed at Cuba and Russia, aimed in part at justifying the U.S. action. Reagan's October 27th speech on Beirut and Grenada solemnly declared that undeniable proof of Cuba's intention to turn Grenada into a Soviet bloc fortress within the Caribbean region had been uncovered by the invading U.S. troops. According to Reagan, six warehouses of Soviet-made guns and ammunition had been uncovered in Cuban crates stacked almost to the ceiling of each warehouse. As Ted Koppel put it on *Nightline* immediately after the speech, "millions and millions of rounds of ammunition and guns," enough to arm a whole army of "terrorists" had been discovered. Two days later the real story began to emerge. The six warehouses were at best half full. One of the warehouses contained truck engine parts and other types of vehicle maintenance equipment. Another contained crates of

rice and other foodstuffs and a still and the third was full of military uniforms. Of the three warehouses containing weapons and ammunition — they were less than half full and contained mainly small weaponry, rifles and pistols, including "Saturday night specials," rifles manufactured in 1870, and Soviet made arms from WW2 and the Korean War.

The Soviet imperialists, of course, are no more angels than the U.S. imperialists, but frankly these charges are ridiculous. Here is the U.S., having just invaded Grenada, trying to put its opposition on the defensive for having weapons (and rather primitive weapons at that) to combat just such an invasion. As far as the charge of "warehousing weapons in foreign countries," well, perhaps it should be remembered that the U.S. probably has damn near as many nuclear weapons (tactical and otherwise) stockpiled in West Germany as there were small arms stockpiled in those Grenadan warehouses. As for "readying Grenada as a military base," the U.S. imperialists clearly have no right to speak on this subject since they already have a major military base — Guantanamo — right on the island of Cuba. Has anyone done an arms inventory there recently?

Another great find according to U.S. officials was a "treasure trove" of secret documents allegedly detailing Cuba's plan for militarily taking over Grenada. While U.S. officials dutifully pointed out that the exact contents of the documents would not be known until they were translated and analyzed, they also began to state that these documents indicated that there were more than 1100 Cubans on Grenada at the time of the invasion and that rather than being ordinary construction workers they were, in fact, soldiers. But a few days later the U.S. imperialists declared that they were somewhat mistaken about the contents of the documents — admitting that the Cuban figure of 784 Cubans on the island was correct and that in fact the construction workers actually were construction workers. However, in order to highlight

the point that regardless of whether the Cubans were construction workers or soldiers, the bottom line, as far as the U.S. is concerned, remains the same; the *Washington Post* has taken to referring to the Cubans as "combat-ready construction workers" and U.S. military officials have stated that the Cuban prisoners of war will be clothed in the military uniforms stored in one of the warehouses on the island when they are sent back to Cuba.

The issue of the number of Cubans and their military standing in Grenada does raise a related and interesting point concerning the U.S. invasion. According to the U.S., it has been the Cubans and not the Grenadians who have offered resistance to the U.S. invasion and who have tied down the U.S. troops for more than a week. As one marine officer put it, "The Grenadians just don't seem to have the stomach for an intense firefight." The U.S. press has gleefully reported that all Grenadians are jubilant and most grateful to the U.S. for invading and "liberating" them. If one is to believe the press the typical Grenadan is somewhere along the lines of the coffeeshop owner described in the November 7 *Newsweek* — a veritable toady who not only allowed his shop to be turned into a U.S. military command post but who would yell "I love it! I love it! I love it, Uncle Sam!" every time the U.S. troops fired their guns. This being the case, the U.S. declared that it must be the Cubans alone offering up resistance to the U.S. forces.

By the third day after the invasion the U.S. was claiming to have captured more than 600 Cubans and to have killed a couple of dozen others. In order to explain the continued fighting in various parts of the country, U.S. officials stated that there was somewhere around 500 more Cuban soldiers left on the island. Through it all the U.S. stuck to its story that there was little, if any, Grenadan resistance — and, what did exist was being rounded up and arrested. However, since the U.S. has recently admitted that there were only 784 Cubans on the island altogether and that most of them were construction workers and that 600 or so had indeed been captured, it would seem that the U.S. imperialists are now about to make another great discovery, that is, that there actually is Grenadan resistance to the U.S. invasion on the island. It is either that or the U.S. military is going to be put in the embarrassing position of admitting that approximately 100 Cuban construction workers have been able to hold out fairly well in a week long battle against 6000 or so crack U.S. troops.

In reality the issue at hand is most definitely not a question of providing weapons, setting up bases and training armies. Instead, it is more a question of who is carrying out these activities and whose interests are being served. A few telling points should be noted here. The U.S. has made all of its accusations against the Soviets and Cubans and graphically depicted their military designs in the region even as the U.S. imperialists themselves blatantly discuss the option of turning Grenada into a permanent U.S. military outpost. And, throughout the region the U.S. has done exactly what it accuses the Soviets of doing — witness the training of the Honduran army, the arming and support of the various pro-U.S. forces waging war against the Nicaraguan government and the posting of U.S. military advisers with the army in El Salvador. One outstanding example here is the U.S. accusation that the Soviets and Cubans were enlarging Grenada's airport facilities with an eye towards their ability to use it in the future for military purposes. Interestingly enough, the U.S. is doing the same thing in Honduras — investing \$30 million in improving a Honduran airport so that it will be able to accommodate, for example, modern U.S. aircraft. In addition, the U.S. is also funding the building of two brand new airstrips in other parts of the country. To paraphrase Reagan's reference to the Grenadan airport in his "Star Wars" speech of last March (when he said that Grenada had no air force, so why did they need this airport), the Honduran air force consists of 15 old transport planes, 16 old fighter planes and 10 small ground attack aircraft — so who is all this airport construction being done for?

The U.S. has continued to escalate its rhetoric, accusing Cuba of ordering out

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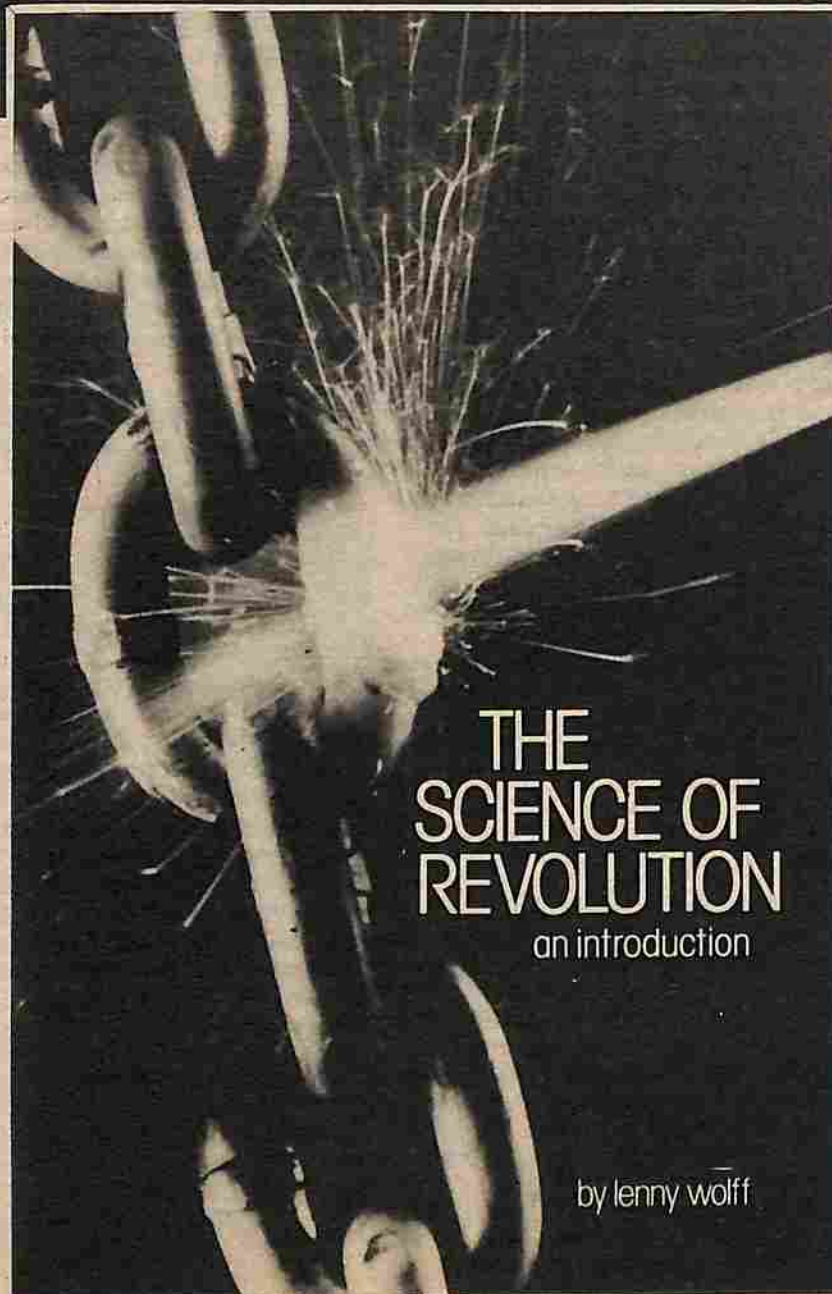
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THE
SCIENCE OF
REVOLUTION
an introduction

by lenny wolff

Invitation To A Flag Planting

In the week following the U.S. invasion of Grenada, the two pillars of justification erected by the U.S. government — “saving the medical students” and “responding to urgent requests by their Caribbean neighbors” — have been reduced to a pile of salt, scoffed at openly by many newspaper editorials and shamelessly thrown about by government officials.

First off, there is the supposed “rescue” of the American students story. For all the supposed concern about “evacuating the students from the dangerous predicament,” it is worth noting that, to date, only a few more than 400 Americans have been evacuated from the island and that the U.S. doesn’t even know where all of the remaining Americans — students and others — actually are. It has also been revealed that on October 21 — that is two days after Bishop’s murder, four days before the invasion and two days before the U.S. was “formally” asked to participate in the invasion — a U.S. State Department official asked a St. George’s Medical School official to fly to Barbados and appear before T.V. cameras in order to officially request an invasion to save the students. The medical school official refused.

How real was the possibility of an Iran-

type hostage situation? We spoke to no student, and this includes the more patriotic, gung-ho types, who described the Grenadians’ attitude toward the U.S. students as hostile. One student (otherwise rather willing to excuse everything the U.S. had done) described riding a bicycle to a grocery store at precisely the time people were assembling for a demonstration, only a short time before the invasion. There was no hostility. The U.S. press has been filled with stories of Grenadan soldiers banging on doors, and students hiding under their beds in fear; one student explained one such situation. He lived off campus, in an area with people of various nationalities, especially European and American. Sometime after the invasion had begun, a group of Grenadan soldiers did bang on the doors of the building across the street. He and some others went to speak to the soldiers who explained that they were there to “protect them.” The soldiers spoke with them for some time. And this student pointed out that, including these soldiers, “in the entire region across the street from my house there were around 70 soldiers (there was a military outpost nearby—*RW*)... at any point they could have sniped at my house from the hills...” They did not. And, he says, when the U.S. troops did approach, there, if anytime, was the potential for a hostage-taking, but the Grenadians withdrew, allowing the Americans to go.

During the invasion, many students were not holed up under their beds, but in close contact with Grenadians. Many lived off campus, and were not, as pointed out, gathered together for any evacuation for quite some time; others opened a makeshift hospital in the school library and treated all casualties, including Grenadan and Cuban; one U.S. newspaper reported a U.S. student who volunteered service in a Grenadan hospital. “The only time I felt threatened,” a student summed up, “was when I woke up on Tuesday morning at 3:30 seeing planes going around my house, going around the area of the island... and that we were being invaded.”

One student, one of the few willing to

publicly differ with the general run of ground-kissing, told the *RW*, “What I objected to was Reagan’s using us as his excuse for going in. Basically because if a danger existed to the American medical students, the State Department should have issued a statement asking the students to remain in one place where it would have been easier to evacuate them. Since that statement was not issued, then according to the State Department we could not have been in imminent danger. If we were not in imminent danger, what was the invasion for? It obviously could not have been to save our lives.”

It is clear from our sources, that on the eve of the invasion the U.S. did its best to create an atmosphere at the school intended to stampede the students into attempting to leave. Without in any way communicating their invasion plans (“we were told on Monday the idea of an invasion was ludicrous”), the U.S. obviously conspired to close off the students’ exit routes: “The only things that were preventing people from leaving was the fact that the planes weren’t flying in and out, not because of anything the revolutionary military council had done. They weren’t flying in and out because Lloyd’s of London pulled the insurance policy on LIAT (Leeward Islands Air Transport—*RW*) and said you can’t fly into the country. The CARICOM nations had put an embargo on Grenada saying they wouldn’t let planes flying in and out of Grenada fly in or out of their airport.” Students were also told they would have to reimburse the State Department for the cost of chartering a U.S. plane at twice the normal price. And “if you didn’t go by the State Department’s method, then they couldn’t guarantee that you would be able to leave the island.” According to students, this situation created a panicky desire to grab the last plane out. Even so, only about half the students contacted the State Department about leaving, and some of those only to reserve seats just in case something occurred.

And, last but not least, there appears to have been a few medical students in the crowd whose extra curricular activities were a bit shady, to say the least. Apparently, in the midst of the invasion, one medical student, announced that he was in command. According to other students, this man stated that he was a former State Department employee, had been stationed at the U.S. Consulate in Laos during the Indochina war and had quit his job in the State Department because he wanted to be a doctor. Apparently he established immediate radio contact with the invading U.S. forces and, again according to other students, seemed to be aware of what moves the U.S. troops were going to make in ad-

vance of them being made. In a rare move, and one obviously calculated to float out the involvement of the CIA in the whole invasion process, CIA Director William Casey volunteered to hold a meeting in which he would inform all interested U.S. senators of CIA activity inside Grenada. And, while most senators refused to talk about Casey’s disclosures during this meeting, a few did mention that there were indeed CIA agents evacuated with the medical students.

A Self-Invitation

By far, however, the most revealing information — and in some ways the most calculated of the exposures — has been focused on the actual role of the U.S. in promoting and organizing the invasion. Suddenly all sorts of U.S. puppets and allies are coming to the fore with new information about U.S. involvement which appears to contradict the still “official” U.S. story that they were simply responding to a request for assistance from the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS). The prime minister of Barbados revealed that an unnamed U.S. official approached one of his aides with a proposal to organize a “rescue” of Maurice Bishop from house arrest on October 15 — just one day after Bishop was arrested (it certainly would have been interesting to see if Bishop would have been able to come out of such a rescue attempt alive). State Department officials only half-heartedly attempted to discount this story — stating that an initiative on the part of some unknown individual concerning a possible Bishop rescue attempt may indeed have been proposed.

Of course, this scenario became a sort of moot point after October 19 after Bishop’s execution. But it has also been revealed that from October 20 on the U.S. was busily engineering the Eastern Caribbean States request for armed U.S. intervention. In fact, according to the Council on Hemispheric Affairs, the *New York Times* hinted the U.S. State Department actually drafted the “formal invitation” to the U.S. in Washington and then presented it to the Eastern Caribbean States to sign and then dutifully hand back to the U.S. This was confirmed when a *New York Times* editorial hinted in reference to the so-called ECS request that, “whatever their alarm, their request was plainly encouraged, if not indeed written in Washington.” The *London Times* reports that three days before the invasion and one day before the U.S. supposedly was asked to participate in it, a Marine Corps general joined with a Jamaican military leader and others to map the invasion itself.

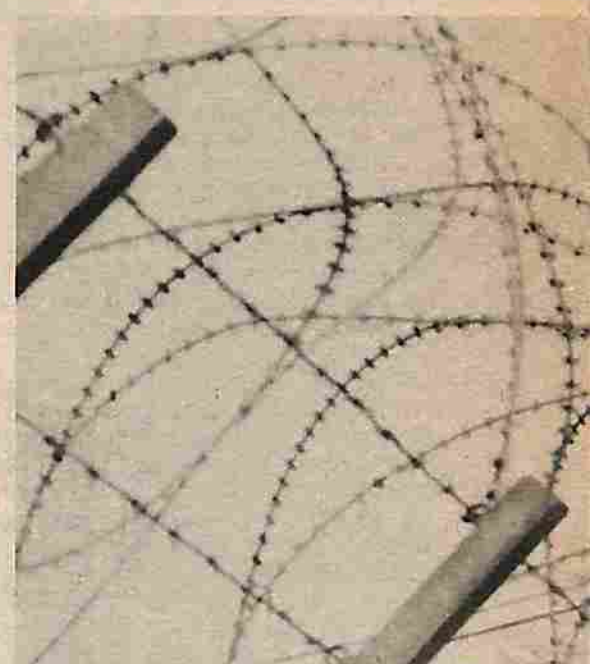
And, Jamaican government officials “leaked” out information to the *Washington Post* that “unidentified” U.S. officials have been attempting to win the CARICOM nations over to at least working to politically isolate Grenada for months and even broached

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Special Report from West Germany

The Euromissile Resistance and the Pink and Green Debate



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

October 22 saw the culmination of the official protest week of demonstrations against the deployment of the U.S. Pershing II and cruise missiles in West Germany. Even the West German press, which has consistently downplayed the numbers while extolling the "peaceful" character of the demonstrations, admitted to 1.3 million participants. This made the turnout the largest mass protest of the postwar era — but probably *not* the largest prewar action!

By far the sharpest struggle came down in Hamburg where most accounts put the rally crowd at 400,000. Even the holding of the "peaceful rally" was a struggle. The SPD-controlled (Social Democratic Party of West Germany) city government at first denied the necessary permits, backing down only at the last minute. Except for the SPD speaker who was whistled down, speaker after speaker struck a militant tone in support of the planned blockade of the reactionary Springer Press. Following the official rally, 15,000 moved on Springer, hated for its lurid reactionary attacks on foreigners and "terrorists," playing to all the most reactionary elements in society with *Enquirer*-style tabloids and nude models. Some veterans of the '60s tried to strike up chants of "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh," but were drowned out by '80s youth chanting "Haut dem Springer auf die Fresse, für die Lügen seiner Presse" (Punch Springer in his animal mouth, for his lying press!).

Six to seven thousand actually took part in the blockade in an attempt to prevent delivery of the Sunday paper, making it the largest blockade action of the fall. When blockaders attempted to build barricades and set fire to piles of newspapers, the Hamburg Tactical Squad struck with three water cannons, coming right up on the blockaders, hitting them at close range with the high-powered water jets. Out of the nearby subway entrances, the infamous police "Mobile Intervention Commandos" hit resistance points, breaking up the first and decisive blockade. The battle then shifted to nearby side streets where plainclothes cops mixed into the crowd, grabbing and beating selected militants. The cops then began escorting Springer delivery trucks out of the plant, as other cops continued to chase the demonstrators down side streets. But with darkness, for the first time in recent history residents on upper floors began to pelt the cops in the streets. The battle went on until 9:30, at which time the demonstrators made an organized retreat. Only 26 were arrested.

The rally receiving the most attention in the bourgeois press, however, was in the capital of Bonn and also drew a crowd of at least 400,000. Here attention was focused on the chairman of the Social Democratic Party, Willy Brandt, who seized the center of the stage — quite a feat for the chairman of the party which first proposed the deployment of the Pershing and cruise missiles in Europe. Brandt was preceded by the famous German author Heinrich Böll who hailed the



coming over of the SPD to "opposition" to the missiles.

Brandt made his "new" position clear by saying how "bitterly disappointed" he was at the failure of the intermediate-range missile talks in Geneva, and told of how much he opposed "ever more nuclear missiles." He heaped on yet another pious wish that a world divided into blocs could be transcended — then he got down to business. Since the blocs *cannot* be transcended, Brandt continued, it must be recognized that West Germany is a part of the Western bloc. Cries of "Hypocrite!" and whistles rang out from the crowd, but there was also great applause. Brandt went on: "The *Bundeswehr* (the West German army) as an army in a democratic state has the task of helping to secure peace." So Brandt was willing to cut the demonstrators about a quarter of an inch of slack on the deployment of the missiles, but on the fundamental imperialist alliance and West German war preparations there

could be no question. Quite a message for the centerpiece rally of the national week of resistance to war preparations!

The final speaker was Petra Kelly from the Greens. Kelly ostentatiously "departed from her prepared text" to lambast Brandt for reneging on his supposed promise to speak against the missiles at the rally. (What the hell did you expect, Petra?) Kelly called for "no missiles" in contrast to Brandt's "fewer missiles" and said that it was absurd to say *no* to the missiles but *yes* to NATO. Appealing to bourgeois-democratic prejudices, she called on the SPD leadership to get in touch with its base (who says it isn't!) and

then expressed her wish that the new SPD policy (which she just finished attacking) represented a genuine rectification of a great error and not just a strategy for integrating the independent movement (i.e., the Greens) in order to betray it again.

The Brandt-Kelly exchange spilled over into an all-out spat on TV at a press conference following the rally. Kelly repeated her charge of a double-cross. Brandt said that his *no* to the missiles was just as unequivocal as hers (quite possibly true!) and that she was more interested in the struggle against the SPD than against the missiles. But when the dust settled,





tionalism). In the debate over whether to let Brandt speak at the rally, Ellsberg came out foursquare for Brandt speaking, saying that without Brandt the anti-missile movement would remain an ineffective fringe group!

In the wake of all this political infighting, the long-heralded blockades of the government buildings, and especially the W. German defense ministry, not surprisingly faded away. Thousands of demonstrators formed a symbolic human chain connecting the embassies of eight nuclear (or presumed nuclear) powers. Just what this was supposed to symbolize is not clear. But when 15,000 surrounded the defense ministry they were met with an almost equal number of cops. The message here was clear — messing with the W. German military is strictly verboten.

In south Germany the main rallies were at Stuttgart (dominated by the SPD, the revisionist DKP—West German Communist Party—and the trade unions) and at Neu-Ulm, site of the first Pershing II deployment (which attracted more of the Green /student/pacifist constituency). The star attraction here was the *Menschenkette*, a human chain supposed to run the 110 kilometers from Stuttgart to Neu-Ulm. Although in fact the chain was never actually completed, the bourgeois press declared emphatically that it had been and hailed it as the most exciting innovation since sliced bread. By contrast, for two days preceding the Saturday rally, a small but determined blockade had been going on at the U.S. Wiley Barracks in Neu-Ulm. Police repeatedly dragged blockaders away, taking over 550. Under a recently passed law, all those who were actually charged

were fined 40 Marks (about \$16). The rationale for the new fine is to cover the cost of the extra police for demonstrations. Under U.S.-West German agreements, German police are stationed *inside* the U.S. facilities to deal with German demonstrators and avoid any possible clash between Germans and the U.S. military. For this blockade the W. German police mobilized 2,400 special operations officers and one police priest.

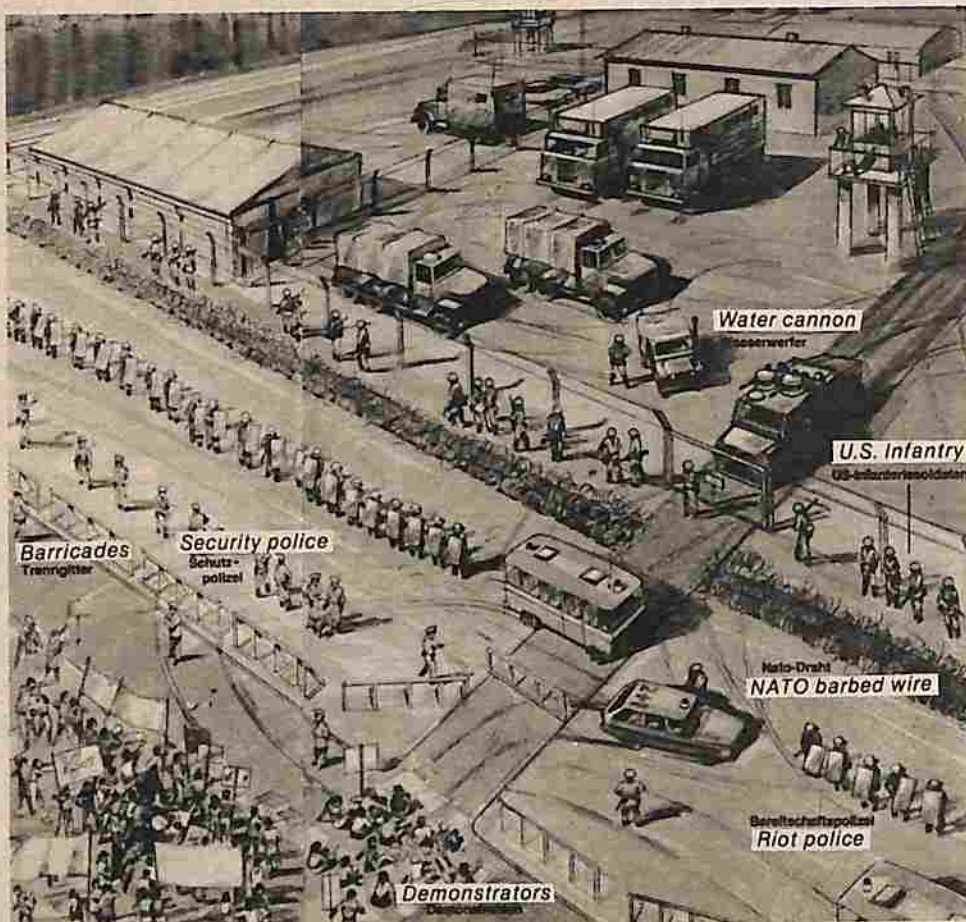
On Saturday, however, when the mass demonstration of 180,000 arrived, police presence faded and no attempt to remove blockaders was made. On the other hand, none of the "prominent persons" in the Greens and other groups, who had made their personal pilgrimages to the symbolic action at Muntlagen in September, now showed up to support the blockade. In fact, the mass demonstration streamed past the several hundred blockaders to a nearby rally site, with the DKP setting up a hotdog stand across the street, complete with Riunite-style umbrellas in red with the DKP initials. Massive, nonviolent resistance to the missile deployment, which had been so prominently hailed in the summer, was now the forgotten child of the official antimissile action. In the evening, several hundred youth, bored out of their minds by the official rally, drifted back to the blockade with a band

to dance. But at mid-day Sunday, in the face of a police ultimatum, the blockade was abandoned.

During the formation of the *Menschenkette* through the countryside, a coalition of rightists, soldiers and reservists staged a convoy of thirty cars along the chain route. Adorned with model SS-20 rockets on their roofs and posters on their sides reading "The Kremlin Wants You," the pro-missile types found the route tough going. The convoy finally gave up a few miles from Neu-Ulm, complaining that they had been cursed, spit on, and had their cars banged up. "When we asked bystanders for help," said one, "they just laughed at us." Five finally got through to Neu-Ulm and presented bread and wine to U.S. soldiers.

Although not an official rally point for the end of the protest week, 50,000 also marched in Berlin. Here, on the very point where John F. Kennedy spoke his immortal "Ich bin ein Berliner" speech twenty years ago, black-clad anarchists and rock bands marched. Mocking the German imperialists' dream of stationing Bundeswehr troops in West Berlin, one rock group dressed in Bundeswehr uniforms waved cardboard missiles and sang: "When the slender Pershings fly our whole army is happy..." West Ger-

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A sketch from Stern magazine describing police preparations at the missile base in Muntlagen.

new lines were clearly emerging: Brandt with patriotic but fuzzy opposition to the missiles to co-opt the anti-missile movement; Kelly, accepting the inevitable deployment of missiles, switching to "West Germany out of NATO" in the national interest — a position which Brandt as a representative of the W. German bourgeoisie cannot take.

As an interesting sidelight to this whole exchange, during the planning of the Bonn rally the Greens brought Daniel Ellsberg from the U.S. Freeze movement over to W. Germany and gave him speaking privileges in the Bonn Planning Committee (an act of petty-bourgeois interna-

Internationalist Writes From Belgium

We received the following correspondence from a reader in Belgium which has been translated from French by the RW.

24/10/83

Dear Comrades,

I received your mailing a week ago (1 RW, *The Science of Revolution*, etc. . .). Thank you very much. . . .

Yesterday in Brussels 500,000 took part in a demo against the missiles.

I've learned some absolutely magnificent news, that is the presence of revolutionaries from the U.S. in Germany: "Contingent For A World Without Imperialism," a proletarian internationalist action for which I congratulate you with all my heart.

In Brussels I took part in the demo with revolutionary comrades from Turkey; we distributed the call, "Desert America's Warmongering, Be at the European Frontlines!"

Once again, thanks for the books.

Communist greetings



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

The following reports were received by the national office of the World Without Imperialism Contingent on Nov. 2 describing some of the events in which the contingent participated in W. Germany in the preceding week. New contingent members will arrive this week as a second wave departs from the U.S. for the frontlines in W. Germany. Funds to help support the contingent are urgently needed. Contributions can be sent to:

Organizing Committee "For A World Without Imperialism Contingent"
44 Monterey Blvd., No. 9
San Francisco, CA 94131
(415) 548-7800

Report No. 1.—on anti-fascist protests in West Berlin: In their leaflets and with the help of the bourgeois press, fascist and neo-Nazi groups in West Germany and throughout Europe put the word out: "Kreuzberg (a mainly Turkish district in West Berlin) will burn — every Turk a torch." The rallying point for this sickening call was the soccer game between the West German and Turkish national teams to be held in the Olympic Stadium (built by Hitler) in Berlin on October 26, 1983. Aside from promised pogroms, they also called for a national skinhead conference. Many, especially the youth throughout West Germany, reacted with immediate disgust. In every blockade and demonstration the question was raised, "Are you going to Berlin?" . . .

In contrast to the "good guy" tactics of the West German rulers and police during the earlier anti-missile protests, the officials of West Berlin bluntly stated, "democrats have nothing to fear from the fascists. The police will take care of them (right, loving care!! — WWIC). But those who would take things into their own hands are obviously not democratic minded and they will receive the same treatment from the police as the fascists." The authorities' posture as "peacekeepers between the fascists and the Turkish radicals and leftist crazies" certainly didn't get over with everyone.

Thousands of workers from Turkey, German youth, punks, squatters, students

(as well as the organized forces of the SPD and DKP) amassed at the U-Bahn (subway) station on the night of the game, filled the streets and marched to the stadium surrounded by the flashing blue lights of police vans. The WWIC raised a banner, "Down with the fascist attacks and all war preparations! We stand with the Turkish workers!" (in German and English).

At the stadium, the fascists, for all their mouthing, were hardly visible. This was probably at the behest of the authorities, who didn't want anything to break open. While a couple of thousand demonstrators entered the stadium to watch the game and counter any attacks, others returned to various festivals at squatters houses. These festivals were not only cultural exchanges with the masses from Turkey but also gathering points from where people would be deployed to help protect the Turkish neighborhoods against attack. At one point during the night, word came through an elaborate phone network that fascists were on their way to the U-Bahn. Hundreds gathered in front of a squatters' house, including contingent members. As it happened, the attacks did not materialize; however, 20 anti-fascists at another site were arrested for possessing "weapons" (sticks). As it was seen, the plans of the West German imperialists to whip up national chauvinism in preparation for war were met with determined, intense resistance. In fact, they will only draw the Turkish masses and progressive and revolutionary minded people closer together — a potentially formidable threat.

Report No. 2.—anti-U.S. invasion of Grenada demonstrations: Around 1200 people formed up at a plaza for a demonstration against the U.S. invasion of Grenada. The plan was to march from there one and a half miles to "America House." The crowd seemed to be mainly people in the peace movement: many were older and quite a few were marching with banners of these groups. There were also a lot of banners and people with signs tying Grenada to U.S. involvement in Chile, Nicaragua, and El

Salvador.

Some also brought up past U.S. actions of this kind — "U.S. Costa Rica 1955."

The main political groups represented, as far as I could tell, were the Third World support groups, DKPs, Greens, and SPD. There were also Trotskyites and an Iranian group distributing their literature.

In addition to this there was a smaller, very angry section of rebellious youth, including one fairly large group of 50 marching with a red and black flag. A number of these had kafirs which were sparsely represented in the group.

From the start, when we got off the train, it seems that the West Berlin authorities were trying hard to make sure things didn't get out of hand. There was a double line of police right next to the platform who were stopping all youth trying to leave the station and searching them and their bags. Those that looked particularly "dangerous" to them (mainly punks) were taken aside and searched more carefully. One in our group was taken aside by a woman pig, behind a line of police, and searched. They were very uptight — when we tried to find out where they were taking her. They closed the line in front of her and wouldn't let us by. One of them began to write something in his notebook about us.

Upstairs, at the demo, this continued. On one hand there were two soundtrucks from which music was playing and a band which added a somewhat "festive" tone and at the beginning drowned out most possibilities of chanting. There were a lot of police, and they were going up to individuals within the march, ostensibly searching for weapons (one was a tooth brush) and busting some more "troublesome" elements. They seemed to be very worried the whole time that a section of youth at the march would get out of hand and were trying to figure out how to prevent that while overall lying low.

We brought a banner which the contingent made that afternoon: "Down with the U.S. invasion of Grenada and down with all imperialist war prepara-

tions East and West" — the banner itself had been in German (translated by a West German supporter). This was our main form of agitation during the march and drew forward many people. Two American Methodists came up, read the banner, said they worked in the peace movement and really dug the contingent. Another West German youth came up, read the banner and leaflet and took hold of one side of the banner to carry it during the march. About 1500 leaflets were distributed (at a certain point we ran out) to people in the march and alongside. The slogans we had when we were able to chant had a powerful effect on those who heard them. They were the ones on the banner and "A world without imperialism, not an imperialist world war" (in German). A number of people came up to us to find out who we were and to talk. A few people joined us repeatedly in both chants, though those who did stop when we came to the second part of our banner chant and all imperialist war preparations — East and West. Related to this, most of the people we talked to in depth saw the U.S. invasion as another example of U.S. intervention and didn't get the part about it being a sharp example of contention between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, an important part of an indication of their preparations for just that. In the section of the march where the more radical youth were, they raised the following chants: "Capitalist system sucks, Reagan is sucking blood out of the Latin American people," "Reagan is like a fascist," "Internationale Solidarität."

When the march neared America House it was stopped by a police blockade of wagons and cops with shields barring entry into the street. At that point the forces calling the march (some of them revisionists) set up a speaking stage in the back of their truck. While they spoke a block away from the blockade, a whole section of youth gathered about 50 feet from the police lines and waited (they were not into the speeches). After about an hour of this people dispersed. . . . □

Turning The Screw In The Persian Gulf

Recently the U.S. has been directing a growing number of belligerent threats and blandishments at Iran for its conduct in the Gulf war. Could it be that these American champions of human rights, democracy, and god-fearing decency are appalled by the carnage in the Gulf war — a war that has so far resulted in an estimated 200,000 Iranian and Iraqi deaths, 300,000 wounded, 1.5 million refugees, and some \$225 billion in damages on both sides? Hardly. It was, after all, these same imperialists who played a major role in instigating the war in September 1980, in the midst of the furor over the hostages in Iran. At that time, the U.S. along with other members of its bloc saw the war as a convenient way to strike out against the Iranian revolution, weaken the Khomeini regime and force it to come to terms with the West, as well as a means of drawing the Iraqis more firmly into the Western camp.

No, it isn't the slaughter of tens of thousands of Iranians and Iraqis that the U.S. is worried about. In fact the Gulf war is a stark illustration of the death and destruction these imperialists will wreak in pursuit of their global interests. Rather, the U.S. is now concerned that the war might prove damaging to its interests; in particular, if Iran acts upon its threat to halt Persian Gulf oil shipping, should Iraq use its newly acquired French Super Etendard jets to attack Iran's oil installations. Thus the U.S. has threatened to use military force to keep the Persian Gulf secure and the oil flowing.

Besides providing yet another example of the depths of imperialist cynicism and hypocrisy, these recent U.S. statements signal something of a shift in U.S. policy as regards Iran. Such a shift was of course also signaled by the hastiness with which the U.S. pointed toward Iran as the culprit in the bombing of the U.S. marine compound in Beirut. Searching for Khomeini behind the Beirut incident has obvious implications for U.S. (and European) "retaliatory measures" in Lebanon, perhaps against elements of the Lebanese Shi'ite community. But insofar as the Gulf area is concerned, these warnings and this shift reflect just how intolerable the situation in the region is for the imperialists — and that they are being driven to forcefully deal with the numerous and seemingly intractable obstacles they confront in seeking to secure the Middle East and project their forces into the region in preparation for their impending showdown with the Soviet Union. In fact recent U.S. declarations raised the real possibility that the Persian Gulf could be a coming target on the U.S.'s roll towards world war.

The Genesis of the Recent U.S. Threats

France's decision to "loan" Iraq five Super Etendard jets was the immediate cause of the latest round of threats and counter-threats in the Gulf war. This decision, which the U.S. ended up supporting, is a new effort by the West to both shore up the Iraqi regime and to pressure the Iranians into negotiating an end to the war. Although this war has ground on unspectacularly as of late, it continues to pose grave problems and dangers for Western interests in the Middle East.

The most immediate reason for Western concern is the weakness of the Iraqi regime. While there is little danger that Iraq will be militarily overwhelmed by the Iranians, it could well end up being defeated in what has turned into an economic war of attrition, because its oil exports through the Persian Gulf have been cut off by the fighting, and those through Syria to the Mediterranean cut off by the Syrians. Thus while Iran has been able to increase its oil exports to

some 1.8 million barrels a day since the start of the war and stabilize its economy somewhat, Iraq's oil exports have fallen from 2.5 million barrels a day in 1980 to 650,000 today; and its oil revenues from \$25 billion a year to some \$6.7 billion now, an amount not even sufficient to pay the estimated \$1 billion a month the war is costing the Iraqis, not to mention repaying the \$25 billion they owe the Gulf states and some \$4 to \$5 billion owed the French.

The assessment in the U.S. bloc is that unless the war is brought to a quick conclusion, or drastic measures are taken to shore up the Iraqis, the regime could go under, sending aftershocks throughout the region, and perhaps ending up with the reassertion of Soviet influence in Iraq — neither of which is acceptable to the West.

The French *Entendard's*, which can be equipped with Exocet missiles of the type used by Argentina in the Falklands war, are intended to give the Iraqis the capability of striking at Iran's oil exporting facilities on Kharg Island in the Persian Gulf. At the moment the betting is that rather than dramatically escalate the war, however, the Iraqis will use their new weaponry as a club with which to pressure the Iranians into softening their demands in the war (which have remained: the expulsion of Iraq from all Iranian territory; \$150 billion or thereabouts in war reparations; an international declaration placing blame for the war on the Iraqis; and, from time to time, the end of Saddam Hussein's rule in Iraq), and negotiating its end. The threat of escalation in the Gulf war is also useful to the Iraqis in forcing the Gulf states to cough up more aid, to speed plans for an alternate pipeline through Saudi Arabia, and to intensify the diplomatic pressures upon Syria to reopen the Iraqi pipeline to the Mediterranean.

Yet Iraq's threats do reflect the fact that they are in a desperate position. There are reports that Iran has mounted an offensive in northeast Iraq which seems to be aimed at cutting off Iraq's only remaining oil pipeline which runs north to Turkey and then to the Mediterranean Sea. (Turkey has been playing an important role for the U.S. bloc in the region, expanding its trade relations with both Iran and Iraq, as well as reportedly helping the Iraqis both protect their borders and pipeline, and suppress Iraqi Kurdish groups.)

In response Iraq has apparently launched a counteroffensive in the south, at the head of the Gulf, intended to cut shipping to Bandar Khomeini, an important Iranian port. If Iraq's move fails and/or Iran's succeeds, the Iraqis could feel their backs were to the wall and that they had no choice but to make good on their threats.

Likewise, Iranian talk of closing the Gulf has been seen more as bluster designed to intimidate the Iraqis and pressure Iraq's Western mentors to curb its behavior, than as an immediate threat. This, in part, because such a cutoff would also cut off the oil exports and the import of goods into Iran that it is so dependent upon. Of course, even if Iran is simply blustering, this represents a challenge to various U.S. client states in the region and a threat to U.S. authority therein.

But again, if Iraq did actually move to cut Iran's oil jugular, it could force the Iranians to take desperate measures. Any number of economic analysts have noted that Iran hardly needs to blockade the whole Gulf to interrupt oil shipment: the sinking of a tanker or two, for example, would send shipping insurance rates so high that most tanker traffic would grind to a halt.

For the U.S. as well, it is hoped that warnings of military action will stay

Iran's hand. But there can be no doubt that should Iran take action against Gulf shipping the U.S. would respond militarily to keep the Gulf open. That the U.S. would use military force to protect its "vital interests" in the Persian Gulf has been declared policy since the announcement of the Carter Doctrine in January 1980, following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. (And whether Iran actually takes any action or not, considering the rapidity of current events, it is certainly not beyond the realm of possibility that the simple threat of such action could be the excuse for some direct, high-profile U.S. move in the Gulf. Or maybe the U.S. will "retaliate" for the Beirut bombing someplace besides Lebanon?)

The fact that the U.S. aircraft carrier *Ranger*, four U.S. destroyers, 25 other warships, 2,000 marines, as well as French and British warships are in the area, along with recent reports of a U.S.-trained, 8,000-man Jordanian "strike force," are indications of both the U.S. bloc's determination to keep the Gulf open, as well as to project their military power into the region on an ongoing basis.

And given today's world situation, if Iran took any, even ineffectual, action against Gulf shipping, it would constitute a challenge to U.S. power and authority in a region that the imperialists couldn't let pass. In his October 17th press conference Secretary of State Shultz spelled out the U.S. attitude concerning who was going to do the threatening and the blackmailing to whom on this earth. When asked if the U.S. would respond to Iranian threats Shultz declared, "I do think we don't want to get ourselves into the position where the Iranians, or for that matter, anybody else, says, 'If you do X, or fail to do Y, we'll do something about the Strait of Hormuz. . . . We don't want to put anybody in the position of successful use of that kind of tactic.'" Apparently the U.S. imperialists are insisting that they have a monopoly in that regard.

A Shifting U.S. Policy

The French, who have taken the initiative to bolster Iraq's fighting ability and push for a halt to the Gulf war, have extensive interests in Iraq, and have been playing something of a point role for the Western bloc there since the beginning of the war. There have been reports that the French were involved in consultations with both the U.S. and the Iraqis on the eve of the war and along with the U.S. pushed for the initial Iraqi invasion of Iran. Since the war began, Iraq has received some \$3 billion in French arms, 40% of all French arms exports. And the French have other commercial interests in Iraq as well.

While there was some real concern in Washington that sending the jets could signal too much of a tilt towards Iraq and perhaps dangerously escalate the war, nonetheless they ended up supporting the French action. At his October 17th news conference, when asked about the planes, Shultz simply stated, "The French have made their decision." And a *New York Times* editorial of October 23rd applauded France's "timely and humane move," assuring the reader that France "surely does not want either Iran or Iraq to overwhelm the other or to ignite a wider war," and argued for support for the French effort. "Having aided Iraq in a desperate moment, France also proposed a new attempt to end this purposeless war. It will now need much help," the *Times* concludes.

This, along with the U.S. handling of the Iranian connection in Lebanon, does represent something of a shift in U.S. policy toward Iran. Ever since it became clear, early on in the Gulf war, that the

Western hope for a quick Iraqi victory that would force Iran back into the U.S. orbit was out of the question, the U.S. has been confronted with a serious dilemma in regard to the war. On the one hand the U.S. hasn't wanted to see Iran so fatally weakened that it would either be dismembered or turn to the Soviets for help or both. This dictated some indirect support for Iran, and restraining Iraq. On the other hand, the imperialists and their Gulf allies have been fearful of the destabilizing influence, and perhaps actions of a strong, or worse, victorious Iran — thus arguing for support for the Iraqi cause.

Until recently these contradictory poles have been expressed by U.S. policy of "neutrality," in which the U.S. has tried to exploit the war to extend its tentacles into both camps, while trying to limit the war's potentially destabilizing effects. This policy has been part and parcel of the U.S. tack of accepting Khomeini's rule and extending Iran some indirect support as the best way to both stabilize the situation in Iran, and keep Iran out of the Soviet camp; while at the same time seeking, in a variety of ways, to increase Western influence there.

To an extent this policy has been working. While the war in the Gulf has threatened to explode at various points, no irreparable damage has yet been done to Western interests; and at the same time there have been signs of increasing hostility between Iran and the Soviet Union, as well as increasing economic contacts between Iran and various countries in the U.S. bloc, including Japan.

Yet U.S. policy hasn't been working well enough given its necessities in today's world situation. Iran has continued to be intransigent in the war and create trouble for the U.S. in the region, while U.S. "neutrality" has not bought it much influence in Tehran. In addition to continuation of the Gulf war, the political impact of the Iranian revolution in the Middle East and Iran's ties with Syria have all added troublesome complications to U.S. efforts to consolidate its murderous grip on Lebanon. Thus the U.S.'s policy shift doesn't reflect a dramatic turn in Iranian politics so much as it does the fact that things are heating up on a world scale, and that what was once at least tolerable — namely Iran's various nationalist thrusts and ambitions — are increasingly unacceptable to the U.S. and its allies today.

The Iranian Connection in Lebanon

If the spotlight here is on the U.S., it's also important to see who's lurking in the shadows — the Soviet Union. While Iran is neither in the Soviet camp, nor acting as a Soviet cat's-paw in the region, the fact that the Soviets have tendered Iran important economic aid, and also declared that they would militarily oppose any U.S. invasion of Iran, has given the Khomeini regime much freedom of operation in the region. While Iraq has moved toward the West in the past few years, the danger of an Iraqi collapse is greatly compounded by the fact that the Soviets continue to have important influence in the Iraqi military and state apparatus, an influence that could be translated into power should the Hussein regime falter. And, of course, the Soviets are the main backers of Syria, as is well known.

It is the maneuvering and calculations of both sides — both imperialist blocs — that sets the framework for events in the Gulf. It remains to be seen if the next stop on the U.S. war roll will be in the Gulf. In any case, the U.S. has decidedly upped the ante. □

In the aftermath of the United States invasion of Grenada, a lot of squawking from the sundry capitals of Europe has been reported in the U.S. The allies were supposedly swooning with indignation. France was pictured immediately after the invasion as particularly filled with the wrath of the righteous: "the people of Grenada must recover without delay the right to determine their destiny," trumpeted an official government statement on Wednesday following the U.S. action. The French voted for the UN resolution censuring the U.S. for the invasion (the resolution passed the Security Council 11-1, forcing the U.S. to use its veto). British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, reporting to Parliament on the fate of a member of the British Commonwealth, related that she had "tried unsuccessfully to dissuade President Reagan from taking military action." The Kohl government in West Germany stiffly suggested that "if we had been consulted we would have advised against it." Canada's Prime Minister Trudeau expressed similar "astonishment" that the U.S. supposedly hadn't conferred with its allies beforehand. In short, the general drift of the chorus from Europe was that (1) "Reagan didn't consult with us on this one," and (2), "if he had we would have been horrified at the mere thought of violating the integrity of sovereign Grenada." Much was made of the potential impact of the invasion on further increasing opposition to the upcoming deployment to U.S. Pershing/cruise intermediate-range nuclear weapons in Europe later this year.

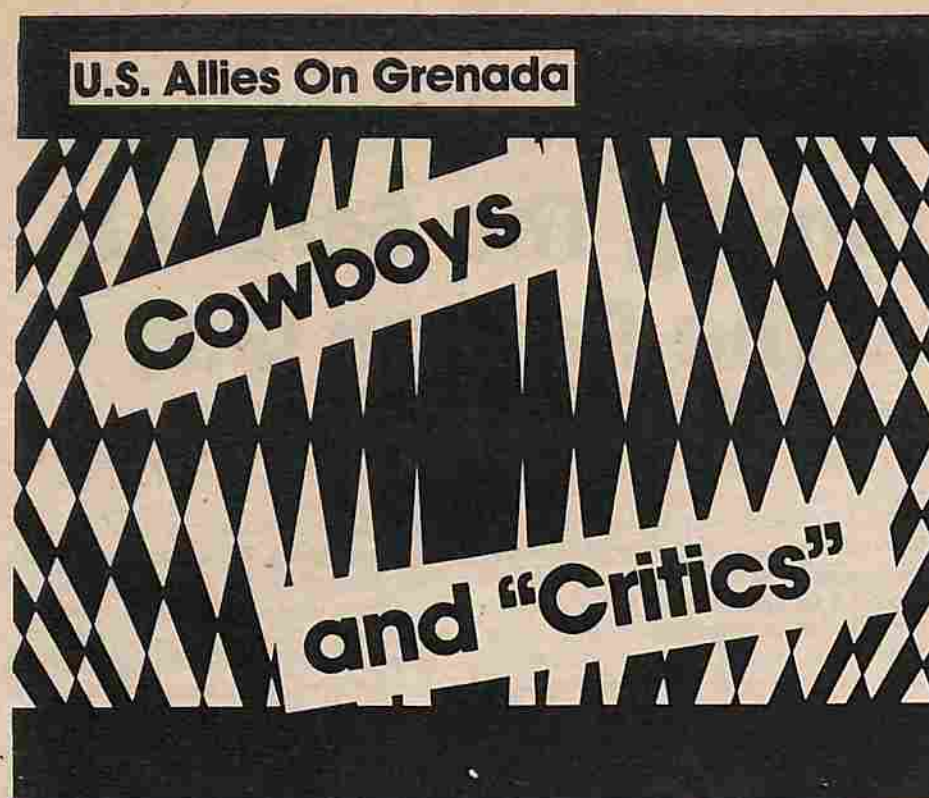
But as the smoke clears the purely tactical nature of a lot of the initial "disapproval" of the U.S. invasion of Grenada by the European powers is starting to become obvious. On October 27th, the *Christian Science Monitor* ran an analysis which almost hysterically described the NATO allies as "rethinking their view of President Reagan as an ally and as head of the world's most powerful country" as a result of the negative impact of the Grenada invasion. "Now French diplomats speak coldly of the U.S. administration acting without sufficient consideration for friends and allies. . . . Privately, British government leaders are furious about what they see as Reagan's rough handling of the Grenada crisis. . . . The invasion of Grenada is 'dreadful' in its negative impact on European public opinion, a retired West German general says. . . . Privately, officials worry about the effect of the Grenada adventure a month before controversial new NATO missile deployments are to begin."

But by November 3, the *New York Times* began to present the case that things weren't quite so bad with the Europeans after all:

"After strong initial disapproval by United States allies, several politicians and commentators in Western Europe are saying they now understand the invasion of Grenada better and in some cases approve of it. . . ." The *Times*' observations on the French attitude are interesting: "The Socialist government has not referred to the invasion since its condemnation last Wednesday and hardly appears interested in pressing the issue. Rather, it is concerned about the possibility of the disruptive Cuban role in French possessions in the Caribbean."

"In its two and a half years in power, the government has moved towards policies related to clearly defined national interests. It has responsibility for French territories around the world, and there were reports of strikes and police intervention in Tahiti and Martinique in the press here today. In line with this reality, there has been no outpouring of excited words about the Grenada invasion."

And so, what are the French truly "concerned" with as regards the Caribbean? They are "concerned" with moving on the Cuban influence in their own Caribbean colonies and neocolonies, "concerned" to profit the utmost from the U.S. armed assault! Plainly there is a division of labor here whereby the U.S. cowboys shoot up the town, while under cover of all the uproar, and piously admonishing the Americans for their lawlessness and disregard of "human rights," the French assiduously carry out their own dirty work. This is an excellent example of the kind of dynamic at work following all the early "condemnation" of the U.S. by the equally imperialist partners of its bloc. While hypocritical noises are made to the effect that these



professed second-rate imperialists have been crudely shoved aside by the big, bad U.S. superpower, this has been chiefly for the purposes of deceiving the public at home; privately, and increasingly not so privately, the "junior partners" are pleased as punch, and what's more, have been operating like crazy in the situation.

Britain is another case on this point. The Grenada issue is especially sensitive for Britain because of the historic British role in the Caribbean and the Commonwealth status of Grenada. However, here again recent news confirms that there was considerable support in British ruling circles for the invasion — not merely resigned acquiescence, but rah rah, go Team America! "Right wing Tories, who appeared to be on the defensive in the first few days after the invasion, turned on the foreign secretary, Sir Jeffrey Howe, at a private meeting Tuesday night and accused him of undermining the British-American alliance by complaining that Washington had not adequately consulted London beforehand. . . . At a rowdy session some MPs said that Mrs. Thatcher should have backed the United States completely. . . . And some said that at a minimum Britain should have voted with the United States at the United Nations. Britain abstained on the Security Council resolution that was vetoed by the United States." Meanwhile, reports have surfaced of a British Commonwealth proposal, spearheaded by Canada's Trudeau (who has apparently set firmly to one side his "astonishment" at the U.S.), that an all-Commonwealth "peacekeeping force" would replace U.S. troops when (and if) they withdraw. Canada and New Zealand have already reportedly confirmed participation while Mrs. Thatcher said last week that she would consider "sympathetically" any appeal for British "help." Ah, yet more

disinterested peacekeepers in the world. Under the signboard of this remarkable and "more reasonable" public image to replace the U.S. cowboys on the island and voilà! a stunning sleight-of-hand. . . . these imperialists can both nobly oppose the invasion and help consolidate its gains.

In Britain, as in West Germany and Italy where Euromissile deployments are soon to get underway, certain officials inevitably voiced the opinion that this would exacerbate public opinion and make the deployments more difficult. In reality, the familiar old image of the U.S. marines ravishing yet another country can only help to reinforce the political strategy of the NATO countries, which has been to ram across at every opportunity the determination to deploy, and the utter futility of protest. Thus, the Thatcher government — hardly stepping lightly on the issue! — followed up the invasion news with a statement by Defense Secretary Heseltine that the government "could not guarantee" that protestors intruding onto cruise missile sites would not be shot. Thatcher herself, challenged to disavow the statement, would not do so, but instead reaffirmed that "nuclear bases must be protected."

The way the invasion has been officially linked to the missile deployments in Britain also throws some further light on the division of labor between the U.S. and its European allies. Even before the invasion, a debate, vigorously promoted in the media, has ranged around the U.S. insistence that it hold the launch key to the cruise missiles to be deployed in Great Britain. This quarrel over which nation should have the privilege of actually firing the atomic weapons on the Russians shows that the scenario casting the U.S. as tough guy running roughshod over its own allies can even find some expression

in official England, which has been especially chummy with the Reagan administration and rock-solid on the deployment, as noted. After the Grenada action, much publicity was given to Labour leader Denis Healey, who raged that "President Reagan has shown by his Caribbean action that his administration cannot command confidence, for example in arrangements for controlling, and if necessary, firing cruise missiles." By all means, this is the kind of "opposition" which the Western bloc can ride right into world war! The U.S. can be said to be perfectly willing to play cowboy, while within its allied countries, there is patriotic "struggle" to control the means to do their bit in launching nuclear war "if necessary."

Finally, in Paris, where the members of the multinational imperialist peacekeeping force in Lebanon met only days after the invasion, it was reported that the U.S. would have its hands full of complaining allies, their supposed reluctance about continued participation in Lebanon reinforced by their gripes over the Grenada invasion. Nothing of the sort materialized. Instead, on Thursday, the peacekeepers decided to explore ways to jointly retaliate for the bombings of French and U.S. troop compounds.

All of this is not to deny that there are real contradictions and contention among the U.S. and its imperialist allies. It is known, for example, that the Grenada airstrip under construction with Cuban help, long a target of U.S. political attack even before the invasion, was being built by a British company, Plessey Airports, whose contract was underwritten by the British government. (The company says the airport included no features common to military airstrips, such as underground weapons and fuel storage areas.) We cannot say whether this indicates previous differences between the U.S. and the Europeans on how to deal with the Bishop government (and the Cubans) or whether this was yet another way the U.S. bloc was deliberately working on the matter from different angles. Similarly, it is not now possible to know all the details of who did or did not consult whom just before the U.S. action.

But what is rather clear is that it can sometimes be a political advantage not to have been consulted. In this and in many other ways, the Europeans have been able to seize on precisely their position in the alliance, not heading up the bloc, to gain considerable ground in strengthening their own position for the coming showdown and furthering the preparation of the bloc as a whole. In Paris, *Le Monde* applauded the action saying that "President Reagan scored an important point with American public opinion." It is a point which, *Le Monde* knows, has been scored worldwide on behalf of all the Western imperialists, a point about the kind of actions — and this doesn't mean peaceful — which must become "acceptable" in preparation for the confrontation ahead. □

Flag Planting

Continued from page 9

the possibility of the CARICOM countries actually mounting some sort of military action against Grenada months ago. Jamaica's Prime Minister Seaga (otherwise known as CIAga) also spoke quite freely about U.S. involvement in discussions with the Caribbean countries well before the U.S. officially admits to participating in such discussions.

Perhaps the most amusing "exposé" to surface over the last week has to do with Sir Paul Scoon and his role in the invasion. In pulling together their raggedy and purposely transparent rationale for the invasion the OECS declared that its founding charter entitled them to invade Grenada. However, there were a few obvious problems here. For one thing Grenada was a member of the OECS — a problem which was easily solved by simply expelling it. For another the OECS charter allows for military intervention in cases of a foreign takeover of a country in the region or upon the request of the legitimate government of the country. Since the military junta in Grenada was not about to invite the OECS and the U.S. to invade the country, the U.S. and its Eastern Caribbean allies came up with

the idea that Paul Scoon — the governor general in Grenada and the representative of the Queen of England — was the real legitimate government in the country. After the invasion began, the OECS declared that Scoon had personally and secretly requested the invasion himself and that they have a signed letter to prove it. Well, it seems that there were a few minor hitches to this story. Scoon had apparently been in contact with the British government up until just before the invasion and had made no mention of such a request. The OECS explained away this discrepancy by stating that Scoon had to smuggle his request out of Grenada in secret since he was afraid that the Cubans would kill him if they ever got wind of it. However, this story also runs into some problems when it is pointed out that Scoon was not so afraid of the Cubans that it prevented him from erecting a large sign on his front lawn on the morning of the invasion which stated "Welcome U.S. Marines." But despite these minor problems, the OECS needn't have worried. Once U.S. forces reached Scoon's residence and "rescued" him, an OECS official simply presented Scoon with an already written request for military intervention in Grenada and which he promptly signed — thereby making the entire thing "legal." □

CORRECTION

Due to an error in transcription, in last week's *RW* (No. 228) the article "The Peace They Keep" (page 5), contained a factual misrepresentation. A line in the article pointed out that the blast at marine headquarters October 23 was of about the same explosive power as a single shell fired from the 16-inch guns of the USS *New Jersey*, the battleship which has given U.S. gunboat diplomacy off Lebanese shores an entirely new dimension since its arrival in late September. However, while the offshore U.S. fleet fired salvos on Druse positions with increasing regularity throughout September, the *New Jersey*'s more formidable destructive power has not been employed — yet. The threat to do so remains a major component of U.S. diplomacy there, and it is worth noting that numerous Phalangist and Lebanese government officials — once again boldly displaying their "national independence" — renewed their call for the U.S. to use the 16-inch guns following the October 23 bombing, and thereby more dramatically underscore its commitment to "defend" Lebanon from "foreign elements." □

Kampucheans In The California Fields

"Stockton," someone explained, "is like a lot of the San Joaquin Valley towns — you're either white or you're not." Driving through Stockton, the contrast was clear — the city is spread out, in the middle of the huge agricultural valley, and most of the people live in neighborhoods where the houses are spread out, green lawns, hardly anyone around. Then, in the middle of that, a project — either Mexican or Indochinese refugees, or a mixture, kids running and playing all over the place. In the last year or two, there has been a massive migration of Indochinese into Stockton, until now the city is nearly ten percent Indochinese. Politically, culturally and economically, this is certainly a new element in rural Stockton.

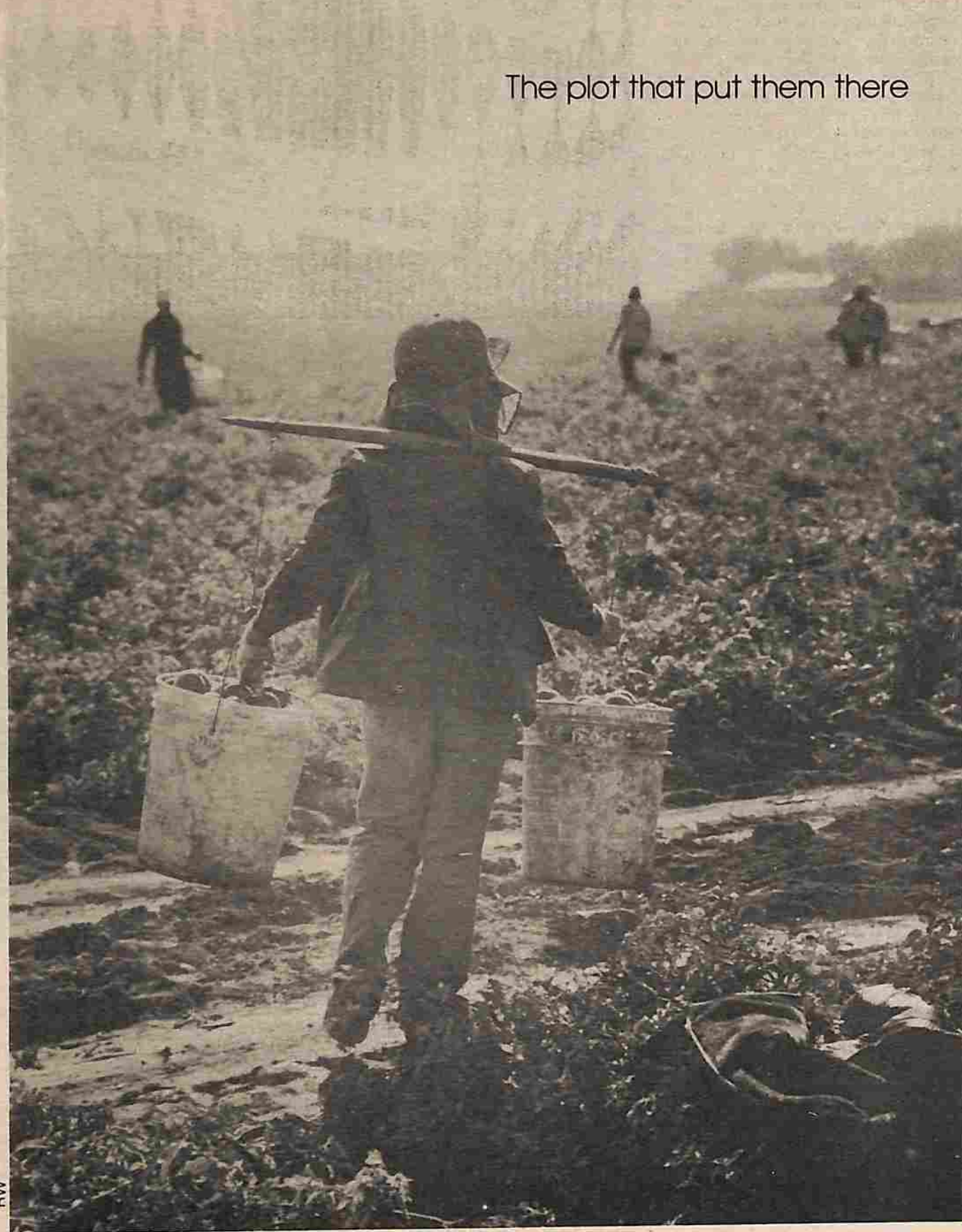
Tyrolean Village, within sight of Chuck E. Cheese and rows of new condominiums, is one of the projects full of former Laotian and Cambodian peasants — the project itself is built with phony Alpine Village facades, nailed onto your basic cheapo pre-fab California projects. And inside, Cambodian women wearing sarongs, women who get harassed and become the targets of racist remarks if they dare to venture to the Lucky's supermarket without changing to Western dress.

On our first trip to Tyrolean Village, one Mexican woman, a fieldworker herself, had stepped forward bursting with indignation and almost demanding exposure of the conditions of the Indochinese in the fields. She told us of Indochinese fieldworkers cheated out of their pay, of a foreman in the fields being handed leather thongs to use as whips on Indochinese workers. She also told us of several young Indochinese fieldworkers who overheard a grower telling a labor contractor, "We ought to take a pistol and shoot these (Asian) animals." The young men had promptly jumped the grower and bloodied his face before they were pulled off, and hauled off to jail. The stories the Mexican woman told us were in themselves a kind of bitter refutation of the myth of the "Golden Mountain" that U.S. imperialism had held up as a lure to these refugees — and we wanted to find out what else was going on with the refugees in the valley.

Now, at 5 a.m., the lights started to go on in Tyrolean Village; not too long after, some vans drove up, and the Cambodian workers, dressed for the field, their faces already wrapped with scarves for protection from the insects and dust, piled into the vans. The vans went to three other projects, always picking up Cambodians, then drove for nearly an hour to a tomato field outside the town of Tracy. As the sun came up and the tomato-hauling gondola made its appearance, the people set to work. The heat of the sun seemed to waken swarms of biting, stinging insects in the fields; it was not hard to see why people had their faces wrapped.

The Mexican supervisor for the operation in the tomato field bragged about "his" new workers, "We are very happy for the Cambodians. We were a little unsure at first but next summer we plan to start them out in the green tomatoes. These people work hard, with respect. They're like my people used to be. When I first came here 30 years ago the owner would walk out into the field and say, 'Do this' and 'work over here,' and you'd say, 'Yes sir.' But now if you tell my people what to do, they say 'Fuck you.'"

The Cambodian labor contractor who had organized the trip to the field filled out what was obviously the official line: "His" people were working for 70 cents for two buckets — ten percent less than the Mexicans. He said that this was the first summer that Cambodians had worked as a whole crew in the Stockton area, in the tomato and cucumber fields. He mentioned trying to get people to work in the olives in Sacramento and Oroville — and said he might write a proposal for a government grant to train people in picking crops like asparagus. Of course, he



RW

went on, he was only doing this out of humanitarian interests — "his people" weren't learning English and had no hope for anything else.

Not too long after this encounter in the fields we learned that this "humanitarian" was Pon Kith, a former member of the Cambodian navy under the U.S.-backed Lon Nol dictatorship. He had been in the U.S. studying electronics with the U.S. Army when the U.S.-puppet government fell to the Khmer Rouge, and he had ended up in Stockton, where he became head of the United Front for the Independence of Laos and Kampuchea, a reactionary organization planning armed struggle against Vietnamese "communism," according to the Stockton press, and at the same time, he is the only Cambodian social worker employed by Catholic Charities in San Joaquin County. Catholic Charities is the main refugee assistance organization in the county, and is currently organizing the influx of Indochinese refugees into Stockton and the nearby area.

At this point, so far as we've been able to tell, Pon Kith is the only Indochinese labor contractor currently operating in the Stockton area, and there have been only a relatively small number of refugees — one or two thousand — working in the fields. But every indication is that there

will be more, perhaps many more. Stockton and the San Joaquin Valley cities have become a receiving area for the refugees from Indochina, an area where some of the sharpest exploitation of "Golden Mountain" is going on; Pon Kith is hardly the only figure in the valley with an exploiter's callous gleam in the eye when he looks at "his people."

Ever since the "second wave" of Indochinese immigrants came to the U.S., they have both been subject to harsh repression, and a difficult force for the U.S. government; because of their languages, culture and to a degree, their political experience, they have found themselves isolated and oppressed by conditions in the myriad of mid-American locations to which they were, at first, dispersed.

In this respect, the "second wave" is quite different from the "first wave" of immigrants, who came right after the fall of South Vietnam, and other U.S.-backed regimes in Indochina. The "first wave" was trained both politically, and technically, to be a loyal social base of the U.S. in Indochina, and they fit into U.S. society fairly easily. The "second wave" was not only different in that many of them came from oppressed classes in Indochina, including a significant number of workers and peasants,

but they came not because they like the U.S. so much, but because they were either oppressed or literally driven out by the consolidation of pro-Soviet revisionist regimes, and they were used as human pawns in a high-stakes propaganda war between the U.S. and the Soviet bloc.

When the "second wave" refugees were brought into the U.S., they were at first scattered fairly evenly throughout the country. But after a couple of winters of this experience, there began massive secondary migrations of immigrants to cities and areas where the refugees thought they could find a tolerable life, places like San Francisco, where a large immigrant Asian population already existed; but even in cities of their own choosing the immigrants have been forced into a kind of limbo existence, where life revolves around TV, English language classes, welfare offices, and a few cultural events. These refugees are still largely unemployed with few prospects of getting a job, and among some groups, like the tribal Hmong, suicide rates have reached proportions that have alarmed even the Congressional committees that are deciding whether to cut off federal aid to the refugees. The "Golden Mountain" is turning very bitter indeed

The plot that put them there



Laotian youth in a Stockton project



Cambodian farmworkers

California Fields

from page 15

for these refugees.

There has been some debate in the government, including in various Congressional committees, over just what to do with the refugees. The government apparently hopes that luring tens of thousands of refugees into the San Joaquin Valley will both solve any possible political problems by isolating them and smothering them in the more openly reactionary political climate in places like Stockton, and also provide the bourgeoisie with a force of people that can be exploited in various ways, at the bottom of the rural proletariat. One indication of the serious political attention paid to all this, besides the efforts of Pon Kith in the fields, is the presence of another "friend" of the Indochinese people, Barbara Keating-Edh, head of the Catholic Charities Refugee Program in the Stockton area. She is the widow of a marine major killed in an ambush near Hue in 1968, and she was active in the pro-Vietnam War movement. She later ran unsuccessfully for a senate seat in New York and then served on James Buckley's senate staff. When Reagan was elected, she was appointed to his transition team. From there, she jumped right into her refugee work in Stockton. A strange jump for someone with such high-powered connections.

Part of the work of Keating-Edh and Catholic Charities is to get the refugees into Stockton or the Valley in the first place. With the help of the various arms of the government, they have both lured and forced over 16,000 refugees to Stockton, until refugees now total nearly one-tenth of the local population, with 400 more arriving each month.

Largely as a result of efforts like those of Keating-Edh, there are now in the Valley from Sacramento to Fresno at least 50,000 Indochinese refugees. Catholic Charities itself receives \$500 from the federal government for each refugee resettled; local bureaucrats claim

that local welfare agencies in other states told Indochinese to migrate to the Stockton area or they will be cut off welfare; certainly the various reactionary Indochinese organizations have played a role in this migration as well — for example, this past September, 3,000 Hmong people moved en masse from Minnesota to California, 6-700 settling in Stockton. The Hmong, a tribal people from the hills of Laos, are the most tightly organized nationality among the different groups of refugees. Clan ties and extreme isolation in the alien U.S. culture have kept the Hmong tightly united under the control of the notorious Vang Pao, a CIA-linked general who led the Hmong people into military battle with the U.S. against the liberation forces in Indochina for several decades. Vang Pao had to have some hand in the migration of 3,000 Hmong to California.

Part of the U.S.'s effort to get refugees to Stockton have included systematic promotion efforts. Stories of the weather in the San Joaquin Valley have been widely circulated in refugee communities across the U.S., and hot weather has no doubt seemed attractive to Indochinese who were literally freezing to death and starving at the same time in places like Minnesota last winter. More importantly, perhaps, stories of successful refugee cooperative farms have been widely circulated (including on TV in the San Francisco Bay Area). Such stories are designed to pull on the dream of ex-peasants for a plot of land; they are based on several small co-ops involving about 75 Hmong and Cambodian families which presently exist with federal aid, apparently set up for the precise purpose of luring others.

Such co-ops, as any kind of widespread phenomena, are almost ridiculous as a solution for the refugees — the cost of land alone makes them impossible, even disregarding enormous difficulties posed by entering the highly mechanized and capital-intensive agriculture that dominates the Valley, it's like a plan for truck assembly plants in your basement. It is not the life of cooperative farmers that is awaiting the refugees, but the life of rural wage slaves. Keating-Edh herself

made this clear enough in 1981, shortly after she arrived. The *Modesto Bee* reported that she met with Stockton area industrialists, businessmen and leading politicians to discuss the refugee question, and that she "took special note of the suggestion by farmers and Stanislaus County supervisors that the Asians should contact labor contractors and go after field work." As Keating-Edh commented in the meeting, the refugees "will do well on our ranch if we can get them there...."

As we mentioned, as far as we can tell, only about 1,000-2,000 refugees worked in the fields in the Stockton area this past season and many of them only part-time. When looked at from the point of view of how many of the refugees from the second wave have been able to find any kind of work at all in the U.S., even this small number has attraction. Many refugees have left San Francisco for the Valley upon hearing of the mere possibility of work of any kind at all — some of them return on visits to San Francisco, telling of back-breaking labor in pesticide-laden, highly socialized and mechanized fields. Not what the average refugee had in mind when hearing the tales of the "Golden Mountain" from some concentration-type refugee camp in S.E. Asia; but for many who have lived for years now in some inner-city hellhole or some suburban wasteland, there is nowhere else to go.

And there is a kind of double viciousness to the bourgeoisie's luring of the refugees to the San Joaquin Valley area — the area has a particularly vicious and backward history of national oppression and oppression of the rural proletariat. Farmworkers there have waged sharp battles, but they have been met with especially violent resistance from both authorities and from organized vigilantes. The San Joaquin Valley is probably the only major agricultural area in California where the United Farm Workers has never had a contract. In 1975, for example, one of the most violent strikes in the recent history of the California farmworkers movement was defeated in part when vigilantes organiz-

ed under the banner of the Posse Comitatus, a Klan-type political organization, forced union organizers out of the fields at gunpoint.

More recently, there has been, as in other areas, a vicious and tightening clamp on "illegal" farmworkers from Mexico. In the last year and a half, the newspapers have reported six separate incidents of Mexican fieldworkers drowned while being pursued by or in the custody of La Migra. Mexican farmworkers told us the cost for illegals to buy "papers" from the labor contractors is now double what it used to be.

All this adds up to a pressure-cooker kind of situation, with the U.S. seeking to gain maximum mileage out of the desperate situation of the refugees. This summer, for example, a group of refugees was used as strike breakers in the strike in the tomato fields. (It is worth noting, however, that while the refugees were led into breaking the strike, they refused to cross the picket lines after a day or so, apparently because they realized what they were being used for; on the other side, many of the Mexican strikers saw quickly enough through the bourgeoisie's crude effort; and in fact, the woman we mentioned at the beginning of this article, who first told us of the treatment of the Indochinese in the fields and demanded exposure, was one of the Mexican fieldworkers on strike.)

It seems that particular attention has been focused in attempts to attack and break down any "fraternization" between the Indochinese and the Mexicans. It would seem that the Mexicans' accumulated experience of a life in the belly of the U.S., and in the fields in particular, is something the U.S. would rather keep away from the new refugees. (And no doubt keeping the refugees away from the rebellious and revolutionary political currents that run through Central America, Mexico, and into the fields of the Southwest is also part of the U.S.'s concern.) In Stockton, for example, after the press had repeatedly spread stories of refugees killing and eating pet dogs, a Laotian family which lived in a project

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Internationalism Continued from page 7

he waged against the very real problem in the Chinese Communist Party of copying and relying mainly on the Soviet Union, there was interpenetrating with this a more general tendency that we have pointed to elsewhere: a secondary tendency to be influenced to a certain degree by nationalism and more specifically to view things too much country-by-country, separating developments in different countries too much from each other, but more fundamentally than that, too much from developments in the world as a whole, a process into which the different countries are integrated in the overall way discussed here. At the same time, the point of all this is not that the developments — and specifically the revolutionary struggles — in any particular country are determined by or even must depend on such developments in some other country (or countries). The point is that the *world arena* is decisive, not only in terms of the general and long-term process of advancing to world communism but even in determining developments within particular countries as part of that overall process — that in fact, “in an overall sense the development of the class (and national) struggle, the development of revolutionary situations, etc., in particular countries are more determined by developments in the world as a whole than by developments in the particular countries — determined not only as a condition of change (external cause) but as a basis of change (internal cause).”

Indeed recent events in the world provide many examples of this. For example, are the sharpening of crises and the shattering of the proclaimed stability (even prosperity) in such places as Brazil and Mexico, and even more acutely (in terms of social upheaval) in the Philippines or Chile, understandable primarily as the result of causes within those different countries themselves or more decisively as the result of changes in the world as a whole and in particular the crisis of the Western imperialist bloc interpenetrating with the crisis in the Soviet-led bloc and the rivalry between the two blocs? An analysis of the situation and changes in Brazil, Mexico, the Philippines, Chile and other countries confirms the fact that it is the latter, the changes in the world situation, that are determining the changes in these (and other) countries (such an analysis is, again, beyond the scope of this article — and the reader is again urged to study *America in Decline* — but even certain obvious phenomena, such as the common feature of tremendous accumulation of debt to imperialist finance capital along with the fact that these crises are breaking out in these different countries in the same period, suggest some larger dialectic at work than the situation within these countries). Further, is the timing as well as the character of the crisis and the eruption of social upheaval in Poland (or Iran just before that) really explainable primarily on the basis of the situations within those countries rather than the overall development of the world situation, as discussed?*

Failing to grasp, or turning aside from, the basic process involved in all this — ignoring or rejecting the decisiveness of the world arena — can only lead, sooner or later, to setbacks in the revolutionary struggle within a particular country, since its development is in fact determined above all by developments in the world as a whole. More fundamentally, it will lead away from grasping the essential developments in the world situation and the tasks these place before the international communist movement. In today's world situation such an erroneous tendency is generally associated with a failure (or refusal) to grasp or really come to grips with what is the principal contradiction in the world today — that between the two imperialist blocs — with the driving forces of capitalist accumulation and interimperialist rivalry underlying this, with the concrete and intensifying preparations for world war on both sides and above all with the approach of a world-historic conjuncture that will present profound challenges and possibilities for the international proletariat, including heightened revolutionary prospects in many different countries and overall.

Grasping and applying the understanding stressed throughout this article —

*As for the basic character of the revolution in a particular country — that is, whether the revolution requires two stages, with the first stage being new-democracy as the necessary prelude to socialism, or a one-stage proletarian-socialist revolution — does depend on the nature of, the internal contradictions within, the particular country. But this is not an absolute: depending on the developments in the world as a whole, including the possibility of successful revolutions in one or more imperialist countries, it might be possible, more or less, to bypass the new-democratic stage in a colonial (or neocolonial) country marked by predominantly precapitalist relations. The fact that at this point this is not now possible is a reflection of the overall conditions and relations in the world — and an illustration of the fundamental principle that the world arena and changes within it are overall most determinant of developments even within particular countries.

A Lesson Concerning Crisis, Social Upheaval and Potential Revolutionary Situations

One of the critical aspects of the situations in such countries as Brazil and Mexico, and even more sharply expressed in recent events in the Philippines and Chile, is the role of the middle classes. In each case, along with significant divisions, real cracks and fissures, developing among the ruling classes, one of the distinguishing features marking the development of serious crisis has been the disaffection of large sections of the middle classes which were previously supportive of the status quo and the parties of order. The example of office workers waging militant battles with the police in the business districts of Manila is a striking case in point. It is a bitter truth that these middle classes, or large sections of them, so long as the regime in power can provide stability and hope for their advancement, will support such a regime regardless of how repressive it is, especially toward the exploited masses, and how much those masses may suffer. Such support is a powerful weight bearing down on these masses and hindering their ability to rise in revolt. But the more important truth is that, when such prospects of prosperity and even a stable economic-social situation are undermined, by developments determined by the very contradictions of the imperialist system, the middle classes, while retaining their same basic class nature and outlook, will turn away from such regimes, even in certain circumstances turn to militant struggle against them. This in turn — and again, along with the deepening cracks among the ruling classes themselves — can provide important openings through which the much more fundamental opposition of the exploited masses can erupt and can help provide opportunities for the class-conscious proletariat to forge such struggle into a powerful revolutionary movement. It is only such a movement which, especially as the objective contradictions sharpen and ultimately revolutionary prospects ripen, can paralyze the vacillations of the middle classes and win significant sections of them to at least friendly neutrality toward a real and deep-going revolutionary overthrow of the old order and transformation of the social relations and conditions.

B.A.

above all the decisiveness of the world arena — in no way downplays but in fact emphasizes revolutionary struggles in particular countries. For one thing, as we have stressed in making precisely this analysis of the central role of world contradictions and relations,

“periods of preparation in one country are periods of revolution in another. This is not just some moral warning to help us stiffen up our internationalism. Revolutions (or revolutionary struggles) that take place in periods which are overall preparatory periods on a world scale are not only important for the people in that particular country, but have influence on the material strength of world forces and on the sentiments of the masses worldwide. This can have a significant effect on the outcome when a world-historic conjuncture does arise.” (*Accumulating Revolutionary Forces for the Coming Showdown*, Report from the Central Committee of the RCP, USA, 1982, Part 1: “Background Material,” Section II: “More on Central Task, Accumulating Revolutionary Forces,” special supplement to *RW* No. 194, p. 4)

Further, revolutions that are made during such conjunctures, when the possibilities for revolution are greatly heightened, while they exert a tremendous influence on the world situation for perhaps decades to come, nevertheless are made and must be made in particular countries (relatively speaking, since revolutions tend to change boundaries, may occur more or less simultaneously in adjacent countries, and so on). The whole point of our analysis — the ultimate objective we are driving at while consistently and repeatedly stressing the decisiveness of the world arena — is to enable the revolutionary communist forces to lead revolutionary masses in making revolution in as many countries as possible, to seize from the imperialists as much of the world as can be wrenched from them and overall to make the greatest possible advances toward the goal of the international proletariat, a communist world — exactly in a period when the possibilities for this will be concentrated and raised to a much higher level and exactly by grasping the dynamic motive forces at work, first and above all on a world scale. □

California Fields

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with Indochinese and Mexican families was accused of eating their Mexican neighbor's dog. The whole thing was whipped up, the Laotian family threatened with eviction and finally driven from their home — they had been gone several days when the dog reappeared.

Incidents like the “pet-eating” story have been only one part of a series of vicious slanders and attacks on the Indochinese in Stockton.

One of the sharpest examples occurred during Cambodian New Year, this past April. Traditionally, the Khmer people go to pay visits to Buddhist monks during the New Year's celebrations which last about one week. The only Cambodian Buddhist “temple” in northern California is in Stockton, a house converted into a temple and living quarters for the monks. During a large New Year's gathering at this temple, a group of Stockton reactionaries pulled up in a pickup truck and pointed a shotgun at the people gathered in the front yard. They told the refugees to get the hell out and not to hold any more “weird gatherings” in their town. The local police were called and soon drove up, they told the refugees

to “try to understand how they feel,” and then proceeded to ticket the cars parked outside the “temple.” This harassment, by both locals and police, continued up until commencement of the New Year day itself. Some Cambodians had gone to Stockton City Hall to get a permit for a large gathering and were told they didn't need a permit. When a crowd of 1,000 arrived, so did the police, who said the ceremony was “illegal” and ordered everyone to go home, which they did. The Cambodians were forced to break their ceremonies up and hold them in small apartments in smaller groups in Stockton and the Bay Area.

All of this has assumed even more vicious proportions as the reactionary organizations like the KKK that have long been active in the Valley have targeted the refugees. In 1981 a series of KKK threats against Indochinese in Sacramento and Stockton were given widespread publicity in the media. The newspapers reported that in the wake of the threats, over 100 refugees left Stockton immediately, for periods of up to two weeks, on the basis of what the newspapers called “rumors” that the Klan was planning to kill refugees. Some

of the refugees apparently had a slightly different reaction: police reported a sudden surge of Indochinese buying guns.

At this point, it seems that the combined effect of such a tack and the overall situation of the Indochinese in the U.S. has had the effect of pushing the refugee community inward, and forcing the immigrants under the “protection” of the various organized reactionary forces among the Indochinese in the U.S. Such organizations have been recruiting for some time in the Bay Area — Vietnamese organizations have opened offices in San Jose, and Cambodian organizations have offices in San Francisco, for example. Cambodian families in San Francisco have reported pressure from organizations seeking cash to support “Sihanoukville.” Cambodians have also reported efforts in Hawaii to raise money “to send young men to Cambodia” for the armed struggle against Vietnamese occupation. The pressure cooker in Stockton could certainly have the effect of giving the reactionary nationalists a boost in their recruiting efforts. It is certainly possible that building up the pro-U.S. military organizations was in fact part of the purpose of the U.S. govern-

ment all along in forcing the Indochinese to Stockton.

The U.S. has certainly used the original second wave of Indochinese refugees to score some badly needed propaganda points, and show that somehow life under Soviet domination was even worse than U.S. domination. And now the government has brought them to this country, shuffled them around thousands of miles of territory, and driven them into the bitterest depths of the hell this society can be. As a Lao youth told us nearly two years ago: “Every step of the way, from Indochina to the U.S., they've tried to whip us into line, to make very clear just who is in control and who isn't, to humiliate us. And those of us who protest or rebel against this treatment are singled out for special harassment and even more intense attack, constant harassment at work, blacklisting from jobs, or even outright murder...” The two vicious faces of the U.S. toward the Indochinese refugees offer unparalleled exposure of the hypocrisy atop the American “Golden Mountain.” □

Euromissile Resistance

Continued from page 11

man cops were stationed in front of both U.S. and Soviet installations and even convoyed a car of Russian officers through the crowd photographing individual demonstrators.

Meanwhile, just across the wall in East Berlin, several church and independent peace forces called for a mass "die-in" in Alexander Platz. Despite the fact that the action was ostensibly directed at the deployment of U.S. missiles, the East German cops responded with a wave of preventive arrests the night before. Of the small number that did show up, 50 were taken off by police, and everyone who appeared to be under thirty had their ID's checked.

While all this was going on, the West German bourgeoisie had no intention of leaving the battle for public opinion in the exclusive hands of the antimissile demonstrators. In several cities the ruling CDU (the Christian Democrats) held counter rallies. With much fanfare, Interior Minister Friedrich Zimmermann issued a chart describing how various antimissile groups were controlled directly by the Soviet Union through the East German Communist Party. Defense Minister Manfred Wörner issued a 265-page (200,000 copies printed) "white book" on the new needs of West German war preparations. He called for new nuclear short-range weapons, improved U.S. poison gas grenades, approved the stationing of the U.S. missiles, and called for improved conventional weapons capabilities. At the annual book fair in Frankfurt, an award was given to French author Manès Sperber, who in his acceptance speech called those who equate the U.S. and the Soviets "blinded" and called for Europe itself to become a superpower. And to cap off the protest week, U.S. war-dog Robert McNamara was awarded in Berlin the "Dag Hammarskjöld Medal" of the German Society for the United Nations.

The size and breadth of the demonstrations is a testament most of all to the deep anxiety running throughout German society over the obvious heightening of the tension between the two blocs and the ever more threatening direct preparations for war. In just the last three years, corresponding to objective developments in the world, a genuine mass movement has arisen over issues previously of concern only to a marginal left. The size of the actions eclipses anything from the Vietnam War period — for the issue now in the eyes of millions is that of the survival of Germany itself. (A West German TV bureau chief put it this way: in order to understand the depth of feeling, he said, one would have to "go to a town that has been destroyed twice in this century.")

Thus while the growing prewar tension and the necessities of the bourgeoisie have drawn millions into active political life (concerning an issue certainly more substantive than the usual farce of bourgeois elections), that movement for the overwhelming part remains for the moment well within the terms set by the W. German ruling class. The mainstream organizations of the antimissile movement constantly cite polls showing that two-thirds of the population opposes the stationing of the missiles, including even opposition deep within the ranks of the ruling CDU. And upon this, appeals to follow the will of the majority are made. But this broad opposition to the current missile deployment is a testament primarily to the extent to which the missiles have been linked to the survival of the fatherland, an issue which enjoys obvious support on the right. And conscious opposition to the role of W. German imperialism as a ready and willing partner in war preparations and potential beneficiary of imperialist redivision of the world is virtually absent, at least among the antimissile forces. This is just as true of the demands of many leftist groups, of the Greens, and also of the extreme right for a clean break with NATO and expulsion of U.S. troops, which is more or less explicitly pictured as an end to "U.S. occupation of Germany." But the latter demand is clearly outside the parameters of "responsible debate" set by the West German imperial-

ists; and in this light it is significant that, were the broad questioning of the new missiles rephrased along the lines of *this* demand, asking withdrawal from NATO, the numbers in support of this would be dimly small.

This situation has led the West German bourgeoisie, especially its more farsighted members, to shift some gears. First, the decision of the SPD to come out in tepid opposition to the particularities of the deployment (while thoroughly supporting the imperialist alliance) is a rather transparent attempt to open up electoral avenues down which to direct the opposition and with which to knock the parliamentary arm of the radicalized petty bourgeoisie (the Greens) out of the game. SPD sources privately confided that the aim was to "embrace, smother and eliminate" the Greens, and moreover, they said, "once this historic task is accomplished, the party will move back to a pro-Alliance position." (When did they move out?)

Second, there is an across-the-board move from the SPD to the Springer Press to invoke the necessity of domestic stability in the face of the looming crisis. The point is driven home again and again that the problem in the Weimar Republic (the period from the end of WW1 to the coming to power of Hitler) was one of too much democracy and license; that Germany's survival in the current perilous times depends on preserving the fragile consensus (best typified by the SPD-FDP-CDU grand coalition government of the early seventies); and that above all the issue must not be decided in the streets. Behind this genteel discussion there also stands the implied threat of resolving the situation as it was resolved in the days of Weimar. Within the blockade actions, the West German bourgeoisie was especially intolerant of anything aimed at the West German military or the reactionary press. Attacking one's own bourgeoisie was a definite no-no, and thousands of pigs and water-cannon were assembled to enforce that point.

Hand in hand with this goes the appeal to preserve "our democracy" and "our democratic rights," the highest expression of this being support for the decisions of the democratically elected government. "Is there anyone who did not understand what they were voting for when a majority voted for the CDU in the 1983 elections?"

All this has amounted to a concerted political appeal to the West German middle classes who are most susceptible to the arguments about democracy and about the survival and stability of the fatherland. These classes, as seen by the divisions rending the West German peace movement, have undergone a kind of split, between those drawn to reformist, electoral politics, and a more radical minority, taken to militant forms of action, street fighting, etc. Until now, it has been the Greens who have had the growing claim as the representative of the reformist wing of the petty bourgeoisie (while also finding a base among the more militant "alternative" forces, and trying to control them). These "alternatives" do include some proletarians, mainly proletarian youth, but as indicated here, these are overwhelmingly fighting under the lines and programmes of petty-bourgeois groups such as the Greens. But now the SPD, not holding governmental reins, and thus no longer enwrapped in the official "strategic consensus" of parties supporting the deployments, has been free to make a play for the broader sections of people who have or might have gravitated to the Greens.

The Green response has been plotted along several different directions. For a starter, after months of hailing Martin Luther King, Jr., Gandhi and Thoreau, the party failed completely to call for the oft-promised mass civil disobedience. After the farcical blockade at Muntlangen in early September, the Greens nationally and publicly accepted defeat on the question of the December deployment of missiles and began to focus their efforts instead on building the Bonn rally and giving most weight countrywide to massive, legal actions. These have always been openly aimed at creating the critical mass of public opinion which would supposedly convince or force the government to comply with the "majority will"; in this way the Greens apparently hope to maintain mainstream credibility.

But the Greens also have moved to ag-

gressively counter the SPD, in an attempt to draw a clear line of distinction. This was the aim of Kelly's pointed reminder that the SPD is after all the original party of the Euromissiles and also her insistence on the goal of West German withdrawal from NATO and dissolution of both blocs. The minority which supports this demand at present is an important one — especially now that the deployment will proceed "despite the majority will" — and is a section hardly drawn to the SPD suit-and-tie opposition. And the issue of NATO withdrawal in no way cedes the ground of German patriotism and survival of the fatherland to the SPD or any part of the bourgeoisie, but is just as much an appeal to the German national interest. As the well-known Green theoretician Rudolph Bahro has candidly stated: "if necessary it (the peace movement) will have to assert a greater claim than the government to represent the nation." This is an explicit and developed politics of a new Germany, freed of both blocs, reunited East and West, and acting as the political center of a new, independent, nuclear-free Europe. This is seen widely by Green supporters as the ideal confluence of patriotism and pacifism, and the Greens are plainly banking on that attraction as the prewar rumblings become even sharper and more closely spaced. (What Bahro and other influential Greens mean to imply about the character of the new Germany is, however, something else again. In Bahro's "Letter to the SPD," for example, we read that an independent Europe "would open up new opportunities for the Germans in their two states." Evidently this is something short of state pacifism! But it is part of the nationalist appeal which the Greens hope to parlay into some sort of bourgeois coalition politics on their terms.)

At the moment this strategy is up against a rather formidable full-court press, on the part of the West German bourgeoisie, with the SPD lumbering over to cover the left. *Die Zeit*, definitive spokesman for the bourgeoisie, summed up the political argument to be made to the masses affected by fear of the joint U.S.-West German Euromissile strategy:

"What would become of the credibility and room to maneuver of West German foreign policy if the Federal Government doesn't keep its word?"

"How would the foundation of our

security, the alliance, be ruptured if NATO had to give up its two-track strategy against the will of most member states?"

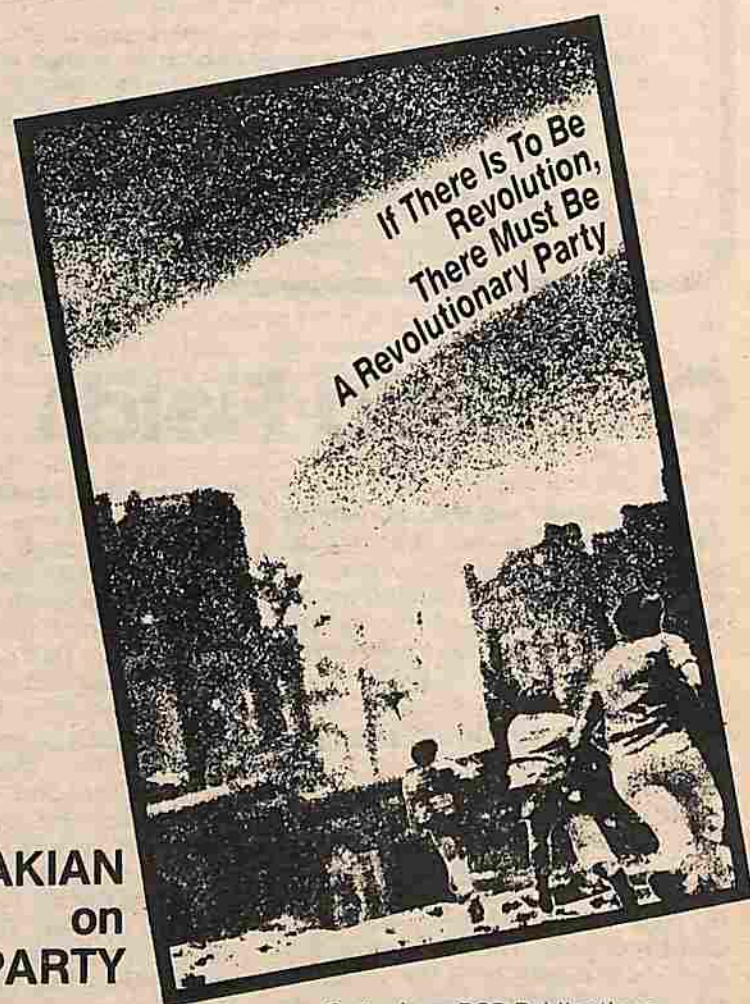
"What strains would threaten German-American relations if the Federal Government went back on its promise?"

"What would be the effect of a Soviet monopoly of intermediate-range missiles upon the European continent in a political crisis?"

"What would become of the instrument of arms control if the West unilaterally accepted the tripling of the SS-20 missiles over the last four years. . . ."

"Until the results of the Geneva talks are clear, the struggle for public opinion will intensify. *Friede, Friede über alles* (peace, peace over all — a play on the German national anthem *Deutschland, Deutschland über alles—RW*) remains just a slogan. Demands are placed on everybody to ensure that discord does not arise from this. The movement for its part must keep its adherents to nonviolence, while the Federal Government must fall into neither complacency nor a hysterical reaction. And the Social Democratic Chairman Brandt has the opportunity at the culminating rally in Bonn to appeal directly to the reason of the demonstrators. Whether this will bear fruit will soon be seen. Fall is far from over."

Yes, indeed. Well put. Fall is far from over. But the problem, dear spokesmen for West German imperialism, is really this: Even if the "responsible" leaders of the peace movement, the "responsible" ministers of state, and the ever "responsible" Willy Brandt all play their parts to perfection, there remains an underlying material reality which drives imperialists to resolve their insatiable quest for accumulation by force of arms. And as the threat of this reality becomes ever more apparent, so will ever more millions of people be thrown into action, against both their will and yours. In the early 1970s the U.S. still had the reserves and the freedom to mitigate its internal strife by withdrawing from Vietnam. Within the bloc countries, the post-Vietnam situation could be addressed by detente and its "lessening of tensions" at the central front. But today the collision will not be put off, and there is no way that Germany can withdraw from the faultline in central Europe. □



BOB AVAKIAN on THE PARTY

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Shortly after the publication of "Conquer the World? The International Proletariat Must and Will" by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA (*Revolution* magazine, No. 50, December 1981), Comrade Avakian responded to a number of questions from a comrade who has been involved in the revolutionary struggle throughout the decades of the '60s, '70s, and into the '80s. The answers elaborate on a number of questions raised in "Conquer the World? . . .". Excerpts from this series of questions and answers were published in the *Revolutionary Worker*. This pamphlet reprints the excerpts dealing with questions about the party.

BLOODY

Continued from page 8

"terrorist hit-squads" as retaliation for the U.S. invasion. In addition to this turning up of the heat, the U.S. announced on November 2 that a special task force of U.S. navy warships had been ordered out on a "no-notice exercise." Part of these exercises are to be conducted in the area around Puerto Rico. And, according to reports from the Council on Hemispheric Affairs, the U.S. military forces stationed at Guantanamo Bay on Cuban territory have been beefed up since the Grenadan invasion. Spreading out beyond Cuba, there is also a meeting of the revived Central America Defense Council — composed of Guatemala, Honduras and El Salvador — scheduled for the near future during which their mutual security interests will be the most important item on the agenda. In connection with these "mutual security interests" there are also massive U.S. military exercises scheduled for this area in January — exercises which include a landing exercise for an amphibious marine unit.

The U.S. Purpose

Thus, with the invasion of Grenada, as well as a whole series of separate but related actions in the Caribbean area, the U.S. has been signaling wider intentions to use military force. Even some of the exposure that has appeared in the U.S. press about the transparently phony excuses given by the U.S. for its invasion has been double-edged. Some of it, perhaps, reflects "liberal opposition." But it has also been rather cynically used to underline the real power politics the U.S. is playing here. In his recent press conference Reagan was asked by a reporter (who had clearly gotten the message) if the reasons offered for the Grenada invasion would be used to justify other U.S. military action in the hemisphere. Reagan's reply was simply that he couldn't imagine a situation exactly like this one developing again. In other words, he refused to say "no" and left the threat hanging.

While the possibility of direct U.S. military action against Nicaragua in particular in the near future cannot be ruled out (and in any case part of the purpose of recent U.S. actions in the area has been to strengthen and embolden the Nicaraguan *contra* forces it is openly sponsoring), it is important to see U.S. actions more in a global than a regional context. Columnist George Will, a hard-nosed ideologue of U.S. imperialism, provides an excellent example of the fact that it is precisely this global context — particularly that of rivalry with the Soviet im-

perialists — that is determining U.S. actions. According to Will, in a column in the November 7 issue of *Newsweek*: "Grenada, although small, is 15 times the size of Iwo Jima and of large symbolic value. U.S. soldiers' boot prints on Grenada's soil have done more than the MX will do to make U.S. power credible and peace secure. President Reagan's defense budgets are not, by themselves, a fully effective signal to the Soviet Union of U.S. seriousness. The boot prints prove that the United States will not only procure sophisticated weapons systems but also has recovered the will to use the weapon on which its security rests: the man with the rifle. . . . But even if there had not been a single American on Grenada, and even if every nation in the world disapproved, an invasion to overturn an indecent regime would have been justified by the security needs of our decent society. Two Cubas — Cuba and Nicaragua — are enough. If the United States were too paralyzed to prevent the planting next door, near vulnerable nations and crucial shipping lanes, of another Soviet outpost with ports and airstrips designed for military use, then nations such as Saudi Arabia would correctly conclude that the United States is irrelevant to their security. If Cuba can not be 'Finlandized' by the United States, Western Europe eventually will be by the Soviet Union."

Will's statement cannot, of course, be taken literally in all its particulars. The U.S., of course, has not reconciled itself to "two Cubas" in this hemisphere; Nicaragua, in particular, is a potential target for overthrowing. Neither is it the case that the U.S. has much hope for "Finlandizing" Cuba. It is certain that U.S. planners have a strategy for bringing Cuba into the U.S. sphere of influence — but undoubtedly the most likely scenario for that being attempted is as a violent, early step in World War 3. Still, the basic thrust of Will's statement is clear and revealing of the global context in which the U.S. sees events in Latin America. While the U.S. may not aim at "Finlandizing" Cuba, it does wish to hand it a setback now — and it is precisely that aspect of the U.S. action in Grenada that has been receiving acclaim of late in Europe (for example, in the influential French paper *Le Monde*) even while the European governments maintain their public stance of criticizing the invasion.

The U.S. did want to remove the little thorn of Soviet presence in Grenada. But far more profoundly, its calculatedly crude actions in the Caribbean are aimed at a broader international audience — demonstrating before the world the U.S. resolve to "secure its own backyard" and, by taking such an advanced action in war preparations, goading U.S. allies "forward" in the same direction. On Sunday, October 30, the *New York*

Times reported: "The Reagan Administration's overriding reason for invading Grenada was to keep the United States from being perceived as a 'paper tiger' in the eyes of both friendly and hostile Latin American nations, an Administration official said today." The intended audience is broader than Latin America, but it is very true that the *last* thing the U.S. wants to be seen as is a "paper tiger." A revealing fear, indeed.

Further evidence of the global equations here can be found in the following statement by Jeane Kirkpatrick on *Nightline*: "Things have changed very dramatically, of course. First of all we have seen the first reversal of the so-called irreversible revolution since the Brezhnev Doctrine was enunciated after the Czechoslovak spring of 1968. A country which had been effectively claimed and taken by the Soviet empire of which Cuba is the principal agent, which had become a base for the projection of Soviet military power, of which Cuba is a principal agent, was lost to them." So here the terms are clear: "The Monroe Doctrine (and more) is to be upheld while the Brezhnev Doctrine is to be destroyed; our empire must not be touched (and in fact must be expanded), while yours must be dismembered." With logic like this operating on both sides — West and East alike — is there any doubt that world war is on the imperialist agenda?

Afghanistan and Grenada

In this international context, it is useful to examine the analogy between Grenada and Afghanistan that has been raised from various quarters. (Interestingly, the Soviets themselves have even raised the subject, seeking to justify their invasion of Afghanistan based on U.S. admissions — like George Will's — of the real purpose of the Grenada invasion. But each side's efforts at self-pretification based on the other's ugliness are equally laughable.) There is, in a basic sense, a valid comparison. Both invasions show the aggressive, imperialist nature of their perpetrators. Both invasions are part of strategic efforts on each side to secure nearby territory as "reliable base areas" for world war.

But there are also limitations to the Afghanistan/Grenada comparison which, if not grasped, can lead to misunderstanding — and even vulnerability to the claims of the U.S. imperialists in particular. Jeane Kirkpatrick, for one, has taken up the challenge of the comparison and snapped that if people think there is a comparison, then they should wait and observe that while Soviet troops are still in Afghanistan three years after the invasion, U.S. troops will be quickly gone from Grenada.

There are obvious differences between the Grenada and Afghanistan situations

from the military point of view. Obviously, Grenada is a far tinier target. Afghanistan is also near two major regional anti-Soviet powers, China and Pakistan, while Grenada is surrounded by the Caribbean Sea, which is controlled by the U.S. Afghanistan is also more strategically important to the Soviets than Grenada is to the U.S. For one thing, Afghanistan directly borders on the Soviet Union; for another, it is located relatively close to the Middle East, and the Persian Gulf in particular, which is a really vital area of contention for both the Soviets and the U.S. This is an additional reason for the Soviets to keep troops and bases in Afghanistan, just as the U.S. is doing in the Middle East.

The U.S., on the other hand, is now weighing its options on Grenada. It may decide it best serves overall U.S. interests to keep troops there, but it may also decide the opposite. Swollen with arrogance, their attitude is: "Grenada is ours now; we'll just decide what to do." Thus while they have floated the idea of permanent military bases, they may decide against it. Again, their decision may be: "We have other Caribbean bases, Panama and Guantanamo, for instance. We've denied Grenada to our rivals, the Soviets. We've made our point — and maybe we'll even score a few more public opinion points if we act like benevolent gangsters and pull the troops out. We can secure Grenada using our allies and lackies as 'police' (and with our gunboats never so far away that their presence can be forgotten by Grenadians)."

Thus, whatever the U.S. decision on the future of troops on Grenada, both sides busily weigh their moves from the perspective of their global rivalry. And thus, while sizeable numbers of U.S. troops remain on the island awaiting that decision, the first contingent of 1,900 marines sets sail from Grenada, bound for Lebanon. Blood and gunsmoke have now added symbolic swagger to their stride — and all that is a very calculated part of the U.S. aim of "projecting power" in the Middle East. But this scene, while it highlights some of the strengths of U.S. imperialism, also highlights some of its weaknesses. While the U.S. has welcomed the opportunity to invade Grenada, it has also in a more fundamental sense been *forced* by its threatened world position to send a massive force to crudely invade a tiny country. And further, as its troops scurry from one hot spot to another, the world position of the U.S. is once again made clear: stretched to the limit and forced to be on the frontlines everywhere in the coming world showdown. As vulnerable as it is vicious, U.S. imperialism prepares for the future. . . .

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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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