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Grenada: U.S. Democracy from the Barrel of a Gun

According to Reagan, it was not an invasion. Instead, "that marvelous operation... was a rescue mission. It rescued both Americans and 110,000 Grenadan people." In the words of the U.S. imperialists, their Caribbean puppets and their paratrooper press, U.S. military force had once again been wielded to "liberate a captive people from terror" and to "restore democratic institutions" in Grenada. After four and a half years of Maurice Bishop and the New Jewel Movement and a few weeks of "chaos," the Grenadan people will finally be allowed to choose a government of their own liking — in the words of Dominica's prime minister, Eugenia Charles, "Not one imposed on them" by the will of someone else. And key to it all, or so we have been endlessly told, is the fact that sometime in the future there will once again be "free elections" in Grenada.

No sooner had this pious drivel been broadcast, in fact beginning on the day of the invasion itself, than "democratic" Grenadans, that is, pro-U.S. Grenadan exiles, began crawling out of the woodwork the world over and rushing down to

Grenada and its neighboring islands in order to announce their availability and willingness to become the new government in Grenada. Among these "democrats" were numerous Grenadan exiles who had spent the last four years or so holed up in prestigious U.S. universities, such as Howard University in Washington, D.C., working tirelessly to overthrow the Bishop regime and periodically emerging to spout hysterical tirades against Soviet tyranny in the Caribbean. Also included among these democratic forces is none other than Sir Eric Gairy, the bizarre and barbaric pro-U.S. dictator who ran the last democratic government in Grenada until he was overthrown by the coup led by Bishop in 1979.

Although none of these forces have been anywhere near bashful about declaring their intentions, neither have they donned their straw campaign hats and begun kissing babies yet. Before this circus can begin the fundamental groundwork upon which such democracy is built must be completed. And it is here that the U.S. invasion of Grenada provides yet

another important lesson — serving as an indisputable illustration of the nature and source of all political power. As Mao Tsetung profoundly and concisely put it almost 50 years ago, "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

Since the U.S. imperialists have militarily secured their hold over Grenada, much attention has been focused on what the future holds for the island — specifically on the formation of an "impartial" interim government and the holding of "free elections." But, the real issue at hand in Grenada is not, was not and will not be, elections. In fact, Grenada is a vivid example of the fundamental truth that elections are simply extensions of power relations which themselves are not established by elections. In Grenada these power relations were decided through the U.S. invasion. Can anyone seriously think that any election in Grenada will reflect anything other than the fact that the U.S. seized power through thousands of marines and paratroopers overrunning the island, U.S. bombers and warships pulverizing buildings, helicopter gunships strafing

every square inch of land with rapid-fire cannons and finally, the outright military occupation of the island first by U.S. troops and later by a "multinational police force" for which the U.S. has already allocated \$6 million in military assistance?

There are any number of examples that illustrate this point, from the Dominican Republic after the 1965 U.S. invasion to Nicaragua and El Salvador today. But perhaps the most outstanding recent example of this point is Lebanon. The August 1982 election of the Lebanese fascist Gemayel (and his later replacement by his brother) was clearly based on the invasion of Lebanon by 50,000 Israeli troops, the attacks on and murder of the Palestinian people, the occupation of southern Lebanon by Israel and the occupation of Beirut by the armies of four Western imperialist countries. And this has also been the foundation for all of the negotiations and other schemes emanating out of the U.S. and its allies for "peace in Lebanon" since then. All of this has flowed from the U.S. imperialist

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U.S. warships off the shore of Beirut.

Even as the first round of the peace talks amongst "Lebanon's rival war lords" was coming to an ambiguous close in Geneva, the big warlords were getting down to serious, deadly business. The U.S., fresh from its glorious conquest of a tiny Caribbean island, has taken dramatic measures to escalate its military position in the eastern Mediterranean to unprecedented levels. A large number of U.S. navy warships has converged off the Lebanese shoreline, bringing the naval force there to a total of 29 warships. With these new arrivals, the flotilla now includes three aircraft carriers, with a combined total of 300 aircraft aboard. Add to this the USS *New Jersey* with its 16-inch guns, the arrival of an additional 1800 off-shore Marines aboard amphibious carriers and numerous smaller gunboats, and you have one of the largest assemblages of naval firepower seen anywhere since World War 2. U.S. officials continue to talk of "retaliation" over the October 23 attack on Marine headquarters, and have made it known throughout Europe and the Middle East that they are actively pursuing this option. In Europe, there were widespread reports of imminent American military action in Lebanon earlier this week, as U.S. officials actively consulted with their British, French, and Italian cohorts over the prospect. Even more ominous in tone are the extensive talks the U.S. has undertaken with Israeli leaders over the past ten days, which have focused largely on Lebanon and the possibility of projecting unilateral or jointly undertaken attacks against Syrian, Palestinian, and/or Lebanese Moslem targets. One State Department official, reflecting the mood of his associates, spoke to the press earlier this week of a "blood bond" having been formed between Israel and the U.S.

borne of their joint losses through truck-bomb attacks in Lebanon in recent weeks (as if a U.S./Israeli "bond" hadn't existed before). This kind of talk, were it to come from Moslem adversaries, would inspire charges of "fanaticism" — but in its American context is more likely to be labeled the "right stuff."

Within the U.S., the speculation over possible military moves in Lebanon openly taking place in the press, goes alongside the general tone and mood lathered up over the last few weeks — across the country and within the ranks of the military — and at the least amounts to active cultivation, politically and ideologically, of public opinion and national will for such a venture. No less a process has been underway in Israel, where open debate has focused for some time now on when, and under what conditions, Israel might intervene in those parts of Lebanon not under its occupation. There are other signs of escalation. The air strikes Israel launched against Palestinian and, according to one report, Syrian positions, within an hour of the November 4 truck-bomb attack on its military headquarters in the southern Lebanese city of Tyre, were the first such strikes by Israel since last fall, and were openly welcomed by U.S. officials. Two days later, 12 U.S. F-14 Tomcats "buzzed" Beirut, rattling windows across the city. And the current military mobilization

within Israel, the calling up of thousands of army reservists for unspecified "maneuvers" which are being coyly described as "routine," carries as yet unforeseen consequences.

None of this has gone unnoticed by the Syrians and the Soviets who have their own regional and imperial interests at stake in the Lebanese situation. On November 4, the Soviet Union issued a *Tass* statement which, speaking for "the leading circles of the Soviet government," warned the U.S. against its plans for a "massive attack" on "national patriotic forces" in Lebanon. Syrian and Soviet officials have met a number of times over recent weeks to discuss the Soviet role in the event of an attack on Syria; a recent statement by Syrian President Assad in Europe held that "direct Soviet aid in the event of an attack by Israel" was "under intensive discussion."

The matter of "direct Soviet aid" must be viewed in light of the fact that Soviet advisors already play a major role within the Syrian military, exercise the exclusive control over the SAM-5 ground-to-air missile centers within Syria, man the new SS-21 batteries the Soviets introduced into Syria after the U.S. *New Jersey* appeared off the Lebanese shore (the SS-21s can reach the U.S. fleet and Israel's northern airfields), and occupy numerous advisory roles up and down the

Syrian army command.

The Syrians have responded to the U.S.-Israeli moves by putting their own armed forces on emergency alert, and calling up reserve units for a full-scale mobilization. Upon learning of this mobilization, the U.S. and Israel issued calls — hardly convincing in light of their own actions — that they had "no intention" of invading Syria, and then drove home the threat by urging the Syrian government to exercise "restraint and prudence." "We don't want Syria to use any action of *ours* as a pretext for attack," said one Israeli government official (our emphasis — *RW*). At the same time an Israeli radio commentary informed the public, "with one army mobilizing and the other about to, at least partially, there is a danger that this could take on a dynamic of its own." And Israeli officials have indicated that they will not "watch passively" as Damascus mobilizes its army, and will take steps to avoid being taken by "surprise."

The net result is an acute situation, with stakes raised on both sides. To take but one factor, Israeli military commentator Hirsh Goodman recently advanced the following analysis in the *Jerusalem Post*, in assessing the impact of the recently arrived SS-21 missiles in Syria: "Because they are potentially most dangerous in the opening stages of a war,"

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Declaration of Independence, Equal Opportunity and Bourgeois Right

by Bob Avakian

Have those democrats who really love the Declaration of Independence — and here I'm talking about people genuinely opposed to tyranny and injustice, not bourgeois hypocrites — have they really read it and paid attention to what it says? I recently re-read it as background for a book I'm hoping to write fairly soon (tentatively titled *Democracy: Can't We Do Better Than That?*). Having just re-read the Declaration of Independence I am moved to ask such people to explain how something they regard as an enduring manifesto against oppression can contain such passages as the following complaint against the King of England:

"He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions."

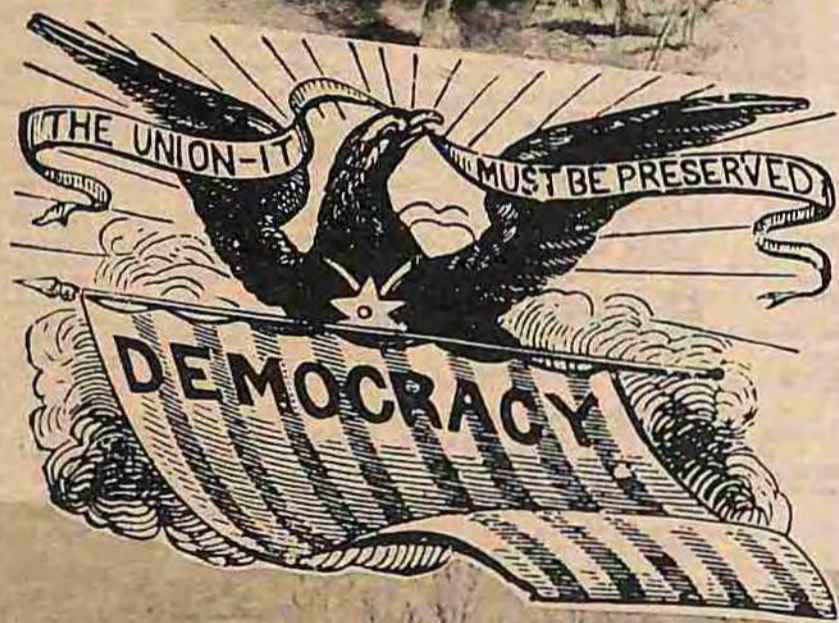
It would be hard to imagine a more blatant and complete reversal of truth and falsehood, of right and wrong, of victim and criminal, of just and unjust warfare, than is contained in this description — yes, in the Declaration of Independence — of the relations between the Indians and the Europeans who founded the United States of America on territory they stole from the Indians through murder and plunder. And this passage, this perversion of history and fact, is not an aberration from but is consistent with the whole thrust of the Declaration of Independence. To get an all-around understanding of this it is necessary to examine the Declaration of Independence in some detail and more fundamentally to examine it in its historical context and in its social and class content.

Let's begin with the title. This document is precisely a declaration of independence of one country from another, it is not a declaration calling for the abolition of all oppressive and exploitative relations, specifically not within the country that is declaring its independence. This is more particularly the declaration of the propertied and politically dominant classes within the emerging United States. All this is clearly indicated in the content of what grievances are enumerated — and what evils are glaringly *not* mentioned, most prominent among them slavery (about this, more shortly). When the authors of this declaration list among the "abuses and usurpations" that have moved them to break free of the control of the English monarchy the fact that the latter is guilty of "imposing taxes on us without our consent" and "cutting off our trade with all parts of the world," they are giving expression to the outrage of classes which are restricted in their accumulation of wealth and capital by these measures imposed by the ruling classes of a foreign power. Here it should be pointed out that a very significant part of that trade involved the trading in slaves and that even after this was abolished the trade in goods produced with slave labor, in particular cotton, was an integral and indispensable element in building up the economy of the U.S., including in the northern states where for a considerable period before the Civil War a large part of investment in manufacturing came from the profits of the textile industry in England, which in turn utilized to a large degree the cotton grown in the slave states in the southern U.S. And in the manufacturing establishments and manufacturing towns of the north the conditions of the working class attested to the most heartless exploitation and pitiless political oppression.

All this begins to put into perspective the fine and famous words of the Declaration of Independence, "that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." Obviously, this did not apply to the slaves, nor to the "merciless Indian savages," nor to women — in the eyes of the framers of this Declaration it was literally men and specifically not women to whom this applied, which is demonstrated by the fact that they did not even grant women the right to vote when they framed their Constitution a few years later. The essential point, however, is not that the authors of this Declaration and the Declaration itself are hypocritical but that they represent definite class interests — exploiting class interests — and reflect a definite class outlook and bias.

This is also revealed in the introductory passages of the Declaration, which are probably the best known. The basic case made in the Declaration for why it is justified to separate from England, beyond the specific grievances that are enumerated afterward in the Declaration, is that "the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle" each people to an independent and equal status among nations. Further, the "inalienable rights" of man derive from (are "endowed by") god and it is to secure these rights that "governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. . . ." This is an idealist inversion of reality, and more specifically corresponds in basic terms to the theories of such bourgeois political thinkers as the seventeenth century Englishman John Locke and the eighteenth century French philosopher Jean Jacques Rousseau (whose main political doctrine, *The Social Contract*, I have analyzed, in terms of class content, in chapter 1, part 4 of my book, *For A Harvest of Dragons*). Beyond the fact that there is nothing in "the laws of nature" that "entitles" people or nations to anything (and beyond the fact that there is no god at all), it should be clear by now that governments are not instituted to secure "all men" the "inalienable rights" of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," nor do they derive their powers, just or otherwise, "from the consent of the governed," without regard to social class. This has never been true, or possible, in the history of the U.S. or any other country. Governments — or more precisely, states, meaning an apparatus of repression — arose with the emergence of class antagonisms when the development of the forces of production made possible the accumulation of surplus and therefore of private property, leading to the dissolution of primitive classless society. The state apparatus, of whatever kind and in whatever form, represents and enforces the

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Due to limited space, all of the signatories for the ad "Stop the International Political Persecution of Bob Avakian" could not be printed in the *New York Times*. Below is a complete list of signatories not included in the printed ad:

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 John Rittmayer, atty., Pasadena, CA

David N. Rockwell, Modesto, CA
 Rev. Herbert W. Rogers, S.J., Fordham U., N.Y.
 Marjorie H. Rowland, atty., Yellow Springs, OH
 Cheyney Ryan, prof., phil., Eugene, OR
 Dorothy Salem, author, women's studies, Cleveland
 Cleveland R. Sasser, Athens Progressive Resource Center, GA
 Larry Sauer, atty., Houston
 Paul Schaefer, NLG, Lansing, MI
 Gustav H. Schultz, pastor, University Lutheran Chapel, Berkeley
 Mary Schwab, Shaker Hts., OH
 L. Schwartz, prof., history, San Diego City College
 Victor Schwartz, Madison, WI
 W. Harry Schwarz, social worker, Takoma Park, MD
 John Ryan Seawright, poet, Athens, GA
 Ellen V. Sebastian, artist for political freedom, S.F.
 Eliz Sharpe, Denver
 Robert H. Sheldon, Internationalist Books, Chapel Hill, N.C.
 Audrey L. Sheppard, social worker, D.C.
 Harold Shin, Waiialua sugar worker, Hawaii
 Michael E. Shupe, Hadlock, WA
 Jabari Simama, Dir., Center for Community TV, Atlanta
 Daniel Simberloff, Florida State U., Tallahassee
 Arturo Singh, sculptor, L.A.
 Richard Solomon, M.D., Columbus, OH
 Dorothy Spiker, Cleveland
 John Stadler, bookseller, N.Y.
 John L. Stalnhorpe, atty., Chicago
 Randy Stallings, S.F.
 Christopher, D. Stanley, atty., Cleveland
 Richard Stanley, Revolutionary Rationalists' spokesperson, Glendale, CA
 Harlan Steimach, Berkeley
 V. Jerone Stephens, Dept. of Pol. Sci., Bowling Green State U., OH
 Bradley S. Stetler, atty., D.C.
 Marie A. Stires, Honolulu
 Walter A. Strauss, Chm., Dept. of Modern Lang., Case Western Reserve U., Cleveland
 Mada Rebecca Stockley, actress, director, S.F.
 Ralph K. & Cecelia Stueber, profs., Honolulu
 L. Yoni Sulaiman, actress, Houston
 Anna Svensson, Swedish nurse volunteer in Beirut, summer '82
 Larry Swingle, "Critical Mass," Kitsap Peace Coalition, WA
 Fariborz Tabarizadeh, Denver
 Edward Lee Tani, *The Athens Advocate*, GA
 Randy Tatal, *Line of Sight*, Athens, GA

Nat Teich, U. of Oregon, Eugene
 Daniel Thompson, pres., Poetsbank, Cleveland
 Jeffrey L. Thompson, prisoner, Monroe Reformatory, WA
 Chan Thoroughman, Athens, GA
 Charles Tilly, sociologist, U. of Mich., Ann Arbor
 G. R. Toney, atty., D.C.
 Lorayne K. Treschuk, RN, Pearl City, HI
 De De Troll, supporter of A.I.M., musician, artist, L.A.
 T. C. Truemper, Chicago
 Mark Van Heukelem, student, U. of Hawaii
 Glen Van Slyke, atty., Houston
 Carl D. Vender Zanden, student, Willamette U., Salem, OR
 Carole Vasconcelos, former dir., YWCA Sexual Assault Support Service, Hilo, HI
 Lawrence A. Vogeliman, asst. prof., Benjamin N. Cardozo School of Law, N.Y.
 Lloyd K. Wake, S.F.
 Dave Wald, Peace & Freedom Party Cand. for Senate, \$68, CA
 Marilyn A. Waller, NLG, S.F.
 Robert Wallis, M.D., Cleveland
 J. Lowell Ware, publisher, *Atlanta Voice*
 Gary Washington, union activist, Atlanta
 George W. Webber, prof., N.Y. Theological Seminary
 Burt Wechsler, D.C.
 Kenneth Weitherill, L.A. Network against Psychiatric Assault
 Sheldon Wigod, prof., Cleveland Art Institute
 David L. Williams, Palestine Human Rights Campaign, Chicago
 Curtis Wilson, dir., Black Studies, Cleveland State U.
 Stuart M. Wilson, atty., San Jose, CA
 Josephine Withers, acting dir., Women's Studies, U. of MD., College Park
 Paul Wolf, atty., Oakland, CA
 Bernice Wong-Aston, VAC-PAC, S.F.
 Bruce E. Wright, prof. pol. sci., California State U., Fullerton
 Paul Yamazaki, S.F.
 Richard Yates, educator, Cleveland State U.
 Geoff Yipple, Peoples Law School, Abalone Alliance, Death & Taxes, S.F.
 Rev. Richard L. York, Oakland, CA
 Suzanne Zavrian, editor, writer, N.Y.

* For identification purposes only

On Monday, November 7, 1983, this ad appeared in the New York Times:

Stop the International Political Persecution of Bob Avakian

We, the undersigned, condemn the recent denial by the French government of political refugee status to Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA.

We deplore the difficult situation he has now been forced into: hounded and threatened relentlessly by the U.S. government, driven out of the U.S. to seek refuge in France, and now having no place at all to put his feet down safely.

We believe that the French refusal to grant Bob Avakian the protection and status of "political refugee" is in flagrant contradiction to the facts and evidence which he has presented. The Geneva Convention of 1951, subscribed to by both the U.S. and France, states that the term "refugee" shall apply to "any person...who...having cause to fear persecution due to race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group or political opinions, finds himself outside the country of national origin and cannot, or because of this fear, will not, claim the protection of said country."

Certainly Bob Avakian's treatment at the hands of the U.S. government fits this definition:

- He was placed on the "key agitators index" under the FBI's counter-intelligence program (COINTELPRO) of the '60s for his active support of the Black Panther Party, and all through the '70s was spied upon by the FBI and other government agencies.
- He was the target of the politically motivated prosecution of the Mao Tsetung Defendants in which he and 16 others were threatened with 241 years in jail on 25 trumped-up felony charges, all arising from a demonstration in Washington, D.C. against Deng Xiaoping's U.S. visit and which were all dropped only after a three-year long battle and after his exit from the country.
- He was the target of a Secret Service investigation, pursued all over the country and was unable to make public speaking appearances after a false, and later partially retracted, "quote" was attributed to him in the *Los Angeles Times*, according to which he supposedly threatened the life of the president.
- In addition to numerous arrests, jailings, beatings, and threats that have been directed against members and supporters of the RCP for such political activity as selling their newspaper, *Damian Garcia*, an RCP member, was knifed to death while he was admittedly the "target" of an L.A. police undercover officer who was just a few feet from him at the time of his killing.
- Bob Avakian himself has received numerous death threats from various police and government agents and from reactionaries like the KKK who have a known history of working closely with FBI and other government agents.

And yet, the decision handed down by the French government asserts the following:

- That "The control exercised on Mr. Avakian, according to the FBI's

own methods, has not seriously limited the freedom of movement and of expression of the petitioner," and that it is not "established" that "the American government is deliberately seeking to annihilate his person and destroy the Revolutionary Communist Party by methods contrary to human rights."

- That the legal charges, though perhaps admittedly "piled on for political ends," were dropped and therefore there was no political persecution.
- And, further, that in fact the "control" and "surveillance" exercised on him were exactly what "every state has the right to exercise over its citizens who are deeply committed to revolutionary activity"—thus justifying and defending everything the government has done to persecute Bob Avakian "according to the FBI's own methods," as they put it, as the normal controls of the state.
- And finally, they identify Bob Avakian as one who not only advocates revolution in the U.S. but supports the revolutionary position in all countries—thus making clear their reason for wanting no part in protecting him.

This refusal to grant Bob Avakian the political refugee status he needs and is so clearly entitled to is an outrage. It has all the markings of a political decision reflecting the French government's views of its state interests. We believe that this decision stands as an invitation to the U.S. to continue its attacks on Bob Avakian, and that the facts suggest that the U.S. and France have worked hand in hand to create a situation where he has no protection at all.

We are fully aware of the "FBI's own methods," which have been well exposed in the past. Presently the FBI is being given an even wider range of powers to exercise against political, especially revolutionary, opposition. We have seen over the years the repeated effort by the U.S. government to harass, silence, assassinate revolutionary leaders; to oppress and suppress those within and without the U.S. who dare to oppose the existing status quo in the world. We have seen their ongoing attempts to suppress controversial views and prevent people from even being exposed to and challenged by these views. And we feel the facts show undeniably that Bob Avakian has been a target of just such persecution. We also feel that the U.S. government has given every indication that they would subject him to unjust incarceration and even perhaps assassination if they could get away with it.

While we do not necessarily endorse or agree with the political views of Bob Avakian, we appreciate the presence of such views in the current political panorama and the courageousness of advancing them.

We will not stand by and silently tolerate any attempts by the U.S. or any other government to launch more attacks on Bob Avakian, to make it impossible for him to work, to silence his voice.

A Partial List of Signatories

Bruce K. Ackley, ROVA saxophone quartet, S.F.
Ismael Ahmed, Dir. of Resources, ACCESS, Del.
Robert Aitken, Buddhist Peace Fellowship, Honolulu
Alameda County Peace & Freedom Party & Movt.
Andres Alarcon, Chile En Lucha
Jim Alexander, Photo/Media Alliance, Atl.
Robert L. Allen, Head, Ethnic Studies, Mills Coll., Oakland
Ben Alofs, medical volunteer for Palestine Red Crescent Society, The Netherlands
Ruth Anthony, Amnesty Int'l., WILPF, Inkster, MI
Max Apple, writer, Houston
Ruth W. & Spurgeon Avakian, Santa Cruz
Pierre Jean-Baptiste, Haitian Task Force, Chi.
Gertrude Barnstone, ACLU, Houston
Daniel Berrigan, S.J., N.Y.
Karl Bissinger, War Resisters League, N.Y.
Black Consciousness Movt. of Azania, U.S. Region
Black Prisoners Caucus, by Tony Black its Vice-Chair, State Reformatory at Monroe, WA
Raford Boddy, Econ. San Diego State U.
Julian Bond, Georgia State Senator
John H. Bracey, Jr., Afro-Amer. Studies, U. Mass., Amherst
George, Jr. & Hilda Bryan, Judson Progress Books, Phila.
Haywood Burns, atty., N.Y.
Coleman Byrnes, Pacific Peacemaker Committee, Seattle
Romeo T. Capulong, Esq., Chair, Filipino Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, N.Y.
Richard J. Carbray, Seattle
Constance L. Carpenter, pres., Santa Clara Valley NLG.
Joe 'King' Carrasco, Austin

Douglass Cassel, atty., Chi.
Antonio Castrejon, Latin Workers Assoc., Portland, OR
William B. Cate, pres., Church Council of Greater Seattle
Dr. Benjamin Chavis, N.Y.
Harry Cleaver, Jr., author, Econ. U. of Texas, Austin
Rev. Donovan J. Cook, University Baptist Church, Seattle
E. L. Cooperman, physics prof., Cal. State U., Fullerton
130 from Damian Garcia Park, LA
Emile DeAntonio, film director
Richard Deats, Fellowship of Reconciliation, N.Y.
Douglass DeLoach, writer, Muzik!, Art Papers, Atl.
Democratic Iranian Student Assoc., WA chapter
113 from Detroit soup kitchens and welfare offices
Patrick S. Diehl, Livermore Action Group, CA
Dirk B.C. Dirksen, Whittier, CA
Roger Dittman, physics prof., Cal. State U., Fullerton
Karega Dukes, Black United Front, DC
William E. Duvall, hist. prof., Willamette U., Salem, OR
John P. Egan, Jersey City, NJ
William Farley, prod./dir. "Citizen," Oakland
Feminist Women's Health Center, LA
Robert Fitzakis, Treas., Michigan Democratic Socialists of America
James R. Forman, chair, Unemployed & Poverty Action Council, DC
John R. Fry, Fryer Pan Publications, Inc., Eugene, OR
General Union of Democratic Students and Patriotic Afghans
John George, Supervisor, Alameda County, CA
Louis Giannetti, author, prof., Case W. Reserve U., Cleveland
Robert J. Gibson, gen. T. man., WRFQ-FM, Atl.

Stephen Goldstone, Pres., S.F. Art Institute
Michael Gooding, Savannah River Plant Six, Columbia, S.C.
Norman K. Gottwald, N.Y. Theological Seminary
Katrin Greve, Jungsozialisten (Young Socialists), Berlin
Alan Grob, literary critic, Houston
Eliot Lee Grossman, Exec. Board, LA chapter NLG
Groupe Revolutionaire Internationale Nationale Haitien, N.Y.
188 Haitians at anti-AIDS demo., Brooklyn, N.Y.
David Hagino, State Rep., Hawaii
Terence Hallinan, atty., S.F.
Ed Hasbrouck, anarchist & draft resister, Cambridge, MA
Aliya E. Hassen, member Mayor's Council on Aging, Detroit
James Haughton, dir., Fight Back, N.Y.
Karen Heidergott, Nat'l Women's Political Caucus, Seattle
Stephen McKinley Henderson, actor, Indianapolis
Donald C. Hodges, Tallahassee, FL
Abbie Hoffman
Rev. Bill Hogan, Clergy & Laity Concerned, Chicago
Gloria House, Wayne State U., Det.
Ruth Hubbard, prof., Harvard U.
Iranian Students Association (SETAD) Chicago chapter
Iranian Student Association throughout the U.S. (Supporter of Iranian People's Fedayee Guerrillas)
Iranian Student Society, Houston
Daryl Keeling, Bob Marley Memorial Committee, Cincinnati
Abraham C. Keller, prof., U. of Wash., Educators for Social Responsibility, Seattle
Flo Kennedy, VAC-PAC, N.Y.
Gillam Kerley, Madison Draft Resistance Coalition

Yuri Kochiyama, N.Y.
Al Kowalewski, *Flipside Fantasia*, Whittier, CA
Christopher Kueny, G.R.O.W./Natural Guard, Columbia, S.C.
William Kunstler, atty., N.Y.
James T. Lafferty, atty., co-coordinator, Detroit CARD
George Laine, Seal Beach Nuclear Action Group, CA
Franck Laraque, CCNY
Richard Levins, prof., Harvard School of Public Health, Boston
Richard Lewontin, bio. prof., Harvard U.
Karen Lindsey, writer, Cambridge, MA
Richard Lipsitz, atty., Buffalo
Sheldon B. Liss, U. of Akron
Raymond Lotta, author, Chi.
Don Luce, S.E. Asia Resource Center, Buffalo
Chokwe Lumumba, Provisional Government, RNA, Det.
Conrad Lynn, atty., N.Y.
Manning Marable, prof., Colgate U., Hamilton, N.Y.
Stanford H. Masui, atty., HI
Muntu Matsimela, U.S. Black political activist, N.Y.
Richard McSorley, theology prof., Georgetown U.
Charles A. Meconis, Ph.D., Seattle Religious Peace Action Coalition, CALC
Michael Meeropol, URPE, Springfield, MA
Movimiento Revolucionario del Pueblo, Seccion Baja California, Norte (Mexico)
Lewis Myers, Jr., atty., Chi.
Rev. Earl A. Nell, Episcopal Church Center, N.Y.
Jonathan C. Nelson, Lutheran pastor, Seattle
J.E. Northrop-Bosch, prison abolitionist, Pendleton, OR
Bertell Ollman, Dept. of Politics, NYU
Grace Paley, N.Y.
Sally Pangborn, former rep. King Cty. Labor Council, WA

Laurel Paulson, labor activist, prison abolitionist, Eugene, OR
Victoria H. Plaisted, ex-prisoners services, Eugene, OR
Leonard Post, anti-nuclear activist lawyer, Oakland
Luis A. Prado, Puerto Rico Solidarity Committee, N.Y.
Joel Rocamora, Southeast Asia Resource Center, Berkeley
Lewis G. Robinson, Jomo Kenyatta House, Cleveland
Annie G. Rogers, mother of murdered youth, Atlanta
Richard E. Rubenstein, prof., Antioch School of Law, D.C.
Anthony Russo, Pentagon Papers defendant, LA
Johnny Sandifer (Mississippi Johnny Waters), blues singer, Oakland
Steven Sanora, La Raza Legal Alliance, LA
Peter A. Schey, atty., LA
John T. Schwiebert, nat'l copres., Methodist Federation for Social Action, Portland, OR
Sea Dog, American Indian Movement, LA
Dr. John R. Seeley, prof. and author, LA
Jeffrey Segal, former SDS nat'l sec., atty., Louisville, KY
Joel Selvin, music critic for S.F. Chronicle
J. Tony Serra, atty., S.F.
Da'ud Shabazz, exec. dir., Black Unity House, Inc., Cleveland
Ntozake Shange, writer, Houston
Rev. Mozie Lee Smith, mother of Shango, Attica brother, Det.
Stanford African Students Association
Daniel J. Stern, prof., North-eastern Illinois U., Chi.

Tommy Strange, ed. *Boredom*, "Ragged Bags," Kent, OH
Jack Straw, Bus. Man., Northwest Nuclear Xchange, Seattle
Rev. Eric F. Swanfield, United Methodist Church, Uncasville, CT
Albert Szymanski, author, Eugene, OR
David C. Thomas, atty., Chi.
Renato G. Torres, Chair, Int'l Movement for a Democratic Philippines, S.F.
Trident Nein! defendants, Jim Cunningham
Vincent Kay
Sr. Anne Montgomery
Timothy Quinn
George Veasey
Kwame Ture, for All African Peoples Revolutionary Party
Fawaz Turki, writer
Union of Oromo Students in North America
Vic Varney, Athens, GA
Rev. Donald E. Wagner, Chi.
Johnny Walker, Jamaican reggae organizer
William O. Walker, United Methodist Pastor, Eugene, OR
Booker T. Washington, prod. Creative Image, ed. *What's Happening* magazine, S.F.
Doron Weinberg, atty., S.F.
Leonard I. Weinglass, atty.
Cornel West, Union Theological Seminary, N.Y.
Rabbi Harold S. White, chaplain, Georgetown U.
Preston Wilcox, AFRAM Information Service, N.Y.
WOMANCARE, feminist health center, San Diego
Dow Woodward, biol. prof., Stanford U.
Youth Brigade, punk band, LA
Howard Zinn, Boston U.

For more information contact:
Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants
PO Box 6422, Washington, DC 20009

*For identification purposes only

South Lebanon Under the Boot

"Justifiable wrath" was the way the U.S. State Department put it, as U.S. officials exulted over the November 4th Israeli air attacks against Palestinian and Syrian positions in Lebanon's Shuf Mountain region, attacks which left a reported 60 dead and 100 wounded. These strikes were said to be in retaliation for the truck-bomb attack earlier that day against an Israeli military headquarters in the southern Lebanese city of Tyre, an attack which killed 28 Israeli soldiers and 32 Lebanese and Palestinians being held in the building where the blast occurred.

That there was no demonstrable links between the targets of the Israeli "retaliatory" raids and the bombing hardly matters. For years, Israel has operated under far flimsier pretexts than this in launching its many air, rocket, and troop attacks across the Lebanese border, raining death and destruction as will upon Palestinian and Lebanese military and civilian centers. Such are the prerogatives of "democratic" Israel, forever safeguarding its "legitimate security needs" and "protecting its border."

That border, for all present purposes, now extends about 27 miles further north than it did before June 1982. South of its fortified military lines across the Awali River, Israel now maintains some 1100 square miles of Lebanese territory under its control. This is a fact rarely discussed in the U.S. media as it otherwise keeps up a steady stream of coverage concerning U.S. efforts to counter Syrian influence in Lebanon's remainder, and thus restore to Lebanon its "sovereignty" within its "internationally recognized borders."

Still less a topic fit for discussion in the U.S. press is just what the realities of Israeli occupation mean to the 700,000 Lebanese presently under its boot. What has made the news here are the recent statements from Israeli officials, wherein they express their "concern" over deteriorating relations with the Shi'ite Moslem community, which comprises over 70% of southern Lebanon's population. Such statements came in the wake of a recent incident in Nabatiya, deliberately provoked by an Israeli troop patrol which drove smack into the middle of a Shi'ite religious ceremony in the town's center, where thousands of Shi'ites were gathered. When the Israelis were predictably met by hostility and stone throwing, they fired point blank into the crowd. It is a reflection of the tight control the Israelis exercise over the flow of information coming out of the south, and the general disinterest of the Western media in uncovering such things in the first place, that the total number of dead and wounded from this attack are still not fully known.

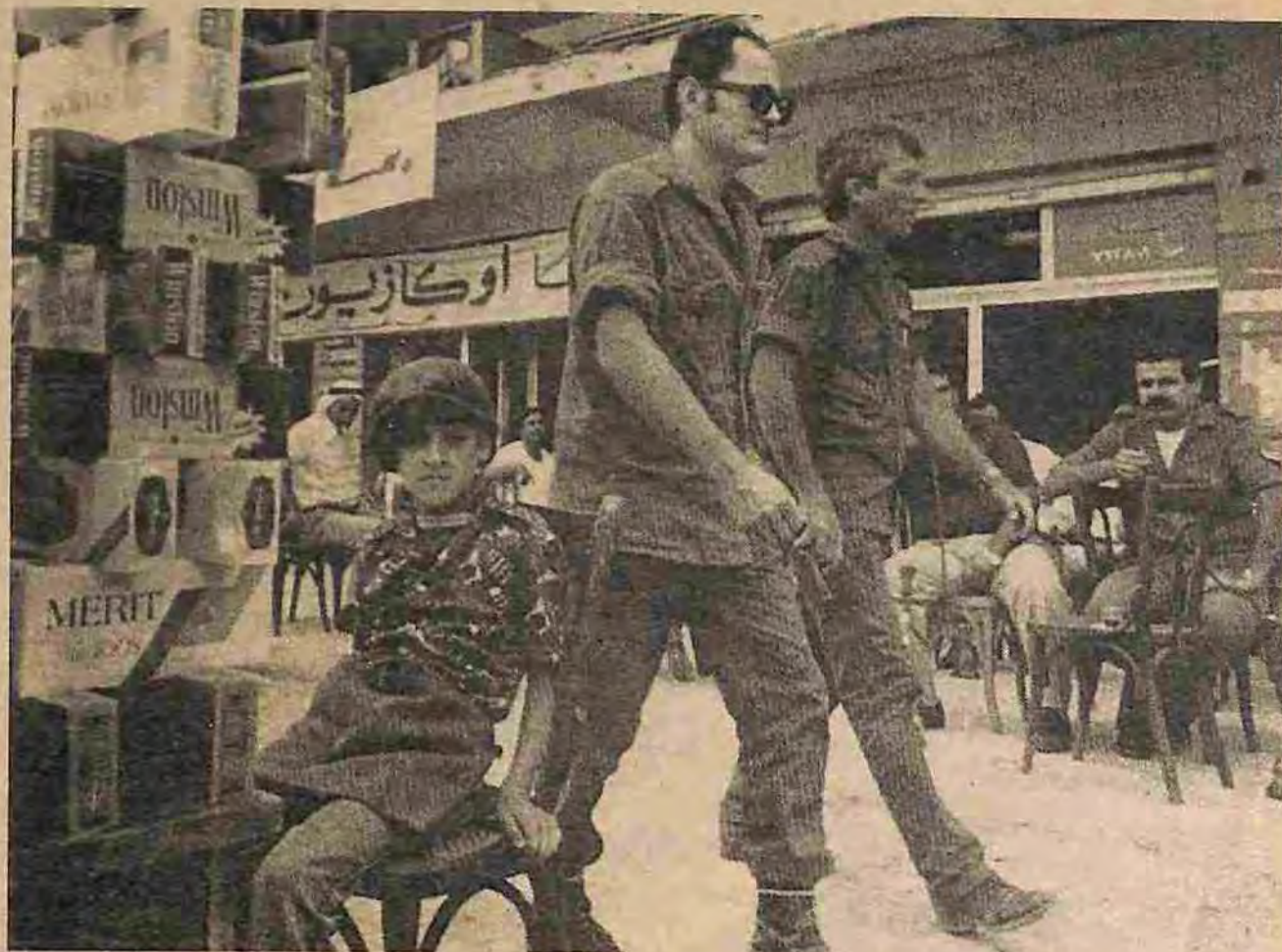
Yes, Israeli officials have much to be concerned about in their continuing occupation of the south, but this hardly translates into any new-found benevolence in their relations with the people there. A recent decree by the Israeli military governor of southeastern Lebanon was a bit more to the point: "The population has to understand that we will remain in the southern zone of 45 kilometers for at least five years. Thus, it is in the interests of the Lebanese people to have positive relations with us."

Such "positive relations" entail peaceful submission to a wide range of Israeli transgressions. As the Israelis have torn up and remade large areas of the south, building up their military infrastructure and road network linking the Awali River line with their formal northern border, they have imposed widespread changes upon the south's landscape. Walls and trees, including those under agricultural cultivation, have been torn down repeatedly, as they might provide cover for snipers. The south's economy is really under the influx of

heavily subsidized Israeli imports, especially foodstuffs whose sale is made easier by an Israeli decree stipulating that only Israeli produce can be sold before 10 a.m. Recent edicts forbid the Lebanese to use the main roads between 7 p.m. and 6 a.m.; farmers are only to work in their fields between 8 a.m. and 6 p.m. Hebrew signposts and Israeli flags are on prominent display in many areas.

The Israelis rely not only on their own troop strength to police the population, but make active use of Major Haddad's 1,300-man force, and are simultaneously recruiting Shi'ites — usually the more demoralized and criminalized elements — into "village militias," which patrol roads, extort "taxes" from villagers, and the like. A major feature of Israeli occupation, a pivot in its application of terror against the general population, is the practice of "detention." "Suspects" — all men between the ages of 15 to 40 are fair game — are routinely brought in for questioning, intimidation, and torture. Some are never heard from again, others are released within a few days, often to be picked up again. Others are pressganged into the above mentioned "militias." Detention is routinely carried out in Israeli military or intelligence headquarters, such as the one at Tyre. (A detention camp at Al Ansar holds some 5,000 to 8,000 Lebanese and Palestinians. The Al Ansar camp is a product of last year's Israeli invasion. Many of its inhabitants have been in prison since that time; others were picked up during the last year. The Israelis have forbidden journalists from getting near the camp; reports that have come from there suggest severe conditions of deprivation and plentiful indication of torture).

As for the goings on at the Tyre military headquarters, we have no specific information. But the following account, concerning affairs at the army intelligence headquarters in Sidon, can be taken as a good indication of business as usual, Israeli-occupation style. The account is from earlier this year, and is by an Israeli soldier who, in returning to Israel after reserve duty, spoke to the Israeli opposition paper, *Koteret Rashit*. Because it provides one of the few pictures made available to the "outside world" of the Israeli "detention" practices in Lebanon's south, the account is worth quoting at length, but with this caveat: Its publication coincides with attempts by elements in Israel to distance themselves somewhat from Haddad for various reasons, so some exposure is done which seemingly sets Haddad at odds with Israel. In reality, Haddad and his men have existed solely on the basis of Israeli provenance, and their unrestrained bestiality has been both deliberately encouraged and incorporated by the Israeli command into its overall structure of rule and control. One could safely multiply Haddad's acts by one-thousand or more to get some idea of what the Israelis have *directly* done to those under



Armed Israeli soldiers in the streets of Sidon.



An Israeli concentration camp in southern Lebanon.

their boot in Lebanon and elsewhere.

"When we got to the military headquarters in Sidon we had no idea what lay ahead of us. I remember how we first saw all those people in the corridors who had their hands tied back and wore blindfolds. They used to be waiting for hours. There were explicit orders that no more than two people should go into the detention room in the cellar, but the (Israeli — RW) border guards told our soldiers to follow them inside and showed them how they treated the detainees. In the best case, this involved only humiliations and curses.

"So we daily ran into young boys who had been brought in, and they stood blindfolded in the corridors. We could not escape the sight. Some people laughed at them, others beat them. Most of the beating was done by Haddad's men, who shared the building with us and had the run of it. We watched rows of detainees brought in by Haddad's men and left at their mercy. The detainees would be kept in the building for long hours before being released again.

"I once witnessed Haddad's men humiliating and mistreating some detainees. . . . (At this point there is a censorship cut by the Israeli government censor — RW.) I was on patrol together with Ofer and we saw Haddad's men laugh and then one of them went up to the last row of detainees and brought down one of them. Then the other three fell down and this amused Haddad's men greatly. When I told them that this sort of thing was not done in the Israeli army they burst out laughing, made an obscene gesture and said: 'You just get out of here and we'll slaughter all the Palestinians.' Haddad's men actually tortured the detainees in the presence of the Israeli soldiers inside the base.

"Later, I discovered that the detainees did the cleaning jobs in the buildings,

they washed the dishes, scrubbed the toilets, swept the corridors of the dormitories of the border guards. My soldiers were supposed to guard the detainees while they cleaned up, but I did not agree with this and complained to the officer in charge. I would like to note that some soldiers oppose the maltreatment (another Israeli censorship cut here — RW). Things nevertheless continued as before. At least 10 people a day used to be brought in. They arrived late at night, and the next day they were doing cleaning jobs. . . .

"And the tortures continued. Once I watched Haddad's men bring in some detainees. On the way to the entrance, in the car, they smashed the cheekbone of one detainee and hit the other one over the head with a riflebutt, until he was completely covered in blood. We got to the point that we did not see any point in complaining more. We suddenly realized that the commanders around us wanted this to happen. . . .

"Then came the case of the girl who was gang-raped by our Lebanese friends (Haddad's men — RW). . . . A soldier who had accompanied their patrol pointed her out to us as she was being taken out of the car. She had been beaten all over, and it was difficult to get her out because she screamed with pain if anyone touched her anywhere. A soldier, who was from our unit, described how she had been raped, and how they had even tried to get a dog to mount her. . . . The next day she was taken to the hospital for a checkup, but she was not hospitalized. Instead she was put back in the detention room. . . ."

Again, Haddad answers to Israel. And Israel, of course, answers to the USA, whose design of "peace" and "stability" in the region the above account is but one testament. □

OVERRULE THIS, MOTHERFUCKER

by Bob Avakian

The U.S. On The Frontlines of World War 3

The bourgeoisie is arguing and debating, maneuvering and finagling now, trying to figure out the best way to bring back the draft. They know they are going to war, and not just what they call a "local war," like a war of aggression against the Vietnamese people's liberation struggle in Indochina. They are preparing to go all the way down to the big deal, World War 3, and they have to do that. If you listen carefully to your enemy and apply the scientific method we're talking about, you can see this even in the very things they try to do to maneuver in order to fool us. When they temporarily decided not to reintroduce the draft up in Congress here a few months ago, those who took the lead in opposing the reinstatement of the draft were straight up about it. They said: "The people won't tolerate it. We haven't created enough public opinion. We haven't brainwashed them enough. They still have too many lessons of Vietnam fresh in their minds. We can't do it now, it'll expose our hand too early and too far."

But make no mistake about it, they are bringing back the draft. They are going to drag these youth out here, men and women, into the army because they're going to have to throw everybody into the war machine when they go down for the whole big deal. They understand something else that we should understand. They understand that all this "Halls of Montezuma" bullshit and "It's a Grand Old Flag" horseshit is not going to be what's happening in the next world war. They understand that they are not going to be able to do what they did in the previous world wars. They are not going to be able to sit back on the sidelines for most of the war and then step in, when the opposing forces have weakened themselves, to plunder and grab, loot and rape the greatest part of the whole world. They understand very well from what they have already had to do in the Dominican Republic, in Lebanon in the 1950s, in Vietnam, and in a hundred other places they never even told you about — that when the next world war comes, they aren't going to be able to sit it out on the sidelines and let the other forces weaken themselves. They've got an empire that they not only need to protect, but to expand. From the very beginning they're going to need American forces and American troops right at the frontlines of the battle — right in the fiery furnace and focal point of the whole world struggle between them and their allies on one side, and the Russian imperialists and their allies on the other.

And it ain't going to be what they were able to do before — step in at the end and grab relatively quick, easy, and cheap victory. Do you know that in World War 2, only about one or two percent of all the casualties of the Allied forces were American casualties? That's the truth of all your John Wayne movies and the rest of the bullshit. That's what really went down. The Soviet Union was in the forefront — it took the brunt of the war against Germany and played the decisive role in Germany's defeat — the Chinese people, revolutionary people in other parts of the world, and the masses of people in many countries are the ones who shed their blood in that war, while the rulers of this country hung back and stepped in at the end when they were in a favorable position to go in and grab up all the areas which the weakened powers, even their own allies, were no longer able, militarily and economically, to hold onto and dominate.

And that's why, coming out of World War 2, they were able to erect the dollar in place of gold as the standard of currency by which all their allies and everybody under their domination had to make their international exchanges. They were able to make everybody else accept the dollar as being as good as gold. Think back on it. At that time, one ounce of gold was worth only thirty-five dollars. Thirty-five dollars would buy you an ounce of gold. Today the dollar is worth less than ten percent of that. Today it takes four hundred dollars or more to buy an ounce of gold, and that is a very stark and shining representation of the weakened and declining position of the ruling class in this country and the fact that it has to go to war. It can do nothing other than go to war to try to preserve and resurrect a position where it can dominate most of the world and once again establish its military and economic domination.

For that very reason they're not going to be able to sit back. They can't let the British, the French, the West Germans, or the Japanese fight on the frontlines for years against the Russians and their allies, and then come in at the end to clean up and expand their empire. They're going to have to throw American troops and American forces right into the frontlines of this war from the very beginning. And the only thing that will stop them from doing this is revolution here in unity with the people throughout the world....

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

We're Proletarian, Not American

Interviewer: The Revolutionary Communist Party here is identified as the Revolutionary Communist Party of the United States. Is it entirely an American party? I mean, is it part of any other group? Is it an American party the way the Republican and Democratic parties are?

Bob Avakian: Here's the difference. The Democratic party and the Republican party are capitalist parties. We are a communist party, a working-class party.

Interviewer: Okay, but are you structurally, or... uh... is there any sort of exchange of direction or is there any influence from overseas?

Bob Avakian: Where overseas? Look at what we are saying — that China has been taken over by traitors to revolution. So has the Soviet Union.

Interviewer: No, what I am after is a statement that "We are an indigenous American party" like these others.

Bob Avakian: No, I won't make that statement and I'll tell you why. One of the most serious errors that the Communist Party in this country made — even before it totally betrayed the working class — was when they came up with the slogan that "Communism is twentieth century Americanism." They tried to make themselves respectable and "legitimate" to the more backward elements of this society. They tried to play on and pander to the prejudices of the middle classes in this society to make themselves respectable. Communism has got nothing to do with "Americanism" because Americanism, in terms of what it means as a social phenomenon, is capitalism, imperialism, plunder, exploitation, rape, murder, looting all over the world, war, destruction — how could we possibly identify ourselves with that?

Interviewer: Okay, but is the Revolutionary Communist Party of the United States, in your view, in what began as the American tradition?

Bob Avakian: No, if by that you mean the tradition of the "founding fathers" and that sort of thing. No, no. You see, we look at it this way. We are historical materialists. At that time for the United States to break free of England was a progressive step because it opened up the possibility of capitalism developing here, and the faster that capitalism develops, the faster its gravedigger develops. Its gravedigger is the working class. At that stage, two hundred years ago, capitalism and the development of capitalism could still play some progressive role. Even during the Civil War, what did you basically have? The capitalist class leading the North fighting against the slaveowning class in the South. Marxists at that time, including Karl Marx himself, supported the North because it would open up the avenues for the working class to step on the stage of history that much faster. At this point the capitalist system and the capitalist class have completely outlived any historical usefulness. It is a dying class, but a class which, the more that it is dying and the more that it is wounded, lashes out all the more viciously trying to prolong itself. So we can't identify ourselves with a tradition that today stands only for reaction, and we are not going to try to appeal to the American people on that basis.

Communists are internationalists. We believe that we are part of and one division of the international army of the proletariat. We support the revolution in Iran, we support it in Nicaragua, we support it everywhere in the world. We support it to complete victory and complete defeat of imperialism and every exploiter. One of our biggest tasks living in the United States — which is a country that plunders a large part of the world — is to educate the masses of people in this country as to the fundamental unity between their interests and those of the people of the world and to see that we have a special responsibility here to fight against our own rulers. When they try to tell us that OPEC is responsible or that the masses of Arab people or the Iranian people are responsible for the crisis here — we have to expose that it is the capitalist system.

Interviewer: But your principal concern is with the United States?

Bob Avakian: Our principal concern is revolution in the United States.

Interviewer: But I want to emphasize — revolution in the United States.

Bob Avakian: No, you want to emphasize it, but I don't want to emphasize it. I don't want and we don't want to take the easy way out here. It is easier in the short-run to say, "Look, we are just good Americans like anybody else."

Treason as defined by the rulers of this country means treason to the imperialist system; treason to the exploiters, oppressors, degraders, and tormentors of the people. Anybody who stands for the masses of people has to be a traitor to all that or he would be a traitor to the proletariat. He would be a traitor to the masses of people. So yes, what we are concerned about is revolution in the United States. Why? Because this is where we are. This is where we can make our best contribution to the international struggle. But I am not any less concerned about revolution in Iran than I am about revolution in the United States. I am not interested in and our party does not stand for making revolution for the benefit of the American people, narrowly defined, as against the rest of the world. Such a revolution will turn right around. Whenever you get these revisionists in power, that's what they do. What is the Soviet Union? They preach great-nation chauvinism in the Soviet Union just as the rulers of this country preach American chauvinism here. You cannot have a revolution

Continued on page 17

This article is the second in a series of excerpts from material compiled from a 1979 speaking tour of Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the RCP, USA. This was the last public speaking tour Bob Avakian has been able to make due to international political persecution, which continues to this day — ed.

Grenada: U.S. Democracy from the Barrel of a Gun

Continued from page 1

armed takeover in Lebanon and has been an important part of fulfilling the U.S.-led bloc's strategic plans.

Just as in Lebanon, the issue in Grenada is which imperialist bloc holds political power and the answer to that question depends on whose guns control the territory. The promised "elections" will be no different than those held in Lebanon. Any upcoming Grenadan elections will only be window-dressing served up to legitimize the guns and bombs through which the U.S. imperialists decided the issue of political power several weeks ago.

Although the initial invasion has been completed, there still remains a number of related tasks that must be carried out to firmly establish U.S. imperialist dominance. Included among these tasks are: rounding up and silencing all opposition to the U.S.; ferreting out pro-Soviet and pro-Cuban forces from what remains of Bishop's government; completely dismantling the old state apparatus and establishing the framework of the new state apparatus.

Key to this process is the continued occupation of Grenada by thousands of U.S. troops. Over the last week the U.S. has complimented this occupation with the stationing of a frigate and two destroyers just off the coast of Grenada to replace the naval task force which is now steaming towards Lebanon. These ships have been assigned to maintain their position until they are no longer needed. The role of the U.S. military forces remaining on the island is both one of making a massive show of force — patrolling the streets in tanks and armored personnel carriers and flying helicopter gunships continuously over the harbor and capital city — and one of militarily mopping up the operation and tying together all loose ends. On the second aspect, U.S. troops continue to carry out island-wide searches and maintain numerous checkpoints through which most Grenadans must pass. The purpose of all this is two-fold, both to round up former members of Bishop's government and party and to arrest any and all "suspicious" Grenadan civilians — particularly among the Grenadan youth who formed an important part of Bishop's social base. The State Department readily admits this, citing the 1907 Hague Convention Respecting the Laws and Customs of War on Land and the 1949 Geneva Convention as providing the "legal" basis for its actions. Of course, the U.S. State Department also assures one and all that those arrested in this process will be turned over to the properly constituted Grenadan government — that is, once it is properly constituted.

According to U.S. spokesmen, the U.S. military forces could be withdrawn from Grenada by the end of November — although a recent Congressional delegation, including "liberal" opponents of the invasion, has joined with various Caribbean leaders to declare that U.S. forces may have to remain in Grenada for another six months. If and when they are withdrawn, however, these troops will be replaced by a large, well-trained and equipped police force whose composition, in terms of the relative participation of the U.S. and British imperialists, has yet to be finalized. Here, however, it should be noted that Jamaican leader Edward Seaga (himself an established expert on the amount of CIA aid and the number of guns needed to establish U.S.-style democracy) declared that those who finally do make up the ranks of the "peacekeeping" force must be ready to engage in combat in order to stop "Soviet and Cuban inspired sabotage and... internal subversion."

Based on and complimenting all this, the U.S. has also begun to feverishly construct its own direct political apparatus in Grenada. In the wake of the invasion U.S. "civilians" and government officials have been streaming to the island. The U.S. has already established an "embassy in waiting" in Grenada headed up by Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Charles A. Gillespie. Most of these U.S. officials are engaged in planning to

distribute the \$3.5 million in nonmilitary "aid" that the U.S. initially allocated for Grenada and in "advising" Governor-General Paul Scoon on the formation of his interim government and advisory council which will run the country until elections are held.

Related to all this, a few things should be pointed out about the British imperialists. Apparently the British have set aside their initial "hesitation." In addition to affirming their willingness to supply a British contingent for the proposed Commonwealth police force, the British have also begun to dispatch a flood of officials to the island themselves. A "high-level team" of British "economic and police advisors" was sent to Grenada as early as October 28. And, declaring that the U.S. invasion gave Grenada "a second chance for democracy" Britain's foreign secretary Howe stated that Britain is "glad to do all we can to help" Grenadans use this opportunity. In addition, a British lawyer, the same individual who drafted the constitution for the Commonwealth of Nations, has been sent to Grenada in order to help write the new constitution. And, not willing to be outdone by their U.S. allies, the British have also promised to quickly establish new and lucrative bilateral agreements with the new Grenadan government. Finally, the *New York Times* reported that the new interim government appointed by Sir Paul Scoon has a decidedly "British" coloring to it. All in all, it has become quite clear that whatever contention the British have with the U.S. concerning Grenada is being worked out well within the framework of their bloc partnership.

The Politics of Thugs and Coups

With all of this as the foundation, the necessary political dressing has begun to be spun. One important aspect of this political dressing has been to prove that "tyranny and terror" and not democracy was the form of government in Grenada over the last four years. Bishop's rule has been characterized as nothing less than a Soviet neocolony and Bishop himself described as a "surrogate of Fidel Castro." And although Bishop has proven to be quite useful to the U.S. imperialists in death, other members of his government have not been so lucky, especially those responsible for his overthrow. Bernard Coard and General Austin, the leaders of the coup that deposed Bishop, have been returned to jail cells on Grenada from their cells on U.S. warships. Their highly publicized return to Grenadan jails — manacled and blindfolded and with the open threat of execution hanging over their heads — was obviously intended to convey a message to any of the remaining sympathizers as well as to other opposition forces about what they can expect should they attempt to oppose or disrupt the establishment of "democratic process" on Grenada.

The issue of "thuggery" and the "rule of thugs" has been a constant thread running through U.S. attacks on both Bishop and those who overthrew him. Of course, "thuggery" in Grenada is a very relative term. The democratic institutions and tradition that the U.S. says it will reconstruct in Grenada are those that existed prior to the Bishop regime and are best exemplified by Sir Eric Gairy, the last pro-U.S. prime minister. Gairy ruled over Grenada from 1967 until he was overthrown by Bishop in 1979. Actually, Gairy does provide an excellent example of the content of U.S.-backed democracy in Grenada. After all, Gairy did win every election during the time that he held power — of course, more often than not his victories were the result of the murder of his political opponents and the rigging of elections. In fact, in 1976, the last general elections held before the 1979 coup, Gairy won by removing the names of all of his political opponents from the official ballots on the day of the election. In order to complement his election fraud, and in the final analysis as the bottom line of his right to rule, Gairy also maintained a whole slew of armed thugs — recruited from the ranks of prisoners

convicted of assault and murder and named things like the "Mongoose Gang," the "Green Beasts" and the "Night Ambush Squad" — to beat and kill his opponents as well as to squash all other forms of opposition in general. Interestingly enough, Gairy's name has been batted around quite frequently over the last few weeks as a potential political candidate in the future elections. And, while it seems highly unlikely that Gairy will be allowed to resume his previous role in Grenada and is more being run out to make anyone else who runs against him look good in comparison, it is interesting that so far the only U.S. criticism of the Gairy regime has been that he allowed Bishop to overthrow him. (As a side point, it should also be noted that while the U.S. has consistently referred to the various pro-Soviet regimes in Grenada as "barbaric madmen," they have just as consistently characterized Gairy as "eccentric," certainly not because he was a brutal dictator but because his hobby was trying to make contact with flying saucers.) But, Gairy was an "eccentric strongman" not a thug. Bishop, however, who overthrew Gairy in a relatively bloodless coup was a minor league "thug" according to the U.S.

While Bishop, who was thoroughly denounced by the U.S. when he was alive, has gotten off relatively easy in death, his regime has by no means escaped unscathed. Bishop has been particularly hard hit around his "despotism" and the jailing of his political opponents (although it should also be pointed out that it is hardly ever mentioned that some of his jailed political opponents were CIA operatives working to destabilize his regime). The truth of the matter is that Grenada under Bishop, while hardly socialist and definitely aligned with the Soviet bloc, actually had developed quite a few "popular democratic" forms in his governmental apparatus. Although there were no nationwide elections under Bishop, there were all kinds of forms such as local "town" meetings and other sessions where the Grenadan people could supposedly hold government officials "accountable for their activities." According to the U.S., the problem with the democracy practiced by the Bishop regime was not that it was in the interests of imperialism, but which imperialists it served.

Coard and Austin have been especially hard hit on the "thuggery" issue. Their overthrow of Bishop and his subsequent murder have been highlighted as evidence of the U.S. charge. (And horrors, they even had Mr. Paul Scoon under house arrest!) Every effort has been bent to graphically illustrate the "barbaric" nature of their regime — the latest being the supposed discovery of "mass graves" containing Bishop and others murdered on October 19th. One day after this discovery was confirmed by the State Department it proved to be a total fabrication although the U.S. officials declared that they would continue to search for such mass graves. (Along these lines, it should be pointed out that the U.S. may very well be able to come up with such graves — after all something had to be done with all of the civilian casualties from the U.S. invasion. One site that might prove productive in their search would undoubtedly be underneath the rubble of the mental hospital that the U.S. forces "mistakenly" bombed into oblivion.) In their zeal to prove the "barbaric and undemocratic" character of the Austin regime some U.S. officials have begun commenting on Austin's supposed resemblance to Idi Amin. This comparison is indeed quite interesting since Idi Amin, who was installed as the ruler of Uganda by the U.S. and Israel, is a glowing example of the type of "democratic" governments the U.S. has erected and supported in the past.

Yes indeed, according to the U.S. imperialists Coard and Austin are "thugs." Yet, the U.S. imperialists who themselves spent four and a half years attempting to overthrow Bishop, are simply "security conscious statesmen." And the U.S. Marines and paratroopers who invaded

Grenada and overthrew Coard and Austin are "liberators" as opposed to thugs and coup-makers. Thuggery and democracy in Grenada are definitely relative to the U.S. It all depends on the power relations — whether they serve the interests of the U.S. is the determining factor.

Indeed, for the U.S. the definition of democracy is very specific. The problem isn't that the U.S. is not going to establish "real democracy" or hold "legitimate and free elections." In fact, the U.S. will be setting up democracy in Grenada — not the nonexistent "ideal democracy" but the bourgeois democracy that serves the interests and rule of a specific class and specific imperialist bloc. Under Bishop "Grenadan democracy" flowed from the interests of the Soviet imperialists. Today the democracy constructed in Grenada will serve the U.S. imperialist interests and will reflect and maintain the political power that the U.S. seized with their military takeover. To illustrate this point, the U.S. imperialists have declared that the last legitimate government in Grenada was represented by the Governor-General Sir Paul Scoon. Apparently Scoon's supposed legitimacy stems from the fact that he is the sole remaining figure from the days before the establishment of the Bishop regime. The choice of Scoon as the "legitimate government" and "the foremost democratic leader" in Grenada is also quite revealing. Scoon's claim to power is based on the fact that he was nominated by Eric Gairy to be the governor-general of the island and his nomination was approved by the British queen. As governor-general, Scoon's job was to be the figurehead representative of the queen of England (recognized as the head of government in Grenada even under the Bishop regime) and his tasks included such weighty matters as entertaining visiting dignitaries and offering up the first toast on national days of celebration. More importantly though, Scoon's ability to construct the type of democracy the U.S. wants to establish on Grenada, has been more than proven in the course of the invasion and afterwards. In Scoon's view, "It is only intellectuals who worry about where authority lies." Scoon himself is quite sure about the location of the seat of political power in Grenada. In fact, Scoon's abject servitude to the wants and needs of the U.S. imperialists has currently earned him the nickname of "Sir Paul Gillespie" inside Grenada — after the State Department official currently in charge of Grenada.

According to the U.S., Scoon's job is to pull together an interim government to help "reconstruct the democratic institutions" that existed in Grenada prior to the Bishop regime. Fittingly, Scoon has stated that he will be consulting with both U.S. government officials as well as the island's labor federation, whose leaders have very tight ties with the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) — the international arm of the AFL-CIO and a well-exposed cover for CIA activities throughout Latin America, as he constructs democracy in Grenada. In a true display of talent, at the same time as Scoon appointed his election commission, he also banned public meetings, authorized arrest without warrant, and instituted press censorship!

But the U.S. builders of democratic institutions and free elections attempt to get around all this by declaring that this time around the situation is different and nothing is predetermined. That the upcoming elections will be "free and legitimate" is guaranteed. After all, anybody who wants to can run for a government position including a broad range of political forces from Gairy and his Mongoose Gang to leftovers of the New Jewel Movement (although here it is undoubtedly only those who have denounced their ties to the Soviets and Cubans and who have praised the U.S. invasion as a liberating force). Of course, there is one catch — anyone who runs must be free of a criminal record, that is, they must not be former high-ranking members of the New Jewel Movement or

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Last March a bit of true Americana was displayed with all the appropriate grunts and gusto. A woman in New Bedford, Massachusetts walked into Big Dan's Tavern to buy some cigarettes and chat with a friend that worked there. Within the hour she was taunted, grabbed and then thrown down and gang-raped.

Other patrons of Big Dan's watched and cheered like they were watching their favorite baseball team, shouting encouragement like "Yeah, go for it!!" This was the real thing, far better than watching the latest pornographic movie.

For some two and a half hours the gang-rape continued as the rapists were hailed and incited further by a dozen or so "innocent bystanders."

The story hit the papers accompanied by a barrage of journalistic "horror and shock." Psychologists were quoted with theories to explain this "freak" occurrence. "How could something like this happen? How could something so awful occur where not only would no one do anything to stop it — but those who were there, encouraged and cheered it on?" "What was this mysterious group

New Bedford and Grenada Rape Psychology

pressure which swept along the rapists? And how could anyone actually cheer on the rape of a woman?"

Well, frankly, the cheering in New Bedford is not all that hard to understand. The "innocent bystanders" were quite graphically and accurately acting in the fine American tradition of rape and plunder. Undoubtedly, as the Marines were storming the beaches of Grenada, the philistine, chauvinist patrons of Big Dan's Tavern were whooping it up, passing another beer down the counter and cheering at the news clips. These types of he-men definitely know which side to line up on; whether it's in cheering on gang-rape or the invasion of another country.

And, let's not forget, this *is* all in the interest of preserving the *American* way of life.

Is there not a strikingly similar ring in the gang-rape logic of "she asked for it — after all, she's a woman!" and the sharp rise in the opinion polls among all those "my fellow Americans" applauding the brave Rangers for showing that the U.S. was "really acting like the super-power it is" (in the words of one puffed-up thug)? Doesn't a wide-angle shot of the event in Big Dan's Tavern bring to the foreground a picture of the exploitative relations that exist on a world scale? Accordingly, when a woman is brutally gang-raped, in polite circles it might be called an "unfor-

tunate" incident. But when thousands of Marines are sent to invade (rape) Grenada, it's called patriotism. The fervor in *this* tavern was, after all, led by the highest office in the country! And even the most liberal of critics just had to join in — what a heartwarming sight to see instant replays of "rescued" students kissing the ground played over and over again like something out of a Purina Cat Chow commercial. Finally, after all those years of the "Vietnam syndrome" and the painful embarrassment of the "hostage crisis" in Iran, here was a cheap little victory that every all-American yahoo could get off on. A real live successful invasion — a point scored against the "other side." What a laxative for unleashing the pent-up, patriotic social-base of the U.S. imperialists! And what an important and oh-so-well-orchestrated incident to gear up for a future showdown when the U.S. throws it all on the line against their Soviet social-imperialist rivals, and the philistines will have to put down their beers, zip up their pants, and put on their fatigues. □

"The Pollsters Arrive"



from the Barrel of a Gun

Continued from page 8

of the military and they must not be one of the suspicious civilians who have been rounded up over the last couple of weeks. However, this still apparently leaves a loophole open that the U.S. wants closed, especially insofar as middle-level civil servants are concerned. To remedy this, the *Washington Post* has reported that a list has been passed through the ranks of the Grenadan civil service and anyone whose name appears on it — usually known sup-

porters of Maurice Bishop — are advised to quickly and quietly resign their posts and squelch any and all political ambitions.

Beyond the shadow of a doubt, the outcome of the highly ballyhooed elections is already known by all but those who desire not to know. If this is not true in terms of exactly which individuals will fill the political position (although this too is a distinct possibility), it is most definitely true in terms of what the relationship to the U.S. imperialists will be and in terms of who actually holds the reins of political power in Grenada today. For any Grenadans who might be wavering on which way they will vote in these upcoming elections, the U.S. has even provided posters (a necessary embellishment for any "democratic" election) and one of the U.S. army's own "psychological operations units" to help create the proper public opinion. And, as the bottom line, vacillating Grenadans will undoubtedly be won over to the cor-

rect voting position by contemplating the spectre of the U.S. invasion and the reality of the U.S. military occupation today. Both the literal show of force and the fact that the question of power has been decisively settled are powerful arguments indeed to convince the intermediate strata that "peace of mind is at hand" — now they don't have to worry that the U.S. might invade!

However, peace and overall "peaceful withdrawal" are not in the cards for Grenada (or Lebanon) or anywhere else in the world. The power relations which the so-called "free elections" are meant to legitimize were not exercised to get the U.S.'s bloody hands on this turf as an end in itself. The world today has increasingly become one in which neither the U.S. and its allies nor the Soviets and theirs can tolerate "the way things are" and one in which neither side can accept a major, strategic defeat. All the major imperialist powers are moving into increasing instances of conflict, further troops sta-

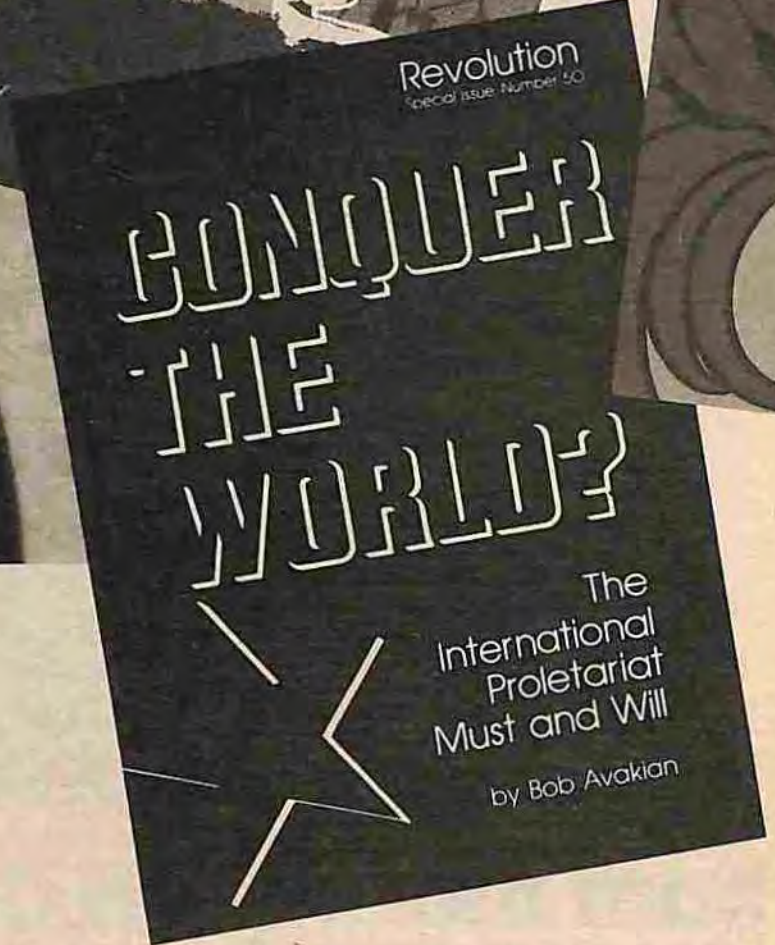
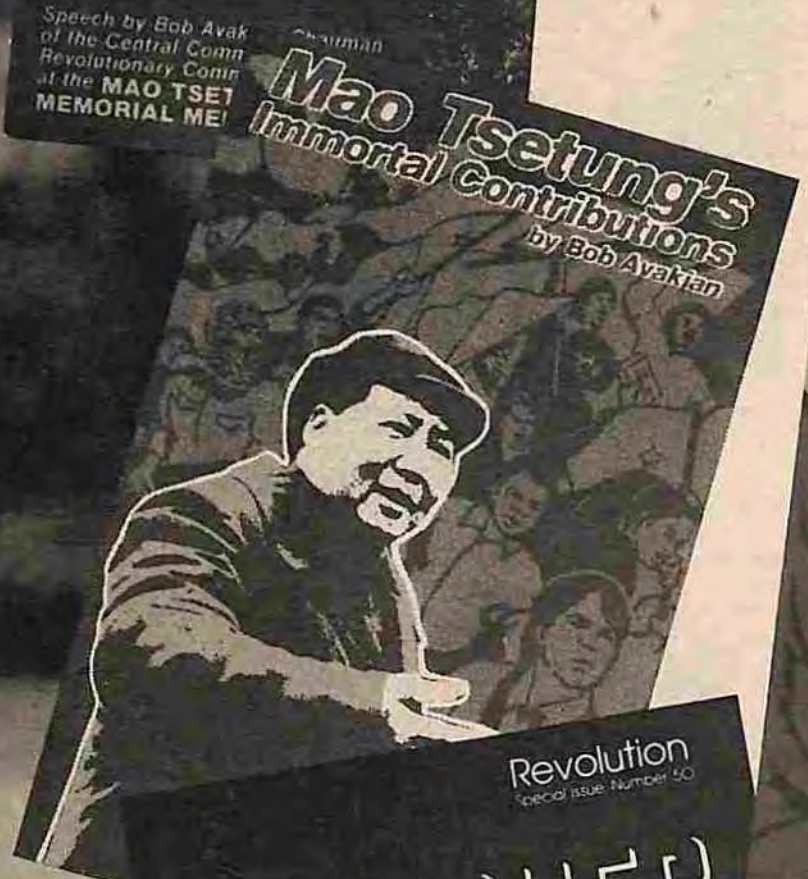
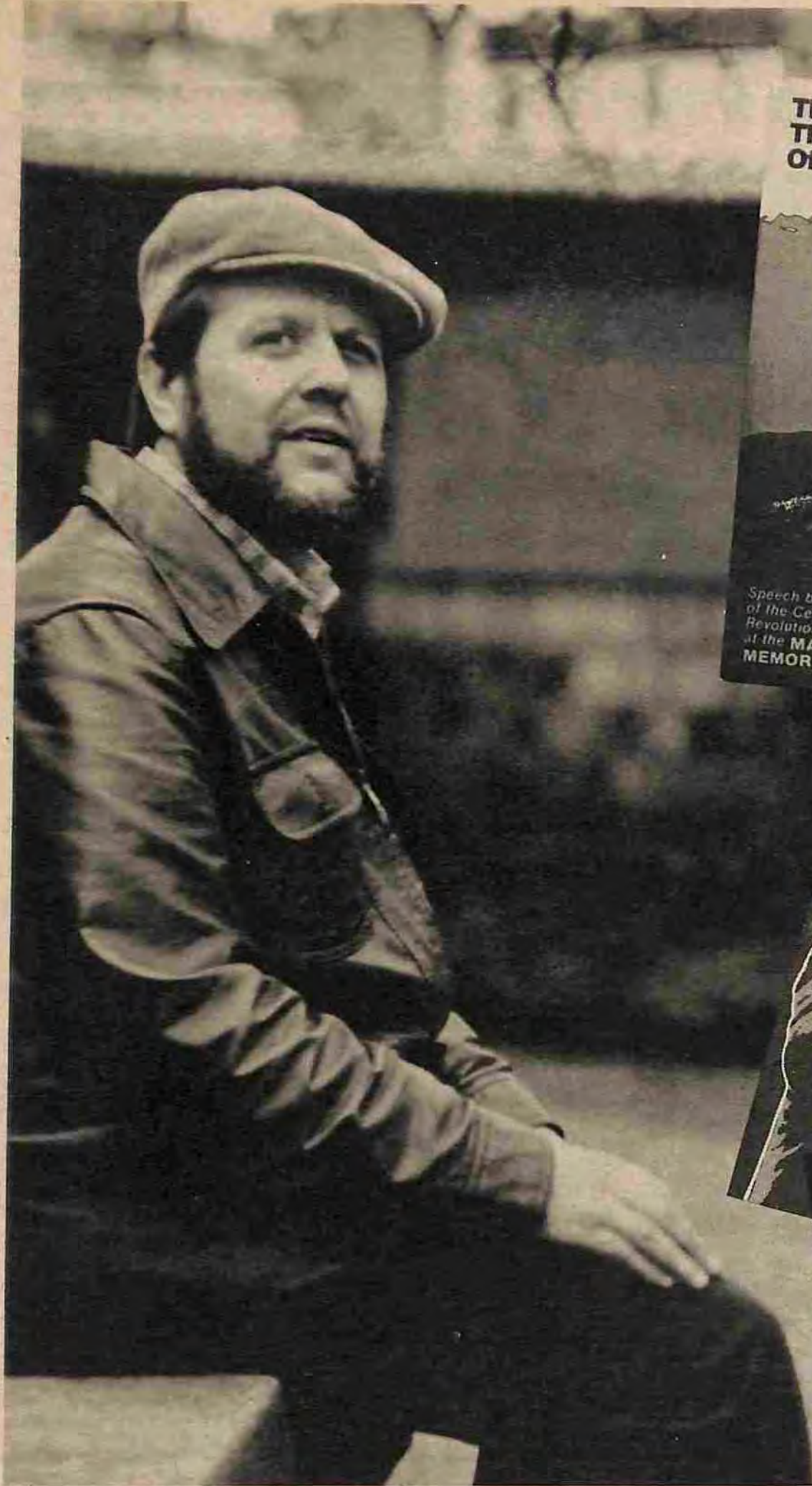
tioning and accelerated military preparation. The U.S. imperialists are pushing the Soviets at every possible opportunity and the Soviets are doing their own particular combination of holding ground and pushing. Both sides are paying particular attention to their actual political and military preparations for world war — and it is here, in light of preparations for truly global violence, that the thoroughly moribund nature of newly-established democracy in Grenada can be even more fully appreciated. □

Correction

Last week, in *RW* No. 229, in the article "Invitation to A Flag Planting" (p. 9), the second sentence in the third paragraph suffered a misprint. The sentence should have read: "We spoke to a number of students, but no student, and this includes the more patriotic, gung-ho types, described the Grenadans' attitude toward the U.S. students as hostile." □

Considerations on
Contributions on

**JUST
TRY**



There is a story told about the perilous first months of the Russian Revolution. During a meeting of the Bolshevik leadership someone informed Lenin that the revolution had on that day now outlasted the Paris Commune. Lenin apparently vaulted from his chair, raced outdoors, and started leaping and dancing in the snow of a Russian winter. The anecdote is worth recounting, not simply because it tells us something about Lenin's enthusiasm and occasional whimsy but because it also underlines just how much revolutions (and revolutionaries) have had to break with convention and precedent. You see, the revolution in Russia was not supposed to take place (the country was too backward and the Bolshevik Party too "isolated"), and it was not supposed to last (for pretty much the same reasons). Lenin was hardly deterred, although he was acutely aware of the difficulties of seizing and consolidating power and paid great heed both to the world situation and previous revolutionary experience. Thus Lenin charted a course where none had been charted before. He grasped the actuality of revolution when few could even imagine, much less prepare for, the possibility of such an earthshaking upheaval. There is something else. It is a strange, if not entirely inexplicable, paradox that Marxism, that most critical and revolutionary

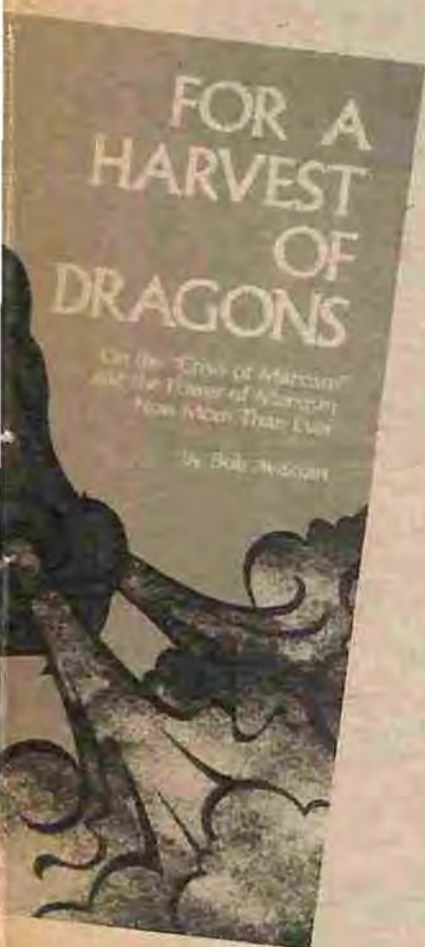
of philosophies, has, in many of its official manifestations, become a religion of the status quo and a recipe for intellectual ossification. Marx, we know, once declared that he was not a Marxist when it came to this kind of cant. Indeed, Marxism advances through continual analysis and transformation of the world... and by interrogating itself in the process. What does all this have to do with Bob Avakian? Well, one perhaps should rephrase the question and ask, what does Bob Avakian have to do with Marxism at this critical moment in world history? Most readers are familiar with the recent turn of events in the political asylum case of Avakian, but some background may be necessary. Avakian, Chairman of the RCP, was forced into exile in 1980. Hounded, threatened, and facing several lifetimes in prison on trumped up charges (eventually dropped) stemming from a demonstration against Deng Xiaoping when he visited the United States in 1979, Avakian sought political refugee status in France. Despite its "socialist" cover, the French state, in obvious connivance with the U.S. government, rejected Avakian's request. And it was none too subtle in framing the decision in political terms (various documents and writings associated with Avakian and the RCP were introduced by the French judges, and the surveillance directed against

Avakian was certified as a legitimate precautionary measure). This flagrant refusal to grant Avakian any protection, which makes it impossible for him to "put his feet down," is, as was pointed out in a recent *RW* account of these events and their significance, nothing less than an attempt to suppress Avakian and to stifle his voice. To understand why that voice is so threatening and why it must be allowed to be heard, it is imperative that we examine Avakian's theoretical activity and intellectual practice. These are the subjects proper of this article, and they can best be understood in the context of the revival of Marxist theory in the 1960s and the "crisis of Marxism" which surfaced in the late 1970s. One of the most exciting and enduring

aspects of the 1960s was the broad challenge to the orthodoxies, bromides, and lies of bourgeois thought, as well as to the academy which celebrated and propagated it. Radical critiques of mainstream economics, political science, psychology, culture, etc., were fashioned. In an atmosphere of deep questioning and rejection, the imperialist connections and functions of various institutions were exposed and many of their most sacred cows and hallowed authorities confronted. The purposes to which knowledge itself was put were scrutinized, and the cry went up for relevance. Indeed, the intellectual ferment of the period was part of the rebellion wracking and rending society (it was not unusual to study during the morning, demonstrate in the afternoon, and muse and struggle over it

Bob Avakian's
The Theoretical Front

WHAT ARE THEY SILENCING?



Review. By the end of the decade, he produced significant analyses of the Black liberation struggle and the youth upheavals, among other subjects, while arguing forcefully for the relevance of Marxism-Leninism to a revolutionary movement in the United States. Already, some essential themes could be found in his work: the importance of the rebellions and advanced activities of various diverse strata of society, both in the blows they strike and in their catalytic and educative effect on other sections of the population, particularly the working class; the crucial role of the struggle against national oppression to the elaboration of any revolutionary strategy in the United States; the necessity for armed struggle; the recognition that Mao Tsetung had advanced Marxism to a new level; and an insistence upon thoroughgoing analysis of the structures of society and events in the world. Avakian realized that these ideas must guide and in turn become a material force through a party. It was in this period that the Revolutionary Union, the forerunner of the RCP, was formed, and it quickly emerged as the center of Maoist thought and activity in the United States.

The turn to Marxism had as its practical counterpart the turn to the working class. A new communist movement sought to link up with the working class in the wealthiest and most powerful of imperialist countries. But the corrosive political and ideological effect of imperialist social and economic development on the working classes of the advanced countries and the receding of revolutionary struggles worldwide in the 1970s led to a great deal of frustration and disorientation among many of the forces that emerged out of the upsurges of the '60s. Some opted for terrorism, others concluded that the working class was only capable of supping a tepid broth of Americanized social democracy — and were more than ready to set the table for it — while others just plain gave up. This is not the place to survey these developments. What is important to note is that Marxism became, in many quarters, a codeword for trade unionism, social chauvinism, and, it must be frankly admitted, intellectual sterility. The Revolutionary Communist Party was formed in this period. Though it was not immune from these influences — indeed, these questions were being battled out within it — the difference was that Avakian was beginning to generate analyses that could explain both what was happening and why, and that could point the way forward.

Interestingly, in the 1974-75 period, Avakian's two most significant theoretical contributions were a study, produced under his leadership, of the

Soviet Union,* and an extraordinarily prescient analysis of the world situation. The Soviet study went beyond the condemnation of Soviet foreign policy, which was common on the left at the time, and penetrated beneath the palpably unrevolutionary quality of Soviet life and society. It offered a thoroughgoing analysis of the Soviet Union as a state monopoly capitalist formation and explored its distinctive features. In the West, only the followers of Charles Bettelheim were able to carry out serious analyses of the Soviet Union as a capitalist formation, but they floundered on the question of its historical origins and its imperialist imperatives. At the same time, Avakian suggested in numerous writings that the economic crisis of the mid-1970s and the political and military conflicts that were increasing in tempo in various parts of the world were part of an underlying trend towards, and could only be resolved under the present system through, the redivision of the world. In a word, the U.S. and Soviet blocs, beset with political and economic crises and locking horns with each other in every corner of the world, were confronted with the necessity of world war — and they were actually preparing for it. Scoffed at as alarmist at the time, Avakian continued to deepen that analysis and to draw out its implications for revolution.

In late 1976, Mao Tsetung died, and the so-called "gang of four" was quickly arrested. A new leadership group came to power; thus began an epochal reversal of proletarian rule. This event caught many unprepared, both in terms of what gave rise to it and what effects it might have on the international struggle. The RCP would split over the question, and the reversal spelled the effective demise of many Maoist forces throughout the world. In three major works, Avakian grappled with the roots and significance of the coup, and the place that Mao occupied in contemporary history. In *Revisionists are Revisionists and Must Not Be Supported; Revolutionaries are Revolutionaries and Must Be Supported*,** Avakian identified the terms of the struggle and the camps ranged against each other in China during the years 1966-76. Skillfully reconstructing and analyzing the principal turning points in the struggle, Avakian concluded that a counter-revolution had taken place and capitalism

**Red Papers 7: How Capitalism Has Been Restored in the Soviet Union and What This Means for the World Struggle* (Chicago: Revolutionary Union, 1974).

**This piece is contained in the book *Revolution and Counter-Revolution: The Revisionist Coup in China and the Struggle in the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA* (Chicago: RCP Publications, 1978).

was being restored. Beyond this, he deepened the understanding of the politics and the political economy of socialism that had been developed by the Chinese revolutionaries and that was applied in the study of the Soviet Union. *The Loss in China and the Revolutionary Legacy of Mao Tsetung* extended these points and plotted more precisely the historical coordinates of the inner-party struggles over the period since 1949. As part of this, Avakian emphasized and explored in greater depth the international factors that came to bear on these struggles. Finally, in *Mao Tsetung's Immortal Contributions*, Avakian drew up what is to date the most comprehensive and authoritative assessment of Mao's theoretical innovations in the spheres of philosophy, culture, political economy, and revolutionary strategy; he argued that Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under socialism represented the most radical and profound advance in Marxist thought since Lenin.

In the latter work, and particularly in its concluding chapter, Avakian would expand upon some Maoist "heresies." He maintained that once socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat were turned into final and absolute goals, rather than seen as the necessary transit points to world communism, capitalism would of necessity follow! Further, he observed in Mao's practice and the experience of the Chinese Revolution confirmation of what can only be described as a "lawless" law of revolution: the need to question and break with certain established norms, exactly for the purpose of comprehending and acting on changes in the world and in order to advance Marxism-Leninism. Although this work was a spirited and rigorous defense of Mao, it also pointed to some weaknesses and problems. There was a tendency in Mao to project too much of the experience of the Chinese Revolution, particularly with respect to its national tasks, onto a world scale. Avakian broadened the observation and called for critical dissection of the approach that the international communist movement had historically taken in handling the relationship between the defense of a socialist country and the promotion of world revolution.

In light of the coup in China and the intensification of world contradictions (which underlay the disintegration and capitulation of much of the Maoist left), Avakian began to reexamine certain assumptions which had gone unquestioned in the history of the international communist movement during the last 40 years. Spelling out what had been only foreshadowed in *Mao's Immortal Contributions*, Avakian would argue that the promotion of world revolution, particularly in periods of international storm and stress, must take precedence over the defense of a socialist country. Closely related, he criticized the notion of a "principal" imperialist enemy on a world scale (and the implicit class and international alliances that notion entailed). At the same time, Avakian saw in Mao's emphasis on consciousness in activating the revolutionary masses and in his emphasis on the role of politics, culture, and the superstructure in general in the reproduction and transformation of society some basic truths and laws governing the development of a revolutionary movement, which were linked with the historic mission of the proletariat.

This in turn was intimately connected with Avakian's rereading of *What is To Be Done?* by Lenin. Lenin had argued that the economic struggle of the workers could neither generate the necessary understanding nor serve as the practical foundation for a revolutionary assault against the rule of capital. It was an insight forgotten and abandoned by the bulk of the international communist movement. Yet it was an insight painfully validated by the inability of communist-led movements in the advanced countries to rise above militant trade unionism, and by the close association between economism and social chauvinism. In fact, as the experience of the '60s in the imperialist countries had revealed, the most radical and revolutionary challenges to the existing order came from outside the communist parties and were actually opposed by these parties.

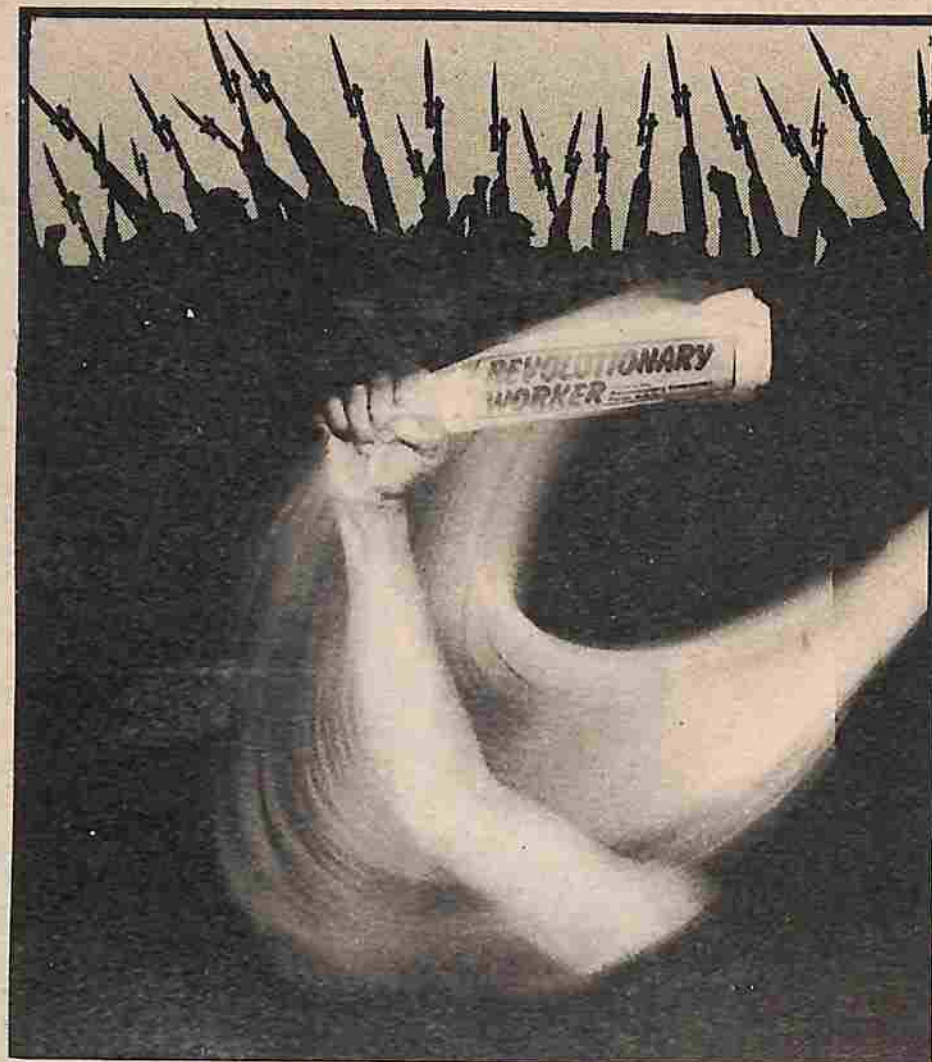
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They Are Actively Preparing and So Must We

— Take Up & Wield the RW

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

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



TRYING TO SILENCE

Continued from page 11

Avakian was coming to grips with the dialectics of making revolution in the advanced countries and its relationship to the world revolution. It led him not only to criticize the conventional wisdom of the international communist movement, but to criticize some of the conceptions that had guided the practice of the RCP as well.

By 1979-80, the elements of an historic theoretical project had taken shape. Building on Lenin's conclusions regarding imperialism as a specific stage of capitalism, Avakian advanced two major theses which extended Lenin's analysis. The first was the objective existence of a single process of world development. This process had its material foundation in the internationalization of capital and the territorial division of the world. Thus, developments in the world were more determining of economic, social, and political phenomena in particular countries than were events and trends within these countries taken by themselves. Second, he posited the operation of a new structural dynamic which governs the motion of world history, a dynamic involving a far more complex linking of politics and economics than existed before the rise of imperialism, a dynamic in which world war and revolution play a central role (with the first two world wars constituting the critical turning points thus far in the political economy and social history of imperialism), and one that also embraces the socialist countries (when they exist). The socialist countries are part of a larger framework; or, approached from the other direction, they must be viewed as base areas for world revolution. (Many of these ideas have been further developed, tested, and applied in the forthcoming *America in Decline*.) This overall construct had a philosophical foundation as well, notably Avakian's exploration of the structure of levels in which internal and external factors operate and interact in nature and human society, and how all this is to be conceptualized.

These investigations were closely bound up with the actual elaboration of a revolutionary strategy for the United States, as embodied in the *New Programme* of the RCP as well as numerous other writings. While it is impossible to

capture the richness and complexity of the problems being dealt with, a few cardinal elements can at least be enumerated. To begin with, analysis was made of the differentiation and stratification within the working class. Avakian argued that there is a base for proletarian internationalism within the U.S. working class, but it is not centered among the better paid, more highly unionized industrial workers (and this has important implications for insurrection). With respect to the tasks in a preinsurrectionary period in an imperialist country, these are concentrated in the realm of public opinion, that is, carrying out all-around exposure of the imperialist system and imbuing the oppressed with a revolutionary internationalist perspective. In the midst of controversy over the applicability of Leninist forms of organization to advanced countries, Avakian has argued that building a Leninist party is an essential element of revolutionary preparation, crucial in avoiding being whipped by chauvinism and economism. And such leadership, while marked by contradictions (which Avakian has wrangled over and situated ultimately in the division of labor of society), is in fact a necessary condition for unleashing the conscious initiative, activity and creativity of the masses. A major obstacle to the development of revolutionary consciousness, Avakian has summed up, is the patriotic and democratic prejudices of the American people. To the chagrin and shock of a left with overweening Jeffersonian sensibilities, Avakian has developed an incipient critique of democracy. He has stressed that democracy, even in its most sanguine and "civilized" forms, is not the highest expression of social organization; that the stability and prosperity that sustain American democracy rest on the most savage plunder of the world; and that no revolution, at least a genuine revolution, can occur in the United States or any other imperialist country if it panders to patriotism and democracy (the ideological import of this critique bears on movements in the Third World as well).

Avakian has drawn great attention to the fact that the possibilities for revolution are heightened during relatively brief, but decisive, historical moments. We are, according to Avakian, entering into such a period of exceptional historical and social tension. But, again, he has cast all of this in international and internationalist terms: the seizure of power in any given country involves a multifaceted dialectic between awaiting and promoting changes in the international arena, while maximizing revolu-

tionary gains for the international proletariat must be the fundamental point of departure in all countries. And Avakian has been a pivotal figure in efforts to unite revolutionary Marxist-Leninists worldwide.

It is often alleged that Marxists are caught on the horns of a dilemma: they either remain true to ideals, ideals which are simply romantic illusions, and thus can in no serious way influence history; or, they must opt for pragmatism and worse (since Marxism is in this view but a species of utopianism) when confronted with the "exigencies" of modern society and political rule. Avakian has rejected this spurious logic. He has insisted, not through assertion or faith but through the concrete analysis of social and revolutionary experience, that the actual contradictions and development of society provide the foundation for something qualitatively new and higher for humanity, and the conscious activism of the masses furnishes the means by which it can be forged. At the same time, Avakian has defined Leninism as the "art of winning." In his latest work, Avakian writes: "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." If there is a philosophical thread that runs through his theoretical project, it is the profound interplay between the objective laws of capital, as they operate in the contemporary era, and the conscious, dynamic role of the human actors on the stage of history. The actuality of revolution.

It is also often alleged that leading (or being part of) a Marxist-Leninist party is somehow incompatible with a searching and creative intellectual enterprise. More generally, Marxism in the service of revolution is considered to be incapable of tackling in a sophisticated and germane way the diverse and complex phenomena of society; it must of necessity lead to formulaic and subjective judgements. But Avakian leads a disciplined revolutionary party that is marked by an *outré* practice (organizing the well-known mass "reception" at the White House against Deng Xiaoping's U.S. visit; actions in support of the Iranian people's struggle at the height of the hostage hysteria; May Day disruptions in high schools and sweatshops) and by a lively and lofty spirit of theoretical inquiry (recent issues of the *Revolutionary Worker*, to take one example, have published exchanges on the notion of in-

finity). And if we examine some of Avakian's writings over the last year, for instance, we find a breadth of discussion — from the symbolic function of Frank Sinatra, to incisive social commentary on the 1983 NCAA basketball championship, to an open letter addressed to Carl Sagan and Isaac Asimov — that is truly astonishing. He has written with erudition, wit, and iconoclasm, and has not recoiled from subjecting his own ideas to scrutiny and evaluation. What distinguishes Avakian as a major intellectual force is both the content of his investigations and the critical methodological standpoint that has guided them. There is no more provocative (and outrageous) Marxist on the U.S. political scene today. Indeed, he has done much to invest Marxism with new vitality.

Avakian's latest work, *For A Harvest of Dragons*, surveys the historical and thematic development of Marxism. It also addresses the "crisis" of contemporary Marxism. This crisis is at once a reflection of the shifts and changes in the world situation that have led to disarray and to disillusionment, and a reflection of the real (and by no means insignificant) practical and theoretical challenges that confront Marxism. These are the challenges that Avakian has taken up. His intellectual journey has been one of sustained, critical investigation of social phenomena and of the underlying laws governing revolutionary development — ultimately focused on the central question of revolutionary power and transformation. He has combined theoretical and historical sweep and rigor with uncompromising revolutionary practice. Difficulties and setbacks in the world have not deterred him; threats and involuntary exile have not silenced him. Nevertheless, his working and living conditions are at best tenuous. His defense and support are urgent questions, if he is to carry on his work.

Avakian's prognostications are being borne out. The imperialists are indeed readying for a war of world conquest, compelled, if obscenely so, to risk the ecology of the entire planet to protect their dying system. The opportunities for revolutionary advance will dramatically increase amidst this madness. One need not agree with all of Avakian's conclusions to recognize their importance; one need not share his overall analysis to appreciate its timeliness. That his voice should and must be heard — of this, there can be no doubt. □

Special to the
Revolutionary Worker

Soccer Wars in Berlin



The following story comes from an RW correspondent in West Germany:

Willkommen nach Berlin the signs read, but "Welcome to Pig City" is the glaring reality. The crowd of arriving passengers descends the steps from the train platform slowly, seemingly oblivious to the gauntlet of cops awaiting them below. Clad in slightly baggy, military-style uniforms the two rows of cops funnel the incoming throng into a narrow passage so that each can be eyed carefully. Age, manner of dress, and baggage are noted. An elderly couple. O.K. Obviously a business man. O.K. Two young people, one wearing a Palestinian kafir. Take note.

Emerging from the gauntlet, the crowd fans out into a large foyer. But again, at twenty foot intervals, stand small bunches of cops, each group restraining an overly large dog wearing a leather muzzle. "Jesus, let's get out of this place." We pick our way through the crowded train station which is a somewhat seedy affair for the tinsel-town that West Berlin is supposed to be. A few panhandlers work the crowd of immigrant workers, students, and older people who make up the bulk of the train traffic. (The more affluent fly.)

But the street affords little relief. In the glitter of neon signs, fancy stores, sex shops, and Turkish Döner Kebab stands, the pigs are everywhere — only now some carry their riot sticks and wear white helmets with face visors and leather tail-pieces that protect the back of their neck from blows. Some sit in small police buses parked around the train station. Others stand in bunches at the corners. All carry 9mm automatics in low slung holsters.

We make a phone call and then pop into the *U-Bahn* (the subway). Bunches of cops are strung out along both platforms. The W. German subways and street cars work on a semi-honor system. You're supposed to buy a ticket, but there is no gate or turnstyle. Getting caught in the random checks without a valid ticket will cost you a 40 Mark fine (\$16). But the cops are not out in force tonight to catch fare-beaters. Tomorrow is the big soccer game between W. Germany and Turkey.

For days the W. German media had been publicizing ("critically" of course!) the threats of various right-wing groups

who openly spout fascist rhetoric to stage an anti-Turkish pogrom in connection with the game. Rumors were flying everywhere that the reactionaries would march on Kreuzberg and burn out Turkish shops — all quite in line with the new government program to now clampdown and expell thousands of "guest workers" transported to W. Germany to feed the maw of German industrial production. One rightist leaflet, for example, read: "To All German Soccer Fans: On Oct. 26, 1983 the German people will go into battle with a pack of stinking Turks. That's when the German national soccer team will play the fucking Turks in Berlin to qualify for the European championship playoffs. This game must be a signal for the entire German people and above all for the politicians of this country. Behind this game stands the struggle of the Germans for jobs in their own country and desire of all Germans to live among their own German countrymen, and not have to just look on as the number of foreigners which gets bigger all the time threatens the future of a strong Germany. We—part of us young soccer fans—must rebel and create a common front against the swarm of foreigners (especially Turks) in Germany." Blah, Blah, Blah...

Little wonder that such openly racist and chauvinist statements can get broad ("critical") airing, when W. Germany's own Interior Minister has announced a massive program to repatriate surplus workers from Turkey (particularly the older workers with families) and has made quite similar statements: "These people come from a completely different cultural circle, from a whole other world. There is a tremendous difference when we are talking about 1.7 million Moslems here, people who don't want to stay, who don't want to integrate themselves, who don't want to become German citizens..."

As was pointed out in *RW* No. 224, the chauvinist cries of "immigrant workers taking German jobs in a time of economic crisis" have been whipped up and promoted by the West German imperialists basically for political purposes. In reality, the ruling class — which has no intention or possibility of eliminating cheap pools of foreign labor — faces the dilemma of how to deal with an indispensable economic work force that is simultaneously a volatile and potentially revolutionary social force. Imperialism

by its nature creates a split within the metropole working classes between more bourgeoisified sections and those who truly have nothing to lose. Even as it is threatened by the lower sections, it cannot do without them. Grappling for a short term solution, the West German imperialists have embarked on a two-pronged approach to the immigrants. First there is to be an institution of the policy of "rotation" — forcing long-time workers and families back into their home countries, especially Turkey, while maintaining a lean and youthful core of immigrant wage slaves in key sectors of industry. And second, the unleashing of an all-sided political clampdown on these workers — hounding them for the exercise of their national culture, crushing any political (and especially revolutionary) organization, unleashing hysteria to isolate them from the West German population in general, and skillfully using naked terror of the junta *within Turkey* to suppress rebellious masses within the European metropole. The blatant program of the government has unleashed and exposed the conflicting stands of various class forces in West German society.

Officially, the government announced that it would not tolerate violence by "either side" (as if the immigrants had been calling for the burning of Kreuzberg!), and 6,000 cops were mobilized by the game. At the same time giant posters went up in the Berlin subways proclaiming "We get along with ease" and showing a smiling immigrant from Turkey lounging between a smiling German man and woman. Yet even this sort of German liberalism was not without ambivalent content. As a friend of mine pointed out, conspicuously absent was a Turkish woman, leaving the young German woman as a potential social contact for the immigrant worker — a prospect which has been another source of chauvinist ravings and an image designed to provoke the racist reactionaries. It also fit right in with the campaign to attempt to limit the immigrant workers to young, single males.

The Social Democrats and the Metal Workers Union, ever mindful of their international role through the Socialist International, could not afford to be openly exposed. Yet their social base in the bourgeoisified strata of the working class definitely dictated a "prudent" stand, akin to that of their "Buy American"

Inside the stadium.

trade union brothers in the U.S. Thus they ostentaciously announced that they were buying up blocs of tickets to the game. This action was also appropriately ambiguous — it could be taken as showing solidarity with the oppressed from Turkey, or support for the home team, or grabbing up all the seats in advance to keep leftist and/or rightist militants out.

Among the various leftist forces opinion was sharply divided. Some argued for going to the game and taking on the reactionary thugs. Others thought it was a police set-up and only the left would get vamped on. Some called for displays of Turkish-German solidarity, like holding joint parties to watch the game on TV, while others gleefully organized in anticipation that the chauvinist hoodlums might actually be stupid enough to drive through Kreuzberg after the game.

The night before the game a solidarity rally was held in Kreuzberg while in the Wedding district the neo-Nazi ANS (National Socialist Action Front) held a well reported press conference.

A flyer calling for opposition to the reactionaries went out from KuKuCK, a squatters' commune in an occupied factory building in the bowels of Kreuzberg. After the citing of the leaflets of the rightist gangs, the flyer from KuKuCK goes on: "At the same time the State defames and criminalizes all those movements which fight the imperialistic state and its fascist tendencies. The increasing repressions especially effects the Turkish comrades because they are not only threatened by the daily harassment (bad conditions at work, miserable apartments, family separation and so on) but also by aid to the Turkish dictators. To us, they (the people from Turkey) mean life in our neighborhood, working on the streets, delicious Döner Kebabs, Sunday parties in the parks and becoming acquainted with other cultures right before our door." The leaflet invited everyone to a party for international friendship the night of the game, but also gave instructions for the operation of a telephone tree in case of trouble.

We arrived at KuKuCK early and helped the comrades from Turkey, most of whom are actually Kurdish, to carry food up to the fourth floor. Murals

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Soccer Wars

Continued from page 13

emblazon the sides of the delapidated building, incongruously located near both gleaming glass and steel towers adjoining Kreuzberg and the infamous Check-Point Charlie through the nearby Berlin Wall where U.S. and Soviet tanks periodically stare each other down. Planes gliding into nearby Tempelhof Airport can read the slogans painted on KuKuCK's roof "Down with Imperialism" and "Do Something." On the ground floor there is a bookstore featuring black ski masks and literature of dubious legality under W. German press laws, and a *Kneipe*, a sort of bar and hangout. On the floors above live an ever fluctuating mixture of people tending to separate themselves out according to politics. (One floor for "fix up the neighborhood" people, one floor for anarchists, one floor for assorted leftists, etc. — the assorted leftists were hosting the internationalist party). The meat is just getting done and people of every description are drifting in as we have to leave.

The Olympic Stadium built by Hitler for the 1936 Olympic games lies all the way across West Berlin from Kreuzberg, and the closer we come the more cops there are at every stop. Earlier we have seen groups of skin-heads and rightist gangs fraternizing with cops in the downtown area. Their standard dress consists of a military-style jacket, short, tight-fitting jeans, heavy boots and white socks. Some also wear the emblems of the "sports clubs," like "Kampfgruppe Prinz Eugen" or "Zyklon B" (the name of the poison gas used in the extermination camps). Halfway to the stadium a group of such "sports fans" get on our car and things get a little tense.

At the stadium stop the car empties out, and again we run through a police gauntlet. This time anyone wearing a

leather jacket with political buttons or metal studs (the standard dress of West Berlin's punks and autonomen) is pulled out of the crowd by the cops and frisked. The approach to the 60,000 seat stadium itself is an endless row of stands selling the two principal staples of the average "sports fan," beer and West German flags. Then at the gates the crowd must pass individually through security gates to be looked over once more for weapons.

"Whup, whup, whup, whup..." the unmistakable sound of a low flying helicopter. Slowly the U.S. Army chopper settles in an athletic field beside the stadium. Flashguns fire and cheers and boos both ring out, as West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl alights. He is whisked into the stadium by a phalanx of cops. Let the games begin!

The inside of the stadium is a blaze of lights. Around the top of the ring fly the flags of all the West German states. There is no Turkish flag to be seen except in the hands of a small Turkish cheering section down front. The political scene is a complicated one, because the Turkish rightists, the Grey Wolves and supporters of the military junta are out to cheer for Turkey. The rightist West German gangs have all been herded by the cops into one section of what becomes *de facto* the German side of the stadium. Most of the Turkish and Kurdish spectators are directly across, with a number of German fans mixed in. Both sides begin hanging banners over the railings and minor scuffles with cops break out periodically.

The police band marches onto the field to play the national anthems of both countries and are immediately met with catcalls from the leftist section where we

are sitting. First the Turkish anthem is played. The rightist Turks and the liberal Germans leap to their feet while the leftists from Turkey and neo-Nazis remained planted in their seats. Then the band strikes up *Deutschland über Alles*. The cops all snap to attention and salute. The neo-Nazis, liberal Germans and rightist Turks are all up, while the German and Turkish leftists remain seated chanting anti-imperialist slogans. Throughout the game the battle of chants goes on. The neo-Nazis sing "*Deutschland, Deutschland, Deutschland, Deutschland*" to a little melody, interspersed with chants of "Turks out!". Their entire section is surrounded by a ring of white-helmeted riot cops, but a red flare is fired onto the field from their section to advertise the police searches as a mere formality. From the leftist sections come chants of "Nazis out" and "International Solidarity!"

The Turkish team dominates the early play, with the overwhelmingly West German audience causing an uproar over every foul, real or imagined. The German and Turkish players, however, obviously have the strictest of instructions. There will be *no* fighting on the field, and everytime one player is knocked down, a player from the opposing team rushes to help him up. To keep the spectators off the field, there are guards at 30 ft. intervals, each with a dog. A file of cops now marches onto the field under the Turkish section. All the dogs begin snapping and snarling at the cops, and a cheer for the dogs goes up from the leftists.

Just before the half-time break, West Germany suddenly scores and stands become a sea of waving West German flags. In the second half the Turkish team falls apart. West Germany scores three

more goals in five minutes, and the final score is West Germany 5, Turkey 1. Attention is now more focused on what will happen after the game. Seeking to get the advantage on the Nazis, the leftists start out of the stadium before the game is over. "Whup, whup, whup, whup..." Chancellor Kohl definitely doesn't want to linger on the scene. The leftists now march around the outside of the stadium chanting "*Internationale Solidarität*." Helmeted cops move in between the exiting rightists and leftists who march in parallel columns for several blocks with the rightists giving the finger and Nazi-style salutes. Having separated the two groups the cops now shunt the rightists into the Stadium *U-Bahn* station while the leftists were forced to march to a different station three stops down the line. In all there are sixty arrests.

* * * *

Following the game, the bourgeois media was filled with self-congratulation. A job well done. Not only had West German manhood triumphed on the field, but an orgy of German nationalism had been unleashed, all within the bounds of order. The Prime Minister had even come to put his blessings on the event. News analysts now turned to the weighty question of how and why the neo-Nazis had so much influence among soccer fan clubs. One particularly obnoxious TV program showed interviews in a rightist *Kneipe*. The young rightists all complained about the lack of jobs and said the fascists were right, the Turks should get out. In the background the other people in the place begin whistling *Deutschland über Alles*. Respected periodicals like *Der Spiegel* and *Die Zeit* both rushed in with half-baked sociological analyses of the rightist

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News From The Frontlines—First-Hand Accounts from the World Without Imperialism Contingent in West Germany

The following are excerpts of reports received by the National Organizing Committee from members of the World Without Imperialism Contingent in West Germany to take part in the frontline movement against the deployment of the Pershing and cruise missiles scheduled to take place in December. A recent newsletter put out by the NOC reports that in addition to being part of a wide range of demonstrations, blockades, conferences, and meetings the contingent has also been interviewed by many reporters for the international press: wire services, Swedish and German TV news, union newspapers and even Stars and Stripes the "unofficial authorized" military newspaper. In addition, the contingent reported that a Turkish language newspaper, Mücadele, made the call of the contingent an important focus of an issue of their newspaper.

For further information about the contingent; speaking and press engagements by returned contingent members; and to make urgently needed financial contributions to help the contingent be able to continue to travel throughout W. Germany contact:

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

Report No. 1: We were first invited to stay at a squatters' place by a woman we met during a trial here in W. Berlin. . . . From the first evening that our contingent arrived, several people have gone out of their way to help us make the necessary preparations for handling our whole contingent, yet this wasn't done on a "charity basis." It was done on the basis of some political unity and a desire to see our contingent make a profound statement here in W. Berlin.

After discussion with some people hanging out in the kitchen where we tried to give them an understanding of what we stand for and our aspirations, we were then escorted to the room (an entire wing of one floor, I should say) where our contingent could stay. The squatters' place is immense — it was once a factory and after being abandoned, the 6-story building was taken over by squatters almost two years ago. Since then, it's been the living quarters for approximately 70-80 people with about four floors still left vacant. Being a cultural art center, the building is covered with colorful murals both inside and out; it is complete with a cafe, bookstore, and music center, all of which have been a thriving force to many different degrees since its founding.

The people who live in the squatter's place are a diverse group; they are activists, musicians, punks, anarchists, run-aways, passers through, and members of Autonomes — but a common thread runs through them all. They are youth fed up with the system, seeking an alternative lifestyle.

Not a day has gone by that we haven't been visited by people who wanted to talk to us and find out what we were about. Even a group of Finnish reporters who came to see the squatters' place spent an hour talking with us and taking photographs of the banners we hung on the walls.

Our presence here has been a controversial one. There are people here who don't agree with our politics, but they are not antagonistic either. There are those people who are just checking us out, watching what we are doing, and there is a group of people who unite, or who are struggling to unite, with our politics. It is with and through the latter of these groups that we have been able to meet new people and do the work that we have come to do.

Not only have we been supplied with housing for our contingent, we've also been supplied with translators and even printing facilities through another cultural center nearby. The squatters'

place bookstore keeps our contingent leaflets on the counter, and they bought several RCP Publications books including the debate book on the Soviet Union and, "If There Is To Be Revolution, There Must Be A Revolutionary Party" and "There's Nothing More Revolutionary Than M-L-MTT," both by Bob Avakian.

It is so inspiring; everywhere our contingent goes people come forward. . . . All of this is a clear indication of the impact that our contingent has had and will continue to have wherever it goes. Never underestimate the masses.

* * * * *

Report No 2 — A meeting with the GIs: In the course of many discussions we had with people at the weekend actions (Oct. 20-22) in Neu-Ulm, one of the sentiments that came up repeatedly was that we as Amerikkans had a special role to play in addressing the U.S. soldiers. They had many questions about the mood of the troops and how we might be able to influence it. . . . But because they had been confined to their barracks we hadn't actually been able to communicate face to face, and of course we wanted to. We had seen the soldiers following the swirl around them from their windows with binoculars and they were obviously interested in reading banners and listening to agitation (the latter which we done provided), often making peace signs and waving to the crowd below, but the question remained how to make contact. It was the night before we were to return to Köln, and a bunch of us were sitting around talking to some German demonstrators when the subject came up again. They explained that they had tried before to enter the base but were arrested within the first five minutes. As it turned out, one of the people to whom we spoke knew of several GI night spots which he offered to take us to that very instant. The hour was late and apparently the soldiers had instructions to stay out of

town that night, but we did manage to speak with some of them, and two in particular I thought worth mentioning. We entered a bar and easily sighted our prey: two white GIs sitting over beer. We sat down and laid our leaflets before them. At first they were uptight and said if they were even to be seen reading them they could get into serious trouble, but once we pointed out that the really serious trouble was the war moves being planned by their masters, they readily gained courage to talk. For the next half hour we discussed many things and it struck all of us how little they knew (Vietnam, Panthers, etc. . . .) but also how open they were to the concept of Imperialism. They agreed that WW3 was on the horizon and expressed disillusionment about their part in it. One stated his dislike of capitalism with its dog eat dog philosophy and concluded by saying, "yeah it would be great if people could overthrow all these governments and live like brothers and sisters in one big world family." Earlier I had asked him to take a stack of leaflets to distribute on base, and his eyes had rolled as he said "No way!"; but after relating some stories of how exactly this kind of resistance had gone on during the Vietnam War he agreed to take a stack and think about it! Thinking obviously wasn't one of the things the Army wanted him to engage in.

* * * * *

Report No. 3: This is a letter about the workers from Turkey in West Germany. They have been a tremendous help and source of inspiration to the World Without Imperialism Contingent. There has been much discussion and debate between the contingent and the workers from Turkey over major questions of the day such as how to change society, what forces are going to lead it, and what is the role of immigrants from the oppressed nations who are forced into the imperialist citadels in the process of all this. These immigrants can and will play a ma-

lor role in advancing change in the imperialist countries as well as the oppressed nations. These discussions and debates are not unusual, but what is unusual is the workers from Turkey speak no English and we on the Contingent speak no Turkish or German but somehow we manage to communicate with each other. . . .

The workers from Turkey have brought the proletarian internationalist trend to West Germany. These workers have no illusions about imperialism, having come from an oppressed nation to work in West Germany. They are concentrated in the lowest paying jobs and are treated as second class citizens. These workers from Turkey are very political. They make their presence known at the various demonstrations. They expose the imperialist system very broadly and are very creative in different ways to do so. These workers are going to be a major force in changing society in West Germany. At one demonstration they had many banners and also started to sing the Internationale. Several people were singing along with the workers from Turkey. There are many people who hung around them to hear what their politics were. Many were as impressed as I was. I was impressed by the workers from Turkey because they are one of the most oppressed groups in West Germany. But they refuse to be intimidated by the state.

* * * * *

Report No. 4: Hello, Internationalist Greetings from the "For a World Without Imperialism Contingent."

The experiences I really want to share with the Internationalists back home in the states is about the youth, the most volatile sections in the peace movement in West Germany.

The German youth divide into four different groupings. The most rebellious are the Anarchists which we call the spontis; the Marxists, who run from the pro-

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The call to "Desert America's Warmongering — Be at the European Frontlines" translated into Turkish.

Amerika'nın Savaş Kışkırtıcılığına İhanet Et, Avrupa'daki Cephe Hattında Ol!

İlk Amerikan Pershing II ve Cruise roketlerinin Avrupa'ya yerleştirilmesi için geriye sayma, sifıra yaklaşıyor. ABD'nin başını çektiği tüm Batılı güçlerin, roketlerin yerleştirilmesine başlama konusundaki kararlılığı ve temel görüş birliği, bunların Sovyet emperyalist rakipleriyle bir savaşa girme planlarında ölümüne ciddi olduklarını, milyonlarca insana göstermiştir. Fakat onlar Avrupa'daki cephelerini daha hazır hale getirmeye fütursuzca girişedursunlar, —tüm Avrupa'da ve ötesindeki güçlerin, özellikle gençliğin bu caniyane suça ve onu hazırlayanlara karşı savaşmak üzere toplanmasıyla— bir diğer "cephe" daha ortaya çıkmakta.

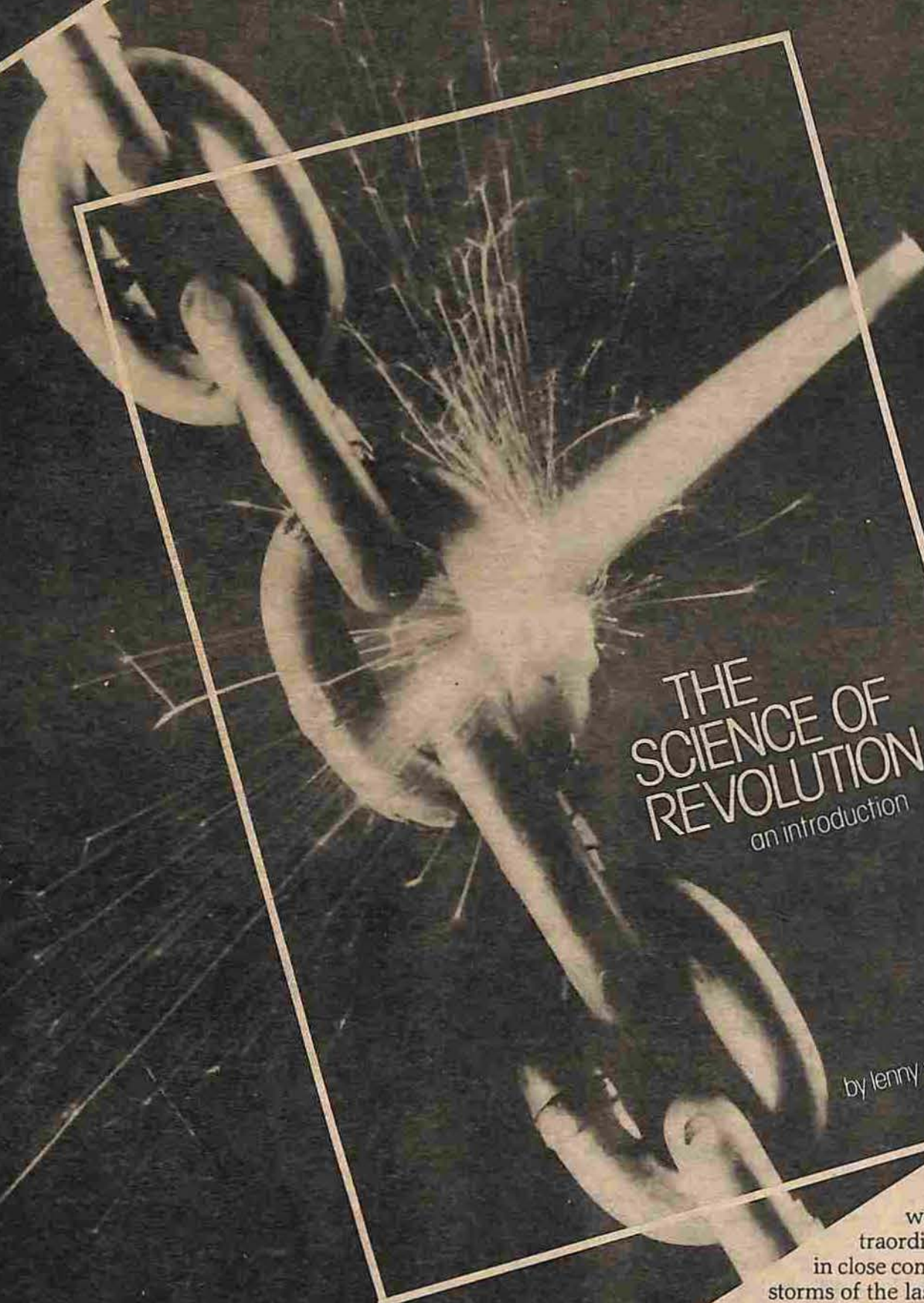
Özellikle Batı Almanya'da, 2. Dünya Savaşından bu yana en derin siyasi kriz giderek öğelerini oluşturmaya başlıyor. Oradaki atmosfer oldukça yoğun, durum son derece karmaşık, çıkarılacak dersler derin, fırsat ve tehlikeler yüksek olacak. Amerika'dan Avrupa'ya bu sonbahar, roketlerden gayri başka bir şeyin daha gitmesi, önemli ve acildir. Kampusların, anti-nükleer, feminist ve savaşa alınmaya karşı olan hareketlerin, proleter gençliğin içinden, Ekim'de Batı Almanya'ya giderek bu "cephe"ye doğrudan katılmak üzere bir tugay oluşturulacak. Batı ve Doğu blokları, şövenist savaş nâralarını her geçen gün daha da yüksek perdeye çıkarıyorlar. Dünya çapında bir kapışmaya doğru savaş kışkırtıcılarını yükseltiyorlar. Avrupa'da, geleceği onların elinden söküp kurtarmak için savaşanların yanın-da olmak üzere, o sözümona kutsal sınırları tepeleyerek binlerce mil uzağa gidip onların yurtseverlik çağrılarının (ve/veya kendi dar çıkarlarının) üstüne tükürmek, bugün uygun düşenden de üstün bir şey olmaz mı?

Napalm bombalarını, askerlerini ve ölüm tümenlerini dünyanın her köşesine göz kırpmadan gönderenler, ve roket silolarını kendi ordularıyla koruyacak olanlar, elbette böyle bir tugayı "yabancı başbelaları" olmakla suçlayacaklardır. Güzel, orda olmak için daha da iyi bir gerekçe! Yükselen muhalefeti, tahammül edilebilir (yani, emperyalist savaş hazırlığının gereksinimleri çerçevesi içinde tahammül edilebilir) sınırlarda tutmak için, hem sopa hem de ucundaki havucu kullanmaya tüm güçleriyle uğraşan Avrupa'lı düzen bekçileri, böyle bir gruba hoşgeldin habileri da sermeyecektir! Yine —oraya gitmenin yollarını ve araçlarını bulmak için bir sebep daha! Fakat orda olmanın daha da önemli bir sebebi, bu siyasi savaşta ABD'li gençliğin ve diğerlerinin onlara sadece manen değil doğrudan katılmalarını sevinçle karşılamak bir yana, bundan cesaret alacak olanların da bulunmasıdır. Tüm dünyanın gözleri, bu önemli kapışmayı takip edecektir. Derhal pasaport almak üzere baş vurun ve yol için gereken parayı toplamaya başlayın.

**KAHROLSUN PERSHING, CRUISE ROKETLERİ VE
DOĞULU; BATILI, TÜM EMPERYALİST SAVAŞ HAZIRLIKLARI!
EMPERYALİST BİR DÜNYA SAVAŞI DEĞİL,
EMPERYALİZMDEN ARINMIŞ BİR DÜNYA!**

"Emperyalizmsiz Bir Dünya İçin Tugayı" —ABD'den Avrupa'ya—Örgütlenme Komitesi Ekim 1983

To break the chains--
the revolutionary
essence of
Marxism-
Leninism



THE
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REVOLUTION
an introduction

by lenny wolff

The great teachers and leaders of the international working class developed an extraordinary body of theoretical work in close connection with the revolutionary storms of the last century and a half. Ushered in by Marx's monumental exposure of the main-springs of capitalist society, developed by Lenin's groundbreaking analysis of imperialism and the role of a revolutionary party, further extended by Mao's contributions on the necessity to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, this revolutionary science has led hundreds of millions in the struggle to transform the face of the earth.

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on that basis because that is the ideology of people who want to go around bullying people in the world. We want a revolution to abolish that.

Interview with a reporter from
the *Honolulu Star Bulletin*

Where Do You Get Your Money From?

Question: I would like to know where you are getting your money from to run your revolution?

Bob Avakian: Right now we have launched a drive to raise one million dollars within the next several months in this country. Our money comes from the people throughout this country who are more and more coming to agree with what we are saying, are recognizing the truth of what we are saying, and seeing the vicious bloody hand of the capitalist system, not only behind its attacks on our party, but much more fundamentally in the whole direction the system in this country is going. So I would say that our money comes from the masses of people. We just had a fundraising dinner in San Francisco and a retired Chinese garment worker, for example, donated three hundred dollars to our party out of money she had saved and out of money her children had given her for Mother's Day. Another person on a retirement pension gave one hundred dollars out of the money they had saved, because they see that our party is the hope and the future concentrated, and the leadership which can lead the masses of people out of this miserable madness we are being plunged into and have been suffering, living under this system. That's where our money comes from.

Question: You are not getting any backing from any communist country?

Bob Avakian: Well, we don't have communist countries out here to support us. China used to be a communist country or a country on the road to com-

munist when it was under the leadership of Mao Tsetung, but it has been taken back to the road of domination by imperialists, back to the road of enslavement of the people under the rule of capitalism. The same thing happened a couple of decades ago in the Soviet Union. So we don't have any communist countries in the world today.

But I will say this: if there were genuinely revolutionary countries in the world ruled by the working class who wanted to support our struggle, then we would gladly welcome their support. We would enthusiastically accept their support. We recognize that our struggle is an international struggle. The working people and oppressed people of the world have a common enemy — imperialism and its flunkies throughout the world — and we have to rise up in unity and transform the face of the whole world. Now today there are revolutionaries in other countries fighting for the same goals that we are here — whether in Iran or in other countries — who do unite with and support us. We are all the proletarian class of people; we are the working people and we do not have a lot of money. We have to go out broadly among thousands and tens of thousands of people to raise our money. But to the extent that we can support revolutionaries in Iran, or they can support us, by whatever means we do so. We consider that to be our duty to push forward the international struggle.

All the great leaders of socialist countries, including Mao Tsetung, have always answered the question this way: they would be betraying their duty to the international struggle, and betraying the very name of communism — if in countries where the working class has already freed itself from the rule of capitalism, where it has already emancipated itself and begun forging down the road toward completely abolishing every cancerous leftover of capitalism — the working class in socialist countries would be covering itself in shame if it did not support the people in other countries struggling to do the same. So at present there do not exist genuine socialist countries ruled by the working class, but if they did exist and wanted to support us, we would gladly take their support and we would support them in their continuing struggle.

Press conference, Honolulu, Hawaii

Declaration of Independence

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rule of the dominant social class (or classes), in particular those that dominate ownership of the most important means of production. And in general the forms of ownership and economic and social relations overall, as well as their corresponding superstructure of politics and ideology, will correspond to the level of development of the productive forces. This has certainly been the case throughout the history of the U.S.: the state first represented the interests of the northern capitalists and the southern slaveowners and then after the Civil War it has represented the interests of the victorious capitalist class and capitalist wage-slavery. This state has derived its power not from the consent of the governed — in particular the slaves and the wage workers — but from the monopoly these ruling classes have had on the major means of production (which included the slaves during slavery) and on that basis their monopoly of armed force. And, again, this has always and everywhere been the case where governments have been "instituted among men."

What is more, just as every government (with a state apparatus of repression) has a definite class character, so for that matter do notions such as "liberty" and "the pursuit of happiness" — that is, different classes will have different, even opposing views of what such things as "liberty" and "the pursuit of happiness" mean. For a slave, liberty and the pursuit of happiness would almost certainly begin with freedom from slavery. But for slaveowners — including those who signed the Declaration of Independence (and shortly after that ratified the U.S. Constitution) — the abolition of slavery represents ruin and misery, unless they can get in on some other form of accumulating commensurate wealth and power, another form of exploitation and oppression, such as capitalism. Similarly, for the proletariat the abolition of wage labor represents complete liberation from capitalist exploitation and beyond that the opening up of a new era in human society, without class distinctions, social inequalities and their bases — which certainly would qualitatively expand the horizons of liberty and of the pursuit of happiness, or rather would replace the notion of the individual quest for happiness with far loftier visions and goals. To the bourgeoisie this represents anathema, nothing less than the destruction of civilization, certainly of liberty and the pursuit of happiness as they conceive it; it is something which must be prevented at all costs and every serious movement toward it must be met with the most sanguinary suppression — this has not only been illuminated by Marxist theory, it has also been graphically illustrated by historical experience.

It is not that the Declaration of Independence (and the U.S. Constitution along with it) represent the interests and outlook of the bourgeoisie (with the historical influence of the southern slaveowning aristocracy) only in the most narrow sense. These documents do contain grievances and provisions that are not directly and immediately reducible to how the members of the ruling classes can accumulate more wealth and power for themselves. Rather they represent these class interests in the broadest sense — and it is precisely in this way that their class content and historical limitations are most profoundly demonstrated.

In this light it is important to take up a common argument that is made in response to the obvious historical fact that the fine and famous words in the Declaration of Independence were not universally applied even by its framers and that the practice of the government in the U.S. has historically fallen short of the principles proclaimed in that Declaration. The argument is that at least the Declaration of Independence provides a standard, a goal to aim for, and the objective must be to strive to see that to the greatest degree possible its principles are applied. Thus, for example, the following apologia:

"Though it did not immediately result in the emancipation of slaves or in universal suffrage, advocates of both abolition of slavery and suffrage extension in latter generations effectively used the equalitarian principles of the Declaration to advance their causes. In our own day it is a prod to the consciences of the American people to improve the conditions of minority groups." (Smith, Edward Conrad, ed., "The Origins of the Constitution," an introductory essay in *The Constitution of the United States*, [Barnes & Noble], Eleventh edition, p. 3.)

As a matter of fact, slavery was not abolished in the U.S. until the interests of the capitalists in the north — which had come into antagonism with those of the southern slavocracy — demanded it. It was only then that the government of the United States (the Union government) haltingly and hesitatingly declared the emancipation of the slaves (at first only in the Confederate states and not even in other states where there was slavery but which did not join the Con-

federacy) and then amended the U.S. Constitution to reflect that. And those freed slaves who attempted to carry forward the fight against their oppression in new forms were brutally suppressed, with the backing of the federal government and often the direct use of federal troops. More generally, every change of the type referred to in the above apologia has come about in response to mass struggle and has been adopted (and co-opted) by the ruling class in order to preserve its ruling position overall and maintain its exploitation and oppression of the masses of people — in short to protect and serve its own class interests, within the U.S. and internationally. But it might be argued: even if all this is so, doesn't it still remain true that the Declaration of Independence provides a standard whose realization is the goal to be striven for and that as a standard it continues to serve the struggle against oppression? To give a thorough response to — and refutation of — this requires addressing it on two different levels.

First, the Declaration of Independence is not anything anybody wants to make out of it: it was written in a very definite historical context and has a very definite social and class content, as already demonstrated. That is why, for example, it contains the statement it does about the "merciless Indian savages." The general declarations it contains about the equality of all men, their inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness and so on assume their meaning according to this actual and overall content — otherwise they have no real, concrete meaning. But what if people who do not represent slaveowning and capitalist class interests (as the authors of the Declaration indisputably did), what if they want to take these general principles in the Declaration and give a different meaning to them? Well, try as they may, if they really stick to the basic principles actually set forth there, they will not be able to give them any fundamentally different content than they have been given historically, including by their authors. The answer to the question, what if the basic principles of the Declaration of Independence were really applied?, is that they have been, in the U.S. itself and generally in all bourgeois societies; and the time is long since past when *that* is the best and highest that humanity is capable of achieving.

On another level, let us take the bourgeois ideal expressed in that Declaration and examine what its fullest realization would mean, and whether that after all is the highest goal that can or should be striven for. If we were to sum up in a phrase what the bourgeois concept and content of freedom and equality is — what is the highest meaning it gives to "liberty" and "the pursuit of happiness" — that phrase would be "equal opportunity for all." Let us assume, then, a situation where this principle is not only the guiding principle in society but is actually consistently applied. Note, first off, that the equality involved here, the ideal, is equal *opportunity*, and specifically not equal station in life: according to this ideal and the bourgeois outlook in general, the absence of social inequality is neither possible nor desirable. Well, with the fullest, most consistent application of this principle, the result would be that some, a minority, would one way or the other utilize this opportunity to establish themselves as the exploiters of the majority, an exploitation they would have to enforce through the use of direct force (with hired enforcers) and deception (divide and conquer schemes included). *There could be no other result*, precisely if this principle, equal opportunity for all, were fully and consistently applied. In other words, we could get nothing but the bourgeois society we already have, including its social inequalities along with its basic exploitation of the proletariat. To get some other result, one which would abolish social inequality, along with the elimination of exploitation, it is necessary to overthrow and transcend the ideals and principles of bourgeois society and the material conditions of which they are an expression. It is necessary to overthrow bourgeois rule and advance entirely beyond what Marx termed "the narrow horizon of bourgeois right" (equal opportunity for all) and all the economic and other social relations of which it is a reflection and extension.

When communists speak of abolishing social inequality we mean first and as the foundation the abolition of classes. But beyond that we mean the abolition of social conditions where such concepts as equal opportunity for all and their reflection in law and politics — equality before the law and democracy generally — have lost their meaning, *because the individual struggle for existence will have been eliminated together with the abolition of class distinctions* and the members of society will consciously contribute what they can to society's overall advancement, taking back from it what they need in order to continue to develop in an all-around way and make a still greater contribution. It is this ideal whose time has now come — or rather the reverse, it is the development of the material conditions in society up to this point that have now brought forth this ideal and demand its realization.

Another Warmonger for Peace

Several weeks ago we brought to the attention of our readers the existence of a new organization, or rather a kind of exclusive club: Another Warmonger for Peace. Recently as the imperialists have pressed forward with war preparations, this club has revealed a membership of the most amazing personalities — maybe

“Bill behaves in a calculatingly colorless manner. It's the way he chooses to deal with the world,” one colleague said of William E(gan) Colby. But in the past couple of years, ex-CIA head Colby has been anything but colorless when it comes to dealing with controversial issues like the nuclear Freeze — something which he staunchly champions. In 1982, Colby, along with fellow U.S. ruling class “anti-nukers,” Averell Harriman, Clark Clifford and Paul Warnke, wrote a well-publicized letter to the *New York Times* titled “Nuclear Freeze: The Case for an American ‘Yes’” denouncing an editorial it had run attacking the Freeze and decrying “the threat new weapons developments pose to the achievement of meaningful progress in limiting arms.” The American people, the letter said, “are calling for a serious, sustained and urgent effort to halt and reverse the arms race that threatens us all.”

Colby is no Johnny-come-lately to the subject of arms control. He personally lobbied on Capitol Hill for SALT II and has recently spoken out against the Reagan administration's MX program. Indeed, Colby has waged his own personal Freeze campaign on the lecture circuit and in various newspaper columns for a while now. He recently told the *NY Times*: “It is clear to me that the arms race has us on the verge of another one of these terrible destabilizing steps that is moving us toward a hair-trigger world with all this talk of launch under attack. My God, we're talking about the fate of the world.” Can anyone doubt for a moment that deep down inside, Bill Colby's heart just throbs for peace?

Lately, Colby's Freeze advocacy has made him the darling of social-democratic circles in the U.S. Last May, the social-democratic paper *In These Times* published a piece by staff writer John Judis lauding Colby's conversion to anti-nuke activist and defending the decision of Freeze leaders to include him in their ranks. This sparked a spate of letters from Freeze-types to *In These Times* which noted that Colby was considered a war criminal for his role in Vietnam. “Can a truly progressive political alliance be built upon the pillars of those responsible for the annihilation of the Vietnamese people?”, one reader wondered. Judis huffily replied that people “shouldn't bandy about terms like ‘war criminal’ every time a former proponent of the Vietnam war does something commendable.” Why, Judis went on, then you would have to label Paul Warnke, most of the pro-Freeze retired admirals and generals and even Ted Kennedy as war criminals and exclude them from the Freeze! How responsible and respectable would we look then?! “Colby was easily on the left of the CIA,” Judis noted, “the more support one can gather from the ruling elite, the easier it will be to attract favorable attention (for the Freeze). . . .”

Colby himself has faced straight-up the uncomfortable fact: “My position is a little incongruous for a former CIA man.” And, just for the record, what *did* Colby — who served as Director of the CIA from 1973 to 1976 and who, according to one bio, “became an expert in the more debatable functions of the agency” — do during his spy career? Reared in a series of army posts, including the American military station in Tientsin, China, Colby then attended Princeton and joined the army during WW 2, becoming a member

even the president. All of them claim to want peace more than anyone, no matter how high up or tied in with the imperialist warmaking machinery they appear to be. This week, we introduce another novel member.

of the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) which later became the CIA. He was quickly made second-ranking officer in the CIA's Rome station where he worked to block the CP's drive for parliamentary power. In 1959, Colby was elevated to first secretary of the American embassy in Saigon, a cover for his new job as station chief of the CIA's operations in Vietnam.

In the next period Colby, among other things, helped to initiate and develop the first strategic hamlet program and to organize the Montagnard tribesmen into strike-teams for the U.S. Special Forces against the Vietnamese struggle. In 1962, Colby left Saigon and became chief of the CIA's Far East Division in Langley, Virginia. Through his work there he caught the attention of Robert Komer, LBJ's man who dreamed up the Civil Operations and Rural Development Support program (CORDS), the notorious Vietnamese pacification program. And Colby's work had been impressive. He helped organize a private 30,000-man army which the CIA used in a secret war against the Pathet Lao in Laos and helped oversee commando raids into China and North Korea as well as CIA bombing operations carried out in Southeast Asia with its own airline, Air America (which later flew heroin from the Golden Triangle to the U.S. for distribution in Detroit, Watts, etc., during the upsurge of rebellion by Black people in the U.S.). In 1964, Colby established the Vietnam Counter-Terror Program (a CIA operation which used kidnapping and assassination against the Vietnamese liberation fighters). As part of this, he dreamed up and supervised the Provincial Interrogation Centers where suspected communists were tortured and killed.

In 1968, Colby was sent back to Saigon to assist Komer in administering CORDS, which, it will be remembered, was designed to “win the hearts and minds of the people.” The main way this was done was through Operation Phoenix, which Colby took personal responsibility for. Under his direction, 20,587 “Vietcong suspects” were ferreted out and assassinated over the next two and a half years. Thousands of others were jailed in the infamous tiger cages at Con Son Island prison (where Colby noted in his memoirs, “the prison director had done first-class work”). Later, when asked to state categorically that there had been no assassinations under the Phoenix Program, Colby refused and coyly remarked that there *may* have been some “excesses” and “some illegal killing.” When antiwar activists plastered the U.S. with wanted-posters exposing Colby's role in Vietnam, he asked his wife, “How does it feel to be married to a war criminal?”

Meanwhile on the domestic front, Colby was knee-deep in the notorious Operation Chaos, initiated in the late '60s to disrupt the activities of and gather extensive intelligence on antiwar activists and groups in the U.S. on the pretext of searching out “foreign links” with the antiwar movement. This included opening of “targets” mail, extended wiretaps and other electronic eavesdropping, “experimentation” on unknowing subjects with mind-control drugs, coordination with the FBI and other state agencies in developing the most extensive files ever

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The ‘Blood-bond’ and the Build-up

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it is logical to assume that the SS-21 would be taken out the minute Israeli decision makers were convinced that war was inevitable, thus almost dictating pre-emption. And conversely, because the Syrians and the Soviets know that the missiles could be among the prime targets to be attacked once escalation has spiraled to a point of no return, they would hasten to use them. Both actions would be bound to insure, rather than deter, war.”

Whether things reach the “point of no return,” it is clear enough that the current escalation has been prompted by U.S. imperialism's overriding imperative to effect a radical shift in the “balance of power on the ground in Lebanon.” Out of the apparent policy debates within the administration's top circles over the last period, this has become the dominant position. Only through such a “shift,” in the views of both Secretary of State Shultz and National Security Advisor McFarlane, can there be “reconciliation” within Lebanon, and “withdrawal of foreign forces.”

This translates into the concerted U.S. efforts over the past weeks to enlist Israel in a military escalation of its own role in Lebanon. For the U.S., it is no longer simply enough that Israel has brought some 1100 square miles of Lebanese territory under its occupation — although the U.S. has signaled to Israel that it wants them to tighten up and consolidate their control there. But more, Israel is being called upon to actively enter the fray north of its new “northern border.” As the *New York Times* expressed it November 6, the U.S. and Israel were “mapping out a new strategic approach to Lebanon, which apparently did not preclude either joint or separate military action against the 50,000 Syrian troops stationed in that country.”

In the words of U.S. officials, such measures are necessary because Syria has taken an “increasingly hard-line, a very limited indication that they are seriously seeking a reasonable solution in Lebanon.” The U.S., meanwhile, continues to posture as the major force pushing for Lebanese reconciliation and compromise. The results of last week's first round of reconciliation talks among the Lebanese factional leaders, and the maneuverings that went on around it, demonstrate that the opposite is the case.

The major issue at the conference was the May 17 U.S.-mediated accord between Lebanon and Israel, which allows for wide-ranging Israeli influence in Lebanon in exchange for a largely cosmetic withdrawal of its troops. Gemayel, no doubt wishing to keep open a possible “Israeli option” for future use against the Syrians, came into the conference with the position that the May 17 treaty should not be abrogated, but “frozen,” i.e., put aside for the moment as an obstacle to internal reconciliation. The Syrians, with the Lebanese opposition forces they support, came into the conference demanding that the May 17 pact be abrogated. What came out of the conference was something a little different. At least on the surface, a marginal “national consensus” was agreed upon by all the Lebanese factions — that the May 17 Accord was in its more wide-ranging features unacceptable, and that Gemayel should approach the U.S. to negotiate changes more acceptable to Lebanon. Doubtless, this consensus is highly provisional, with all parties involved carrying their own interpretations of just what this means. Certainly the Phalangist forces, to whom Gemayel remains beholden, actively entertain the hope that Israel will come to their assistance in Lebanon, through driving back the Syrians and thus allowing them to settle scores with their domestic opponents. But the outcome of the Geneva talks does reflect the fact that there is no “national reconciliation” in Lebanon conceivable, so long as the May 17 Accord, and the Israeli occupation of the south, remain in effect.

The U.S. meanwhile, remains adamantly opposed to any such changes in the May 17 Accord, making both

before and during the conference repeated statements, along with the Israelis, to that effect. In fact, before the conference, the U.S. went so far as to threaten Gemayel that, if the May 17 Accord were to be interfered with, former Israeli Defense Minister Ariel Sharon and other Israeli “hard-liners” would in turn become more obstinate and demand still greater concessions from Lebanon.

All of which demonstrates why the U.S. faces mounting necessity to affect a change in the “balance of forces on the ground” in Lebanon. The goal of the U.S. in Lebanon, after all, remains not one of “peace,” but of specific political objectives. U.S. interests in Lebanon, in Ronald Reagan's recent, brutally succinct phrase, are to “create more Egypt.” Specifically for Lebanon, what this means is that the political gains that the U.S. and Israel consider the fruits of victory, the drastic restructuring of the Lebanese political situation following last year's invasion, and the securing of Lebanon as a “neutral” (i.e., pro-Israel) state, remain objectives not to be tampered with. This is a continuation, after all, of the American “peace process” in which the Middle East is to be “stabilized” by the U.S., so as to thwart Soviet influence and be transformed more fully into a U.S. military staging area.

But, “vital” as such interests are, there are more compelling considerations still. As Reagan recently noted, the U.S. role in Lebanon is “central to our credibility on a global scale.” And the expansion of Syrian influence in Lebanon must be checked, not only to prevent the Damascus government from translating this into long-term political gains in Lebanon itself, but more broadly as well. The Syrians, as shown for example by their efforts to take over the PLO, have maneuvered themselves into a position of regional prominence and influence that is simply unacceptable to the U.S. Within the Arab world, Assad has moved within the past year from being a somewhat marginal pariah to a position of centrality, in which he has been accorded by the other Arab leaders, increasing, if begrudging, respect.

Assad is not, as is often maintained, a simple proxy for the Soviets. His bid for regional prominence over the past year has been largely fueled by Soviet military aid, the introduction of weapons systems which heretofore the Soviets have never taken outside the Warsaw Pact countries, and this has brought an increasing measure of Soviet influence to bear on Damascus. At the same time, Assad has sought to parlay this support into a better market price with the U.S., letting the U.S. know that, if they were still far apart on price and terms, he nonetheless was still in the market. The U.S. has offered little in return, not much in the way of a Lebanese settlement, still less in the way of other incentives. Neither has the U.S. seriously countenanced any consideration of redressing Assad's broader concerns — the return to Syria of the Golan Heights, for example, the Syrian territory which Israel has occupied since 1967 and annexed outright in 1981.

This is due not only to the U.S.'s relations with Israel, for whom the prospect of returning the Golan Heights is clearly unacceptable. More, the game that Assad has been playing, using Soviet support to obtain better terms with the U.S., is in no way to be encouraged. This is precisely the “lesson” that America has impressed upon various Arab states and political forces since the 1973 Arab-Israeli war, and those who violate it are to be punished, not rewarded. Israel, among its many other virtues to the U.S., remains the most effective instrument of that punishment, and the Middle East landscape, dotted with bombed-out ruins — whether of refugee camps or the city of Beirut — bear ready testimony to this.

Certainly, the main tack of the U.S. for some time now has been to present Syria with the “incentive” of growing threats and brandishments of military power. The last week has seen a major escalation in this. □

News From The Frontlines

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Soviets (DKP) to trots; Social Democrats from the Greens or the SPD; and last but not least would be the independents, who are the newest-born forces who have not aligned themselves with any party or group yet. Of all the groups we had the greatest impact upon were the spontis and the independents. Because the spontis already to one degree or another had an idea of imperialism and also really hated the system and want to get out of the whole stifling atmosphere.

To get into what some of the youth looked like and the questions they asked at the demonstrations, the two that really stuck out in my impressions were Bremerhaven.

At Bremerhaven the first impression I had was the thousands of people and political diversity of the demo with the majority being youth. When I first caught sight of the spontis they really impressed me with their all-black outfits of helmets, ski masks, gloves, leather jackets and boots. I thought these guys and women are ready to get down with the police, then I thought are they ready to get down with the system? When we

passed out the leaflets a lot would not take them because they did not want their hands tied up. Also they did not want to talk because they already had the tactics in mind. But most of the people we did talk to did not think the peace movement was going to stop the missiles, they said that you needed to go directly up against the state. Still even so, from talking to the spontis there was still a sense of nationalism, of we must get the missiles out of W. Germany, W. Germany out of NATO, and that W. Germany was an occupied nation by the U.S.A. with slogans like "Yankee Go Home."

I think the youth at the demo were challenged by the Contingent's line that the question of the missiles was not a problem of just Germany but internationally. What imperialism does every single day around the world to the oppressed people and that a nuclear war would not be that much more radical than the starvation and genocide that the imperialists carry out to secure their profits. Some of the youth began to see that we must see the problems of the day on a world scale as part of a whole system that is carried out from both sides of East and West.

It is exactly this section of society that the West German ruling class is desperately afraid of and trying to isolate by calling them terrorists and criminals. (Of course we know who the real terrorists and criminals are.) . . .

To me it really brought home that the youth are the inheritors of the future, that they must be in the forefront with the old people not far behind. It gave me a small vision of the face of things that will happen in the belly of the beast.

A youth on the European frontlines

* * * * *

Report No. 5 — Berlin College Preparatory students — and what they are preparing for: On Wednesday night when Berlin was tense because of the call for the attack on the Turkish community in the wake of the W. German vs. Turkey soccer match, we met six W. German high-school students. They had come to the demonstration to defend the Turkish community because they felt it was time to do "something to change things." In their school (and they go to college-prep high school) the teachers aren't allowed to discuss politics. "The only way politics can be mentioned is something as above and removed from us." So they had decided to step into the political arena themselves.

Most of them live in an upper middle-class neighborhood and are expected to go on to college. It's of significance, therefore, that they hate being called the "future hope of Germany." This is for good reasons — they are strongly against nationalism as they witness its extreme forms and several of them are from Turkey!

When we told them there was to be a festival in the squatter's house we stay in which was in solidarity with the people

from Turkey there was no question — they were coming with us! Never mind that they lived on the other side of town. Never mind that they had to be up for school the next day at 6:30 a.m. Never mind the danger of fascist attacks.

All night long they talked with the Contingent or, at the film showing, translated for us. There was plenty to struggle over. Wasn't nationalism human nature? Couldn't the pigs be relied on, at least to protect people from the fascists? But their thirst for an understanding of how to change the world was unquenchable. They knew something was being hidden from them at school and they were going to find out the truth.

They were very conscious, in particular, of the oppression of women. One was a young woman from Turkey, who had run away from home when her parents insisted that she get married at 18. Another raised the way women were treated as an example of the "foulness of human nature." And, above all they wanted to understand what imperialism was. What was it, more than just a political term and/or "an abstract concept."

When the evening ended, we exchanged addresses. They went off into the night as people were gathering in preparation for a fascist attack that never came. The violent chauvinism of the fascists and the war that it is vital preparation for were all part of the world they intended to change. □

Soccer Wars in Berlin

Continued from page 14

youth, which were trumpeted as representing 10 to 15% of all German youth.

* * * * *

10:30 p.m. after the game. We walk through the street near the main train station downtown. Skinheads and rightist club members swagger about. They move easily in and among the dozens of cops also stationed in big numbers at the intersections. The cops now take off their riot gear. It looks like there won't be any trouble, so all can savor Germany's victory together. We get back on the *U-Bahn* and head for Kreuzberg. There are far fewer cops now.

The Kottbüsser Tor station is the heart of Kreuzberg. If any shit comes down it's going to be here. We don't get there until

11:30. Most nights it would be dead by now, but instead there are hundreds of people gathered at the intersection. They stand around in small groups talking, while three busloads of cops wait in the wings. There are people of every description, overwhelmingly West Germans. There are punks with Mohawks, youth with painted faces, anarchists and leftists of every stripe, long hairs and short hairs. Most are very young. We talk to two long-haired youths, probably still in high school.

"How long you guys been here?"

"About 2-1/2 hours."

"Why did you come out here tonight?"

"Well, they said Kreuzberg would burn. As you see," one said gesturing around, "it isn't burning."

A young punk, his hair dyed pink and

his face painted, made much the same point. He had watched the game on TV and then came out on the street. He told us the crowd had been much larger earlier, but he had been there for only 1-1/2 hours. "But if they do come, this place will be full. There's a lot more people around here and we have a telephone tree. We're very well organized!" He and the others were of like mind. No thugs were going to mess with Kreuzberg or its Turkish residents. He also made the point that the media was responsible for the whole thing, publicizing the reactionary call in the form of thinly veiled criticism.

We left at 12:30, with the masses still on guard.

* * * * *

A few nights later we were sitting in the living room of a Kurdish working class family in Kreuzberg. For most guest

workers from Turkey (and even the "guest communists"!), there remains an uneasy gap between themselves and West Berlin's rebellious youth. The styles of dress, drinking, sexuality, and attachment to anarchism of the rebel youth all raise big questions among the Turkish and Kurdish proletarians. We had been talking for a long time about the national and class oppression of foreign workers in Germany, and the new government program to oust them. One thing led to another, and we recounted our experience with Kreuzberg's "popular militia," a few nights before.

Our host and his family listened with intense interest. Then we asked, "What do you think of these people?"

Our host thought for a minute, smiled and replied: "I think they are the best of the Germans in Germany." □

Another Warmonger

Continued from page 18

on "subversive citizens," and COINTELPRO operations against the Black Panthers. Named Director of the CIA in August 1973, Colby presided one month later over the CIA-organized coup in Chile in which 30,000 Chileans were murdered and the Pinochet junta installed after elected president Salvador Allende was "neutralized." However, soon after Colby was appointed, the CIA became the focus of aforementioned congressional investigation and most of his time from then on was spent instituting "reforms" and generally providing cleaner cover for CIA-work in the future. He was finally dumped as CIA Director by President Ford in 1976 after bragging that the agency maintained a poison cache for multifarious purposes.

And so: William Colby, the preeminent and distinguished humanitarian who has demonstrated his ability at "working within" all sorts of movements. As he recently assured, his anti-nuclear activities are "a logical extension of what I was doing in the intelligence business." No arguments here!

In any case, it should be remembered what sort of movement the Freeze essentially is (i.e., that it is basically a propaganda tool, as well as a reflection of tactical bourgeois differences on what constitutes "nuclear sufficiency" and disputes over strategic emphasis). Colby, along with his Freeze brethren in the letter to the *Times*, noted that: "...time is important with respect to the potential vulnerability of our land-based missiles. The freeze would enhance nuclear stability, preventing years of further Soviet

testing to perfect the operational accuracy and reliability necessary before any Soviet leader could ever contemplate that a first strike against any part of our missile force might succeed." Besides, the letter noted, "No number of addi-

tional nuclear weapons can substitute for the strong conventional forces needed...." Nor, no doubt, in the fantasies of the man who still describes himself as "an unreconstructed cold warrior," for the needed clandestine forces of his beloved CIA either. The peace-maker Colby turns out to be a stirring voice for *all-around* and *effective* warmongering. □

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By Bob Avakian

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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.

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