



REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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

No. 231 (Vol. 5, No. 29) Published weekly in two sections — English Section 1

November 18, 1983

Editions in English, Spanish, Chinese and French ISSN 0193-3485 50c

Reagan Trip to Japan, Korea

The Blade in the East

In every speech on the itinerary during Ronald Reagan's swing through Japan and South Korea, the central theme pounded out over and over again was the holy global crusade of the "civilized, democratic and prosperous" U.S. bloc standing up to the challenge of the "barbaric, totalitarian and economically bankrupt" Soviet bloc. The situation and recent developments in Northeast Asia were put squarely in the context of the intensifying contention between the U.S. and Soviet blocs and their drive toward war.

In speeches before parliamentary bodies in both Japan and South Korea

and to the U.S. troops at the Korean Demilitarized Zone (DMZ), Reagan linked the Soviet downing of the Korean jet, the bombing of the U.S. and French forces in Lebanon and the bombing in Rangoon, Burma. The Rangoon explosion narrowly missed South Korean dictator Chun Doo Hwan and wiped out a number of high-ranking South Korean officials, and the Chun regime, the U.S. and Japan loudly condemned it as the work of North Korean "terrorists." In Japan, these events were further linked with the Soviet "stonewalling" at the intermediate-range nuclear forces negotiations in Europe and denounced as "crude attempts to intimidate freedom-loving people everywhere." At the DMZ, Reagan also defended the U.S. "rescue mission" in Grenada and contrasted that operation with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Such wide-ranging linkage of crisis points internationally, pulled together by the common theme of the "good" West vs. the "evil" East, is a forceful reminder of the fact that what is graphically shaping up on the horizon is precisely a world war, an all-out military clash on the global scale between two blocs of imperialists. The Reagan trip serves to further clarify what roles Japan and South Korea play within the overall war preparations of the U.S. bloc.

Reagan took every opportunity to lash out at the Soviets and North Korean threats to "peace and stability" in Asia. But where Reagan *did not* visit said a lot about this so-called "peace and stability" of the U.S.'s realm of influence in Asia. The original plans for the Asia trek included three countries in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations — Indonesia,

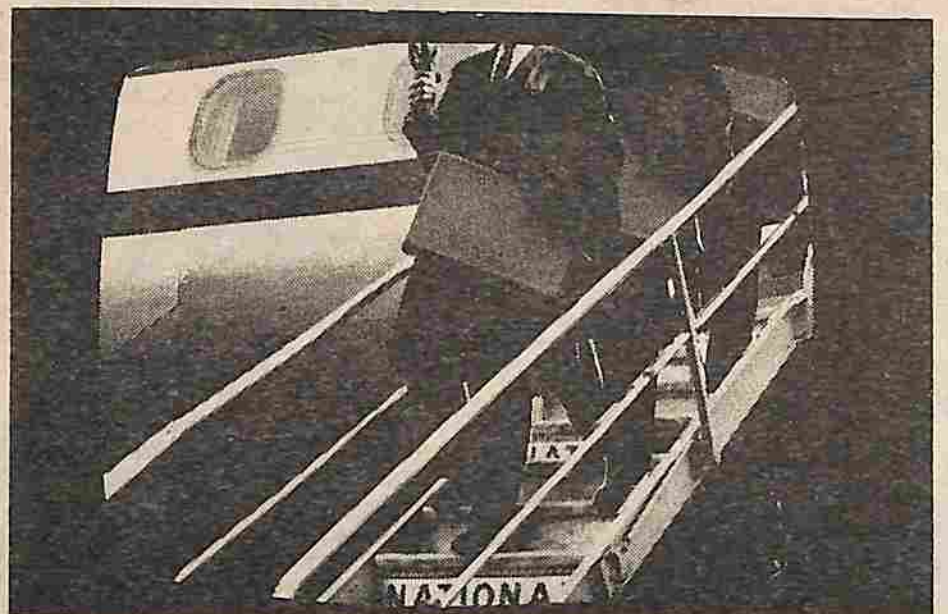
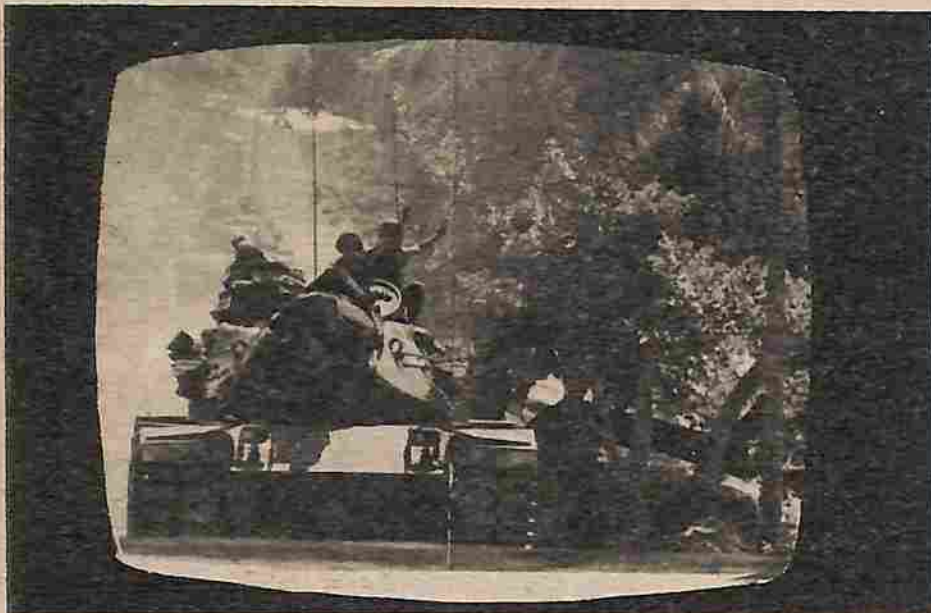
Thailand, and the Philippines. The grand concept behind the trip was the promotion of a "Pacific Basin" alliance — an economic, political and military bulwark against the Soviet Union and its allies in the region. However, the assassination of Philippine bourgeois opposition figure Benigno Aquino posed difficult problems for the U.S. At first, the U.S. insisted that the stopover in Manila was still on. But the situation in the Philippines continued to deteriorate. The open expression of discontent among the middle classes exposed the serious extent of the crisis. In this situation, Reagan's visit could well have served as a focal point that would further galvanize anti-Marcos and anti-U.S. sentiments, opening up even wider cracks in the Marcos regime. That in turn would send political shockwaves to other U.S. client-states in the region and, because of the critical bases on the Philippines, endanger U.S. military posture in the Pacific and Indian oceans. So the U.S. decided to forego the visit to Manila. At the same time, the U.S. does not want to pull the rug from under Marcos at this time and therefore took steps so that the cancellation would not be taken as an overt criticism of the regime. The official explanation for the cancellation was that Reagan faced pressing business back in Washington and therefore had to shorten the trip. The other two stops in Southeast Asia were also struck from the schedule. Reagan sent a personally written letter to "Dear Ferdinand and Imelda," telling them that "I've always had confidence in your ability to handle things." There's also speculation that the trip to Southeast Asia, including the Philippines, might be rescheduled for next April when Reagan is due to go to China.

As Reagan set off for Tokyo, the U.S. press pointed out that the trip was taking place amid continuing friction in Japanese-American relations. In particular, Washington continues to press Japan to take measures to reduce its huge trade surplus against the U.S. and to accelerate its military spending. But as a U.S. official said in Tokyo, Reagan "did not come down here to go through a litany of beef and citrus [a reference to U.S. demands that Japan dismantle import restrictions on U.S. agricultural products] and other negotiating issues." Indeed, the Reagan-Nakasone summit dealt with a much more profound issue than simply the dollars and cents of trade or military spending. In a televised speech before the Japanese Diet (parliament — *RW*), Reagan said that "I have come to Japan because we have an historic opportunity, indeed, an historic responsibility.

Continued on page 16



The RW has obtained this story board for an upcoming T.V. commercial from a Madison Avenue ad agency that has recently gotten the Grenada account. We understand it is entitled "Come back... Grenada."



SUBSCRIBE!

One Year—\$20 (U.S., Canada, Mexico) Ten Weeks—\$4.00

- English Edition Chinese Edition (monthly) \$12
 Spanish Edition French Edition (monthly) \$12

write to: Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, IL 60654

Name _____
 Address _____
 City _____
 State _____ Zip _____

I want to distribute the *Revolutionary Worker*, please send me information on bulk rates. I would like to receive _____ copies per week.

Order **Chinese** edition from: Everybody's Bookstore, 1541 Grant Ave., San Francisco, CA 94133.

Order **French** from: Revolution Books, 138 W. 10th St., NY, NY 10014

To comply with postal regulations it is necessary to send both the English and Spanish sections together, even though you may desire only one of the language sections. It has also been necessary to make changes on the outside of the envelope containing your newspaper to comply with postal regulations.

The *Revolutionary Worker* (ISSN 0193-3485) is published weekly except for the 4th week of December and the 4th week of July, by RCP Publications, 2525 N. Lincoln Ave., Chicago, IL 60614. Controlled Circulation postage paid at Chicago, IL. Subscriptions and address changes should be sent to RCP Publications, POB 3486, Chicago, IL 60654. Subscriptions are \$20 a year, \$4.00 for 10 weeks in the U.S., Canada and Mexico. (\$30.00 for institutions. Foreign subscriptions are \$50.00/year airmail to Latin America, \$80.00/year airmail to Africa, Asia, Europe, and \$20.00/year by surface mail.)

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

California:
 Berkeley, 3126 Grove St., Berkeley, CA 94703 (415) 841-8314
 Los Angeles Area, P.O. Box 26A34, Los Angeles, Calif. 90026 (213) 484-2907
 San Diego, P.O. Box 16033, San Diego, CA 92116

District of Columbia: Revolution Books 2438 18th St. N.W., Washington, DC 20009 (202) 265-1969

Georgia: Revolutionary Worker P.O. Box 11049, Atlanta, GA 30310 (404) 627-8311

Hawaii: Revolution Books 2648 South King St., Honolulu, HI 96826 (808) 944-3106

Illinois: c/o Revolution Books, 2525 N. Lincoln, Chicago, IL 60614 (312) 528-5353

Kentucky: P.O. Box 3005, Cincinnati, OH 45201 or call (513) 281-4275

Maryland: Revolutionary Worker P.O. Box 1992, Baltimore, MD 21203

Massachusetts: Revolution Books 90 River St., Cambridge, MA 02139 (617) 492-9016

Michigan: Revolution Books 5744 Woodward Ave., Detroit, MI 48202 (313) 872-2286

Missouri: P.O. Box 6013, St. Louis, MO 63139 (314) 773-6068

New York:

Buffalo, Box 121, Ellicott Station, Buffalo, NY 14205

NYC & New Jersey: Revolution Books, 138 West 10th St., NY, NY 10014 (212) 691-3345

North Carolina: P.O. Box 11712, Durham, NC 27703 (919) 688-2879

Ohio:

Cincinnati, c/o Revolution Books Outlet, 110 W. McMillan St., Cincinnati, OH 45219 (513) 281-4275

Cleveland, P.O. Box 09190, Cleveland, OH 44109 (216) 398-8865

Dayton, P.O. Box 3005, Cincinnati, OH 45201 (513) 281-4275

Oregon:

Portland, P.O. Box 3821, Portland, OR 97208 (503) 288-1374

Eugene: c/o RCYB, P.O. Box 3723, Eugene, OR 97403

Pennsylvania: P.O. Box 11789, Philadelphia, PA 19104 (215) 625-8567

Texas: P.O. Box 18112, Houston, TX 77223 (713) 926-2080

Washington State: Revolution Books, 5232 University Way N.E., Seattle, WA 98105 (206) 527-8558

West Virginia: P.O. Box 1974, Charleston, WV 25327

"The Grenadans
Want us here"

And

The Elementary Principles of Self-Determination and Revolutionary Defeatism

The stories color nearly every dispatch from the Caribbean these days: "...the locals didn't want to see the Marines leave. Across the island, locals showered U.S. troops with tokens of gratitude — coffee, soft drinks, and fruit. Some inquired hopefully if Washington planned a military base at Point Salines. Others talked of making Grenada the 51st state."

Like the above from *Newsweek*, delirious imperialist visions have continued to dance across the intoxicated columns of U.S. newspapers. Here, "U.S. troops relied heavily on intelligence from grateful citizens of Grenada" (*Newsweek*). There, a youth is said to greet a U.S. propaganda poster on the island denouncing General Austin and Communism by "slapping hands with his laughing friends" and calling out "the Cubans can't help him now!" (*New York Times*). Together with the spectacle of Reagan chumming it up with "God-Bless-America"-mouthing medical students on the White House lawn, the stories of grateful Grenadans (welcoming the U.S. to base its guns and troops on their island — oh, right!) made for a picture of an idyllic and happy interlude indeed for U.S. imperialism.

This, however, contrasts with reality. The same *Newsweek* described U.S. helicopters swooping low over the island (blaring Wagner's "Ride of the Valkyries," said the magazine) and broadcasting ultimatums that Cuban and Grenadan holdouts surrender "and cooperate with the peacekeeping forces." In St. George's, which reporters described as "edging back to normal," U.S. troops drive around in cars requisitioned from Grenadans, carefully avoiding a wrecked Soviet-made armored personnel carrier and jeep at one intersection. In Washington, a U.S. official protested that "only" 1100 Grenadans had been rounded up for interrogation (not a small percentage on an island of 100,000) and they had "only" been held for a couple of days in jail-cell boxes made from wooden packing crates! In these conditions, really, who is going to step forward for the interviews on American media? Let's get serious!

All the sick patronizing of "loyal Grenadans" stinks of rather traditional white-man's-burden imperialist thinking — "it takes a civilized power to clean things up for the backward island folks."

Not to mention the reality of what cleaning things up actually means — for the imperialists things are "edging back to normal" when the masses are back under the point of *their* guns. Plainly, it is absurd and reactionary for the imperialists to decide that "the Grenadans want us here" under the din of U.S. helicopters, and in the shadow of Marine checkpoints — the will of a people can hardly be ascertained while they are under military assault and occupation. Rather, such arguments signify nothing but classic slavemaster, chauvinist arrogance.

In opposition to such filth, the stand of the class-conscious proletarians, especially in the U.S., must be "U.S. Out of Grenada!" This is a matter of principle for the proletariat and is an important part of revolutionary defeatism. As Lenin bluntly stated:

"The revolutionary movement in the advanced countries would in fact be nothing but sheer fraud if in their struggle against capital, the workers of Europe and America were not closely and completely united with the hundreds upon hundreds of millions of 'colonial' slaves who are oppressed by that capital." ("Second Congress of the Communist International," *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 271.)

In building the proletarian revolutionary movement as part of the worldwide struggle, this stand opposing imperialist aggression against colonial and dependent countries such as Grenada is crucial — even where there is no proletarian-led movement in the oppressed country, as there is not in Grenada. In the U.S., as in any imperialist country, the proletariat calls for defeat of its "own" bourgeoisie and welcomes every setback that weakens imperialism and hastens its overthrow, and a critical side of this revolutionary defeatism is the demand to "get out of Grenada!" and all the oppressed countries on which it lays its bloody hands.

But in Grenada, wouldn't this simply mean that, with the U.S. pushed back, the Soviet Union and its bloc would secure advantage, resulting for the Grenadans in simply the rule of a different brand of imperialism? Yes, if the U.S. were forced to back off Grenada, the result might very well be a gain for its rival imperialists, Soviet social-imperialism, in its rivalry with the U.S. Still, the basic stand of the proletariat in

the U.S. remains, even if the Soviets gain — not because we *want* the Soviet social-imperialists to gain, but *even if* they gain. Indeed, this is very often the way things present themselves today in the oppressed nations, under the gathering storm clouds of U.S./Soviet world conflict and increasingly bound up with this conflict. This in turn, relates back to the fundamentals of self-determination and even more importantly of making revolution and transforming all of society: that only the masses of oppressed and not one imperialism or another can bring about a resolution of the contradictions and conflicts between oppressed and oppressor nations — a resolution that is in the interest of the masses breaking out of the imperialist stranglehold and moving beyond imperialism and relations of exploitation and oppression altogether.

We are entering a time when the masses in all parts of the world will have rare opportunity to make revolution and move toward these goals. One feature of this period as the two imperialist blocs approach and prepare to enter world war will certainly be that "imperialist liberation" will continue to occur and on a scale far greater and more murderous than the aggression in Grenada, since "liberation" is how imperialism frames its conquests. One has only to look at the first American entry into the imperialist bloodfeast by "liberating" Cuba and the Philippines from Spain, not to mention the frenetic "liberating" that each victorious imperialist pulled off during both world wars, to see how this is true. It becomes an imperative and central strategic point that the proletariat in each imperialist country take up its special responsibility in a kind of international proletarian "division of labor" and call for, welcome and take advantage of every difficulty and defeat of its own imperialist "liberators," opening up (in turn) greater possibilities of success of revolution in the colonial and dependent countries, and preparing to make proletarian revolution in the advanced countries as well.

Only a proletariat that acts in this way can contribute to really wrenching as much of the world as possible out of the hands of both these bloodsuckers who dare to call themselves "liberators." □



JFK: "Peace" by the Megaton

"Today, every inhabitant of this planet must contemplate the day when this planet may no longer be habitable. Every man, woman and child lives under a nuclear sword of Damocles, hanging by the slenderest of threads, capable of being cut at any moment by miscalculation or madness. The weapons of war must be abolished before they abolish us."

—John F. Kennedy

An important part of efforts to create and maintain the Kennedy myth in the 20 years since his death has been to construct an image of this dearly-departed Commander-in-Chief as a great peacemaker and champion of ending the era of "nuclear brinkmanship." A variety of mythmakers hope that referring to a few quotable quotes like the one above will be enough to keep this total lie alive. And on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of his assassination this myth has become a loud roar. A few historical facts, however, tell quite a different story about Kennedy's concern for humanity and abolishing nuclear weapons. Not only did he dramatically increase the size and weight of that nuclear sword, he threatened to swing it too.

• 1960. The presidential election campaign. A key plank in Kennedy's election platform is a rapid escalation of both conventional and nuclear weapons in the U.S. arsenal. In his book, *Strategy of Peace* published during the campaign, the item given first importance on Kennedy's agenda is strengthening U.S. military might:

"First — we must make invulnerable a nuclear retaliatory power second to

none..."

"More air tankers to refuel our SAC (Strategic Air Command) bombers and more air-to-ground missiles to lessen the need for their deep penetration of Soviet territory are among the first steps to be taken while we expedite our longer range ICBM and IRBM (intermediate range ballistic missiles) development and our progress on atomic submarines, solid fuels, the Polaris and the Minuteman. Our continental defense system, as already mentioned, must be redesigned for the detection and interception of missile attacks as well as planes..."

"Second — We must regain the ability to intervene effectively and swiftly in any limited war anywhere in the world — augmenting, modernizing and providing increased mobility and versatility for the conventional forces and weapons of the Army and Marine Corps..."

• In his short term of office Kennedy managed to preside over a huge buildup of the U.S. nuclear arsenal, particularly of ICBM's. Kennedy's Deputy Secretary of Defense Gilpatric boasted of U.S. plans, developed under Kennedy's tutelage, to double the nuclear stockpile within three years:

"We will have *more than double* the number of alert weapons than we have today by the end of 1965. By alert weapons I mean warheads in manned bombers that are in the alert force as well as the warheads in the Polaris submarine and in other ICBMs. Those warheads will be carrying a yield, a megatonnage, of *more than twice* what our present alert force can carry. In other words, we will have *twice the striking power* by 1965 that we have at the end of Fiscal Year 1962."

(emphasis added) This was no idle boasting.

When Kennedy took office the U.S. had approximately 30 ICBM's and less than three dozen Polaris missiles on submarines. In early 1964, less than six months after his death, the U.S. had 750 ICBMs and 192 Polaris missiles on subs. Moreover, planning and funding had been provided for to bring the U.S. land-based ICBM arsenal to a total of 1300-1400 by 1965, and to establish a fleet of 41 nuke-equipped subs, adding a further 450 Polaris missiles to the U.S. arsenal.

• 1962. Cuba. The USSR places several intermediate range missiles in Cuba. Kennedy reacts swiftly: He surrounded Cuba with a naval blockade and placed all U.S. military forces worldwide on alert, both nuclear and conventional. Brandishing the U.S.'s nuclear arsenal, Kennedy then threatened all-out nuclear war if the Soviets didn't remove the missiles.

And Kennedy presided over other military efforts as well:

• Vietnam. A rapid buildup of conventional forces accompanies the nuclear expansion under Kennedy. Many of these forces are to be used in the bloody war to suppress the Vietnamese people. When JFK took office in January 1961 there were officially 685 military "advisers" in Vietnam. When he left office (and this world) there were almost 17,000 U.S. troops there.

• Beyond this, Kennedy presided over a 45% increase in the number of combat-ready ground divisions, the procurement of airlift aircraft was increased by 175% and there was an increase by nearly five

times the manpower of "special forces" troops to conduct counter-insurgency warfare against liberation movements.

What about the 1963 Nuclear Test Ban Treaty?, some may ask. Now there was a giant step toward world peace. Kennedy pushed for signing this treaty with the Soviet Union and the other nuclear powers ostensibly to "halt the proliferation of nuclear weapons." What he meant was the proliferation of nuclear weapons to countries like revolutionary China for example. The treaty was specifically designed *not* to interfere with the efforts of the imperialists to stockpile nukes and it certainly had zero impact as far as the spread of these weapons goes, as the size of current arsenals plainly indicates. It was quite convenient for the U.S. and the Soviets to agree to this treaty. After all, each had already carried out hundreds of atmospheric nuclear tests and now underground tests would do just fine (of course, if they wanted to resume aboveground tests it would be a simple matter of breaking the treaty). The treaty said nothing about building and deploying nukes and it didn't stop the U.S. from helping Israel and South Africa get the bomb and even carry out atmospheric tests in the process. In short it was nothing but a calculated and cynical diplomatic maneuver to aid in the *proliferation* of the nukes of the signers to the agreement and an attempt to ensure that they remained firmly in their hands and the hands of their allies and clients. So here we have yet another example of what statesmen of peace like John F. Kennedy are all about. □

Through the dreary Monday morning mist on November 14, two U.S. C-141 Starlifter transport planes landed at Greenham Commons Air Force Base in England with the first of the new U.S. missiles to be deployed in Europe. Following the vicious spirit and rapid-shot pace of U.S. and NATO war moves in the last couple of months, the missiles were landed earlier than expected, sooner even than predicted by a British government announcement of just last week, and were greeted with the proper martial air by the British imperialists (if not by the masses in England!). Elements of the Fifth Brigade, the units which had been first on the ground in the British invasion of the Falklands, were on hand to escort the missiles on their arrival, the patriotic message being shoved right in the face of hundreds of women who were marching at the base perimeter at that moment. And the arrival of the Anglomissiles — the first of a planned 96 Tomahawk cruise weapons to be sited in England — may presage an early deployment in West Germany.

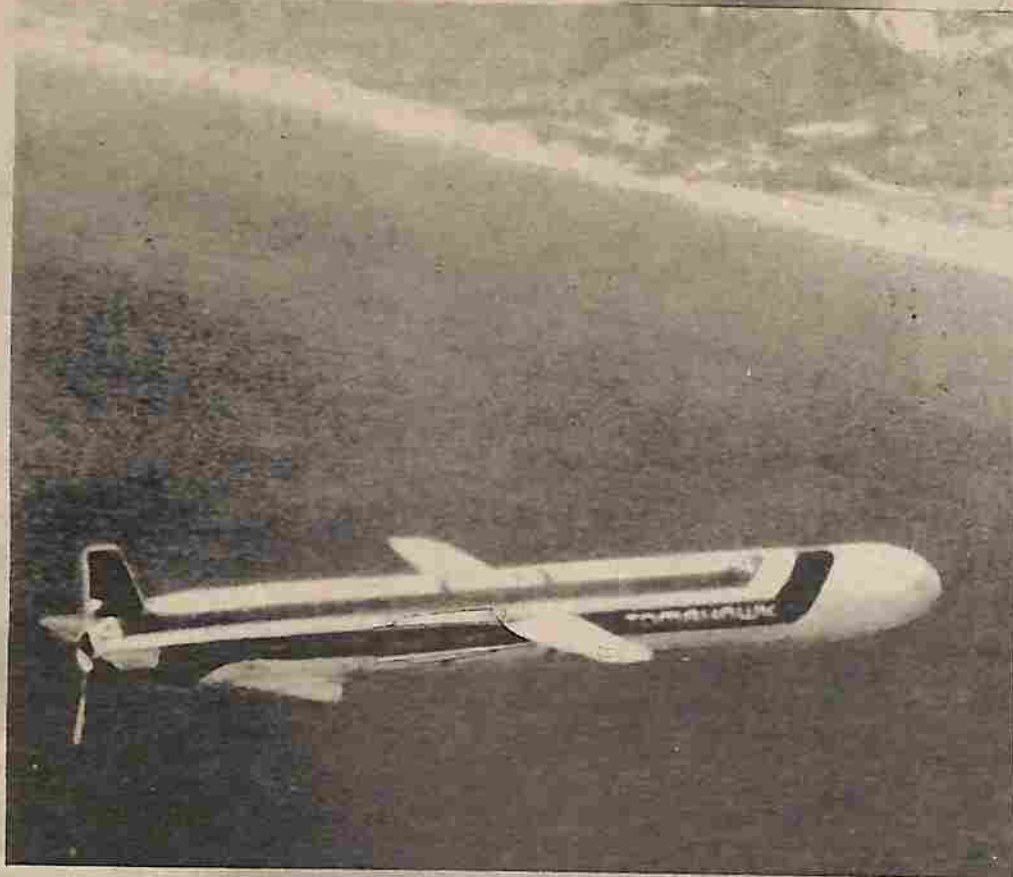
The "two-track" strategy of NATO — doubletalk and deployment — has thus shifted into a final and most hypocritical phase: the missiles are being moved in even before the talks are officially termed a failure. Of course NATO continues to come up with more spurious proposals for the arms talks — Canada's Pierre Trudeau has served up the potpourri of proposals for this week — but this is transparently directed at the European public, and especially aimed at blaming the Soviets for the coming breakdown of the talks and the even more stepped-up eyeball-to-eyeball confrontation that is sure to follow.

Resistance

As soon as news of the missiles' arrival was made public, hundreds of people began streaming into the peace encampment which women have kept at Greenham Commons, fifty miles outside London, for the last two years. On Tuesday, 141 women were arrested for storming the gate at the base, while over three hundred were arrested outside Parliament in London. The following days, demonstrations and arrests continued in many places; Defense Secretary Michael Heseltine, who last week had refused to promise that protestors at Greenham Commons would not be shot, was doused with red paint before a speech at Manchester University. Heseltine cleaned up, but was trapped in an anteroom by students, then was finally jeered off the stage by an outraged crowd of 800. Back at Greenham Commons, women have vowed to prevent the missiles from leaving the base on tracked vehicles, as planned.

All this protest is said (by British opposition figures, for example, and by U.S. sources) to be causing high anxiety and much soul-searching on the part of the British imperialists these days. And

Britain Gets the Cruise



First Strike, Rapid Strike and the Union Jack

there may very well be anxiety for the bourgeoisie when millions of people are clearly furious at the obvious signs of another world war in the making, but as for bourgeois souls, well, these have long been sold to the Union Jack and its imperialist needs and policies. Hardly plagued by an attack of conscience, the British government has used the occasion of the appearance of the cruises to announce a stepped-up bloc role for the British military. One day before the missiles arrived, officials revealed a new British "Rapid Strike Force" — a signal of an important change in military doctrine. Before the Falkland Islands War the British military was declared to be confined to national borders and to Western Europe (West Germany specifically). But, like the Falklands operations, the missions of the new units would be extra-European — worldwide, according to the needs of actually taking on the Soviets in a showdown. Significantly, the British force is small,

only a couple of thousand paratroopers with light, air-portable equipment. This means, according to the *NY Times*, that it would rely on U.S. forces, and that "in areas of joint concern to the two governments, Lebanon and the Persian Gulf for example, the burden of intervention would not rest solely on American shoulders." Already there is said to be an agreement to "act together" if the Persian Gulf is closed. This certainly adds to our understanding of the "risk-sharing" that the NATO powers have always said was at the heart of the deployment decision. The U.S. and NATO intend to share risks all right, not for "the defense of Europe" as it is officially put, but for the needs of gaining superiority and triumphing over their Soviet rivals, not only in Europe but worldwide. The nature of the first-strike-oriented Euromissiles shows this, as does the new British Rapid Strike Force. All in all, the British imperialists are plainly determined not only to go ahead with deployment, but to spell out

that this period marks a turning point in war preparations, both in the military sphere and in hammering the bloc into war-readiness.

Flag-waving

Thanks to tireless efforts of the official, loyal opposition, there has been something of an orgy of Union Jack-waving among the antimissile opposition as well. Neil Kinnock, new leader of the Labor Party, stood up in Parliament and accused Prime Minister Thatcher of making Britain "a lackey to the Americans." A leader of the mainstream antimissile group Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, Joan Ruddock, complained that "Britain has put her destiny in the hands of Ronald Reagan." Lacking as a target in the massive protest of the *American* missiles has been the nuclear arsenal of Great Britain itself, with its force of submarine-launched Polaris and bomber-delivered Vulcan atomic warheads. These

Continued on page 12

Risk-Sharing in Space

The next U.S. space shuttle is set to be launched on November 28 and it will be, even more than usual, a media spectacular. Or better still: a propaganda blitz. The last two shuttle flights have cashed in hard on the propaganda potential of the space program: the world had to watch the First American Woman Astronaut (complete with *Ms.* magazine in cabin), and the First Black American Astronaut (complete with *Ebony* magazine in cabin). Currently, astronaut Guy Buford, Jr. is making the rounds of U.S. inner cities as the enviable "role model" for Black youth, and movie theaters are straining (without a lot of success as yet) to bring in customers for the \$26 million astronaut film *The Right Stuff*. Now still another propaganda harvest is being planned: literally on the eve of the deployment of U.S. missiles in Europe, and the grand debut of the murderous U.S./European "risk sharing" strategy versus the Russians, the latest space guests on the shuttle will be *Europeans* — and, to drive the point home, West Germans, at that.

The shuttle launch is a truly wonderful

example of the U.S./European imperialist relationship. Not only the Euronauts, but also the European Space Agency-designed Spacelab, will ride piggyback upon the American shuttle "Like a camper on a pickup truck," as one expert put it. Thus, the Europeans will get to exploit their space capabilities by grace of the American space program — why, it's all made possible by Yankee money and technological know-how. Already, the benefits of the American space partnership — and of Europe's own imperialist position — are being trumpeted to the European public: thanks to shuttle-launched satellites, cable TV for France, for example, is said to be on the horizon.

The launch was last set for October 28 of this year. It was at that time delayed for an undetermined amount of time due to problems in one of the craft's booster rockets. Officials said they were pessimistic that the launch would proceed any time soon, since three of the five areas of experimentation scheduled for the shuttle would be damaged by unfavorable winter lighting and atmospheric conditions. But suddenly a

reversal. It seems the decision was made that the show must go on, even though a good deal of its actual mission isn't even possible! Last week the new November launch date was announced.

So at this point, the shuttle experimentation plans look like this: there will be astronomic and solar physics studies that require darkness, even though the final two and a half days of the flight will be in complete daylight; Earth observation, including photographic mapping, is scheduled although it will be admittedly difficult through the November cloud cover; studies are set on the Earth's magnetic fields and of cosmic rays, both of which also require amounts of light that may very well not be available; and there are two areas of work which will not be affected by atmospheric conditions. All in all it seems that there is a great hurry to get the mission up now even if much of it proves futile. Officials explain that further delays (this is not the first) will be expensive — but NASA is also promising to "re-fly" parts of the mission that don't come off, duplication which will surely be expensive as well.

Why not re-fly the whole mission at a more auspicious time, weatherwise? A better guess about the otherwise bizarre timing would be that the *political* profits in the display of unity by U.S. and West European governments are far greater by the current schedule and outweigh financial loss.

The space shuttle program has always been closely tied in with the U.S. war-making machine, as is widely known. For example, the deadly accuracy of the present generation of missiles depends on satellites as a key link in their guidance systems, the development of which is an important part of the shuttle missions. How appropriate and typical that the shuttles have been made into such a prime symbol for America! Regardless of public relations hype, the real import of the shuttle is its demonstration, not of American capability in movie channel broadcasts, but in military technology such as ballistic missile attack. Into *this* orbit, the Americans are pleased to welcome their imperialist partners in Europe. □

DEMOCRACY

In Grenada...

As the U.S. continues to construct its gun-barrel democracy in Grenada — or, as U.S. military officials have taken to calling it, "Military support for nation-building" — new details have emerged which help to flesh out the picture of U.S.-sponsored democracy in the tiny island nation. In addition to Sir Paul Scoon's declaration of a state of emergency in the wake of the U.S. military takeover — which provided the "legal" basis for press censorship, warrantless arrests and the banning of public meetings — the U.S. imperialists, through their military, have stepped up their own measures to ensure that the right kind of democracy is constructed.

Hundreds of Grenadians have been rounded up over the last couple of weeks as "suspicious persons" and "threats to national security." Those arrested include former army members, militia members, and supporters of the Maurice Bishop regime. While the U.S. is still conducting house-to-house searches on the island, other well-tested means of rooting out troublesome Grenadians have been put into practice. U.S. soldiers manning the roadblocks throughout the country have now been provided with a computer print-out list of all Grenadians to be arrested and interrogated. U.S. troops occupying the airport and harbors have been provided with a similar list in order to prevent any "suspect" from prematurely leaving the country. And in addition, the U.S. has also developed its own network of informants which has been responsible for the arrest of dozens of former Bishop supporters.

Once arrested, these Grenadians are treated to yet another outstanding feature of all such U.S. democracies — barbaric prisons. According to the *New York Times*, many of those arrested, especially "hardcore army men" and "dangerous" people, are being held in "newly constructed" wooden isolation booths. Actually, these "newly constructed" booths and chambers are ten-by-six-foot packing crates, provided with a few slits in the sides and a couple of ventilation holes. Entered through a knee-high hatch in the side, these crates provide no shelter at all from the rain or from the blistering daytime Caribbean heat. But so what? — says the U.S.: these prisoners are only being held in these crates for two days while intelligence officers carry out interrogation. And, as if to highlight how effective this interrogation process has been, the *Washington Post* has stated that the "man who gave the order to shoot Maurice Bishop" on October 19 has been discovered. According to the *Post* a reporter approached one of the packing crates which contained a former lieutenant in the Grenadan army and inquired through one of the slits in the crate about who ordered Bishop killed. The lieutenant, who had been locked inside this crate for four days, quickly named another former officer in the Grenadan army. Isn't it amazing how much can be accomplished when the "institutions of U.S.-style democracy" are functioning smoothly?

Following interrogation, the Grenadians are either released or sent on to the Richmond Hill prison, the main Grenadan prison. So far, 31 Grenadians have been sent to Richmond Hill. And, although U.S. military officials on the island have stated that most of those arrested will be out of the interrogation center soon, other U.S. officials have declared that the center will again fill up with those arrested in the more recent roundups. Maurice Bishop was sharply denounced by the U.S. as a ruthless despot for holding 40 political prisoners in this very prison!

In addition to the sweeping arrests, the U.S. occupiers have also put into practice a few other tactics designed to squash subversion: for instance, all adult literacy classes in Grenada have been closed down since the invasion. The official reason for this move has been listed as the need to "restructure" the textbooks since the old textbooks contained the words "revolution" and "Cuba." And most recently, the U.S. troops raided and closed down the office of the Pope Paul Ecumenical Center, a Catholic-funded social service organization. According to the troops who took over the office, the ecumenical center was an important center of "communist propaganda" on the island. U.S. soldiers claimed to have found ample evidence of the center's subversive activity inside the office — including a map of Puerto Rico, a list of people "with Spanish-type names," Cuban literature, pamphlets on El Salvador and Honduras and a scrapbook with captions containing the word "comrade." The soldiers also claimed that under the Bishop regime the center was used as a meeting place for the Grenadan army and militia, and the U.S. forces supposedly found a list of all U.S. troop placements and bases throughout the world among the papers seized inside the ecumenical center. Not only was the Grenadan militia plotting terrorism in the region, they were plotting it internationally! And, for Christ's sake, they were doing it in a building named after the Pope!

... And In Nicaragua

Meanwhile, over in Nicaragua, the U.S. hasn't yet restored democracy. But they're trying, partly through the efforts of those CIA-backed freedom fighters known as the *Contras*. The latest act in the struggle for democracy by these former members of Somoza's National Guard involved a full-scale assault on a village in the coffee growing area of Nicaragua. At least 40 villagers were slaughtered and anti-Sandinista slogans were scrawled on the walls in the village with the blood of those killed.

Yet it is not only America that wants democracy in Nicaragua. Some of its "friends and neighbors" do too. So, the U.S.-sponsored Central American Defense Council met recently to discuss the possibility of a joint military action against Nicaragua. In addition to El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Panama, this meeting was also attended by Lt. General Paul Gorman, the head of

the U.S. Southern Command and also the U.S. general who "helped" the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States map out the invasion of Grenada. Also, the head of the Honduran military and the leader of the Association for the Progress of Honduras (APROH) — the political arm of the Honduran military and big business leaders — recently met in Miami, Florida and proposed to the Kissinger Commission that the U.S. sponsor a military takeover of Nicaragua. According to the APROH plan, the U.S. should set up a provisional government inside Nicaragua, get the Organization of American States to recognize it and then have it seek U.S. military assistance. If the Organization of American States refused to recognize this provisional government, APROH proposes that the Central American Defense Council call for the invasion instead. It is not known if such an invasion is actually under serious scrutiny at this time (or, if it is, what particular form it may take), but one thing's for sure: If the U.S. wants an invasion, there's always some rump group around to call for one.

At the same time, various "friends" of the U.S. in Europe have exhibited nascent concerns for the restoration of democracy in Nicaragua as well. A recent *New York Times* headline ran "Disillusionment With Nicaragua Revolution Is Reported To Be Growing In Europe." The trouble, according to the *Times*, began with the "disruption of Pope Paul 2's mass in Managua by Sandinista demonstrators earlier this year..." This was the "turning point in European public opinion toward Nicaragua." Everyone knows, of course, how responsive are the government's of Europe toward "public opinion" — for example, on the issue of Pershing and cruise missile emplacements. On the other hand, though, it's not hard to imagine certain sections of European "public opinion" rendering up an adapted version of a song popular in the U.S. among similar

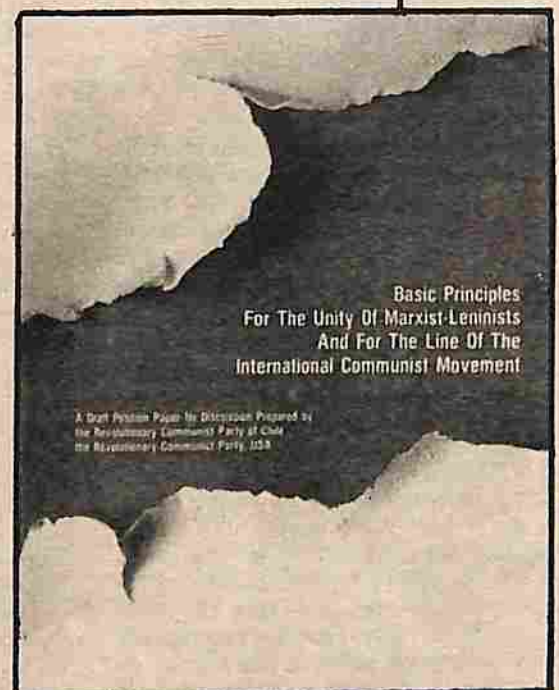
elements in the '60s: "When you're walkin' on the Pope, you're walkin' on the fightin' side of me..."

In any case, it isn't "public opinion" of one sort or another which has spawned the turnabout: Rather, it is the need of the Western imperialist alliance as a whole to present a more united face, as the U.S. has been demanding around Nicaragua for some time. This could easily encompass any specific tactical moves the U.S. has in mind — though not necessarily to the exclusion of the role the Europeans have been playing — that of point-man in efforts to split off pro-Western from pro-Soviet forces in Nicaragua. One Christian Democratic politician from West Germany remarked that "...the international alignment of Nicaragua with Cuba and the Soviet Union, which upsets our American friends, is naturally a concern for us." And it's not only a concern for "rightists" like this fellow. As the *Times* writes: "President Mitterand's special advisor for Latin America, Regis Debray, was described as 'extremely disappointed' by the turn of events in Nicaragua." Perk up, Regis — maybe you'll get another chance to apply your military theories.

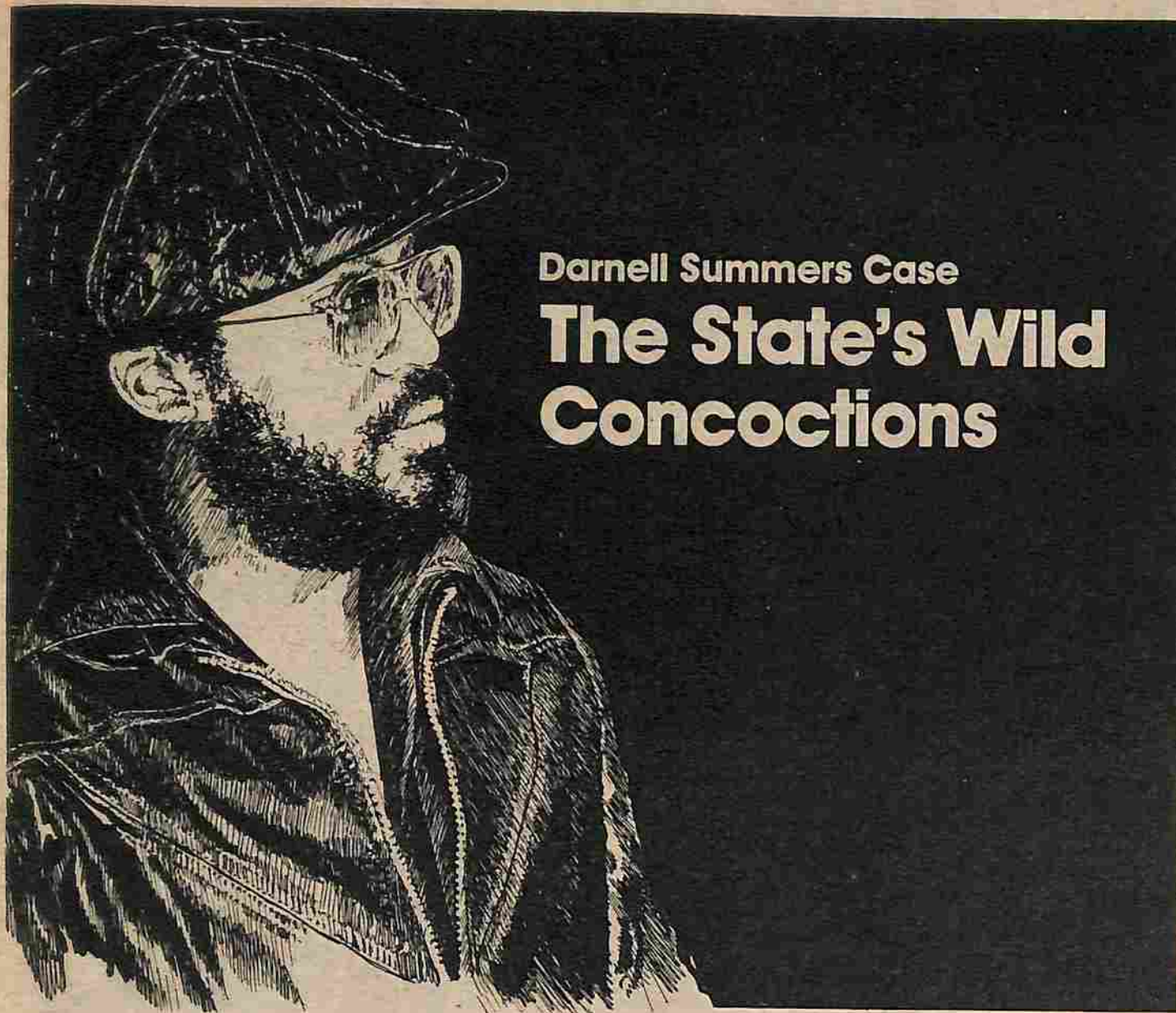
After Reagan returned from his trip to Japan and Korea, a Pentagon official publicly mused that if the U.S. position in Central America doesn't quickly improve, "We might have to turn Nicaragua into a North Korea." We don't know whether this is a timely reference to a war the U.S. still claims it won 30 years ago (but a war in which many major cities in North Korea were leveled), or a reference to intentions to beef up military strength around Nicaragua with the divisions and the seapower (and the nukes?) now in place around North Korea.

Either way, the U.S. and its friends are revealing not only the nature of the democracy they seek to spread around the world, but the means by which they intend to spread it. □

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



\$2.00. Include \$.50 postage. Order from RCP Publications, P.O. Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, IL 60654



Darnell Summers Case The State's Wild Concoctions

This past summer has been filled by a lengthy and convoluted battle at both levels of the courts of appeal in Michigan over the Darnell Summers case. It has been marked on the state's side by maneuvering, gnashing of teeth, and further rigging of their railroad and on the defense's side by continued exposure of the state's dirty machinations, and the gathering of forces in this battle. The following quote is the conclusion of the Wayne County Prosecutor's second reply to the application filed in the Supreme Court of Michigan by lawyers for Darnell Summers. Darnell's application demanded that the court hear a pre-trial appeal in Darnell's case.

"Finally, the People reject most strenuously the unsupported allegation of defense counsel that either they or any other law enforcement agency involved in this case are 'concocting' evidence against this defendant.

"Finally, the existence of any 'spectre of international terrorism' in this case (and the People believe that defendant's claim is better described as a deviant-type of Walter Mitty-ish daydream) apparently exists only in the minds of the defendant."

What a stinging statement this is! Far from being an "unsupported allegation," it is true and has been proven by a tremendous body of evidence, in their own courts, that law enforcement agencies have concocted evidence against Darnell.

In 1969, at the height of the Black liberation struggle, authorities first tried to frame Darnell (then a Black GI and leader of the Malcolm X Cultural Center) on this charge of murder of a Michigan State Police Red Squad agent killed in a 1968 rebellion in Inkster, Michigan. The key prosecution witness, Milford Scott, wrote a letter to the prosecutor declaring that his testimony implicating Darnell was all lies. This letter is part of the court record. The day the trial was to open, Gale Simmons, the only other witness to link Darnell to the shooting, told police that her testimony was false. Michigan State Police reports released during discovery document this. On that day, the first railroad of Darnell Summers was derailed. The prosecutor himself requested that the charge be dismissed, because of what he termed "ethical and legal considerations," stemming in part from the fact that prosecutors were relying on this false testimony. This the prosecutor stated under oath at a pre-trial hearing this year.

In 1981, when, as the decade of the '80s began, Darnell was again targeted by

authorities in this country and in West Germany where he had been living, playing his music, and doing revolutionary work, the very same chief prosecutor who went after Darnell in the '60s told outright lies to obtain Darnell's extradition on this raggedy and decrepit murder charge. He stated that Darnell had been a suspect in this case in the '60s, and that there was "insufficient evidence at that time to arrest him." He further stated that Gale Simmons, the witness in the '60s (whose testimony was the sole basis for the extradition) only "came forward in 1981 to give her testimony." These lies are contained in an affidavit executed by this prosecutor. (Documents obtained through the Freedom of Information Act indicate that throughout the course of the extradition, telex messages were flying back and forth between the State Department and the West German Ministry of Justice.) Soon after Darnell was extradited to Detroit, based on the prosecutor's lies and Simmons' long-discredited testimony, Simmons, for a second time, recanted her testimony, publicly repudiating it as false and "scripted by the police." Her recantation was quoted in major newspapers in the city. One can hardly imagine any better proof that law enforcement agencies have concocted evidence against Darnell in the sordid 14-year-old case, yet the prosecution dares to whine in their reply that it is an "unsupported allegation."

Secret Hearing

As to "the existence of a spectre of international terrorism in this case," that daydream which exists "only in the mind of the defendant," it was only in the newspapers and on the screens of thousands of readers of the *Detroit News* and the *Detroit Free Press* and viewers of

area TV news programs. Darnell's picture was flashed everywhere, labeled "Marxist," and "fugitive" who "eluded Interpol." News accounts branded letters sent by Darnell's supporters as "anonymous death threats from three countries to police and witnesses." It was only in the above-mentioned extradition affidavit of the chief prosecutor, which claimed that Gale Simmons "feared for her life." It was only in a memo from the prosecutor's office, which stated, "Due to many letters received from around the country, West Germany and Portugal from revolutionary international groups protesting the extradition of this defendant who seems to be a hero with the communist movement... (I) advise Lt. to make arrangements to avoid possible confrontations at the airport in Germany.... P.S. Lt. Shewell also advised that our only witness Gale Simmons (sic) is being intimidated by the Communist Workers Party (sic)." It was only on the lips of a police sergeant when he testified at the February speedy trial hearing that in July 1980 he got a call from Gale Simmons, stating that she was being threatened by the Communist Workers Party (sic).

In fact, it appears that Judge Sullivan, the prosecutor and police held a whole hearing to raise the "spectre of international terrorism" in this case. In April, over objections of Darnell's lawyers, the judge, prosecutor and police met in a secret hearing that Darnell and his lawyers were not permitted to attend. According to remarks made in open court by Sullivan and the prosecutor previous to the secret hearing, the sole subject of the hearing was the prosecutor's "proof" that the life of an informant would be in danger if his identity was disclosed to the defense, as the law requires. Following

the hearing, the judge issued a ruling which states, "At the time of the killing fourteen years ago, threats to murder witnesses cooperating with the police were made in more than one instance. It may be that time has cooled feelings, but this Court is reluctant to arrive at that conclusion." How *contrived* can they get! On one hand, the court has had to admit that the content of this informant's information is relevant and material to the defense. Indeed, in 1968, this informant told the police that Milford Scott admitted that he, Scott, had killed the Red Squad cop, totally contradicting Scott's testimony that Darnell killed the cop. Then, they turn around and not only refuse to release the name of this witness, but raise the absurd charge that the defense may aim to harm the witness. Given the entire history of the utilization of such informants by the police and a number of similar attempts in recent political cases to cover up this sort of political police spying, it appears that the court is again attempting to prevent further exposure of the government's political police work and uphold this whole rotten and ongoing history by hurling such outrageous and stupid charges at the defense in this case.

In open court, the prosecutor has never presented a single shred of evidence of any threats on witnesses and has relied exclusively on floating naked allegations, period. What could be a more perfect complement to this method than for the judge, the prosecutor and the pigs to now have a little orgy behind closed doors of cooking up so-called "proof" of danger to this informant. (And they risk less exposure this way.) The ruling by this judge was, objectively, the next and oh-so-crucial step in what is a whole, increasingly precarious process of fabricating threats on witnesses. Step one was the media hatchet jobs. Step two was the slew of wild pig tales and the prosecutor's bald allegations in court. Step three — they just had to have a formal ruling by a bonafide "neutral" judge, the "Real McCoy" necessary to any proper manufacture of evidence.

This ruling by Judge Sullivan is bourgeois logic at its most perverted! It is the State that has a whole history of relying on the method of threatening (and cajoling) people in order to procure the lies necessary to implicate Darnell in the shooting of this cop. Their own records indicate that in the '60s they investigated their officers for assaulting Gale Simmons, that they got unrelated charges on her boyfriend reduced, that in 1981 they harassed her for months, charging her with the murder of the cop — all to compel her to testify against Darnell. They brought Milford Scott up on a myriad of unrelated charges, which they dropped in exchange for him fingering Darnell. They promised to "put in a good word" for

Continued on page 12

Buttons now available!

Buttons available in bulk, \$18.00 a dozen, plus \$3.00 for postage. Pre-paid orders only please. Copies of the updated brochure available soon! Send checks and inquiries to:

Coalition to Free Darnell Summers!
2832 E. Grand Blvd. No. 324
Detroit, Michigan 48211
(313) 871-4616

Pick up the Gauntlet Stop the Raggedy Railroad



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



THE
SCIENCE OF
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.

There has been a crying need for a work that concisely yet rigorously brings together the fundamental revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought. Now, for the first time in a single volume there is a unique guide and bridge to the body of Marxist theory.

An essential work for the experienced activist, the beginning student of Marxism, or anyone seeking an understanding of the swirl and chaos of our time.

Revolution, as opposed to mere resistance, demands a scientific world outlook and analysis. *"The difference it can and does make lies in just what that resistance will accomplish: whether the slave chains will merely be rattled, or really shattered; whether the fortress of the old order will only be shaken, or new ground seized for the cause of emancipation; whether people will fight blindly (even if fiercely, for a while), or with head up and eyes fixed on the furthest horizon, prepared to win."*

252 pages

\$7.95 paper - ISBN 0-89851-036-8
\$15.95 cloth - ISBN 0-89851-035-X

RCP Publications,
P.O. Box 3486, Merchandise Mart
Chicago, Illinois 60654

To the RW:

The Seattle Chapter of Vietnam Veterans Against the War (AV) gets together to watch the Vietnam series on PBS and to rap about current political questions. Last week after the show we talked about this orgy of "patriotism to the death" that is being whipped up particularly off the bombing in Beirut and the invasion of Grenada. Here are some things I think need to be said and I'm going to draw on some of the points made by some of the brothers at the meeting.

Newsweek kind of summed it up, as they usually do. They said, "The Beirut bombing and the Grenada invasion came in a rush of conflicting images and emotions almost too sudden to absorb. A nation plunged into anguish at the slaughter of Marines in Lebanon awoke two days later to discover its troops were seizing control of a tiny island in the Caribbean. It was a week of both tragedy and triumph, a week when Americans were brought face to face with the consequences of being a superpower intent on using its military might to try and shape an unruly world." Needless to say this is some pretty disgusting and dangerous bullshit and I especially want to take this on because I was once a terrorist for U.S. imperialism trying to "shape an unruly world" into the aims and objectives of imperialism.

Right now they are trying to whip up patriotic sorrow for the marines killed in Beirut and patriotic pride in the marines in Grenada. The fact is, they are an occupying imperialist army carrying out strategic objectives of the U.S. bloc vis-à-vis the Soviets. And now in Beirut a bunch are dead. That's what happens when you go up against people fighting for freedom, you're going to get your head blown off and they've got a right to do it — just like they were right to shoot us in Vietnam. There's no difference — even if the situation in Beirut is more complex and you've got two imperialist blocs jockeying for position — it is still an occupying army. They want us to feel sorry, but, to me, any life lost — and it's a realization the Vietnamese taught me — anybody who dies fighting for the red, white and blue ain't shit — because it's wrong. But we're supposed to be "plunged into anguish" when some of these imperialist stormtroopers get their heads blown off? We're supposed to feel sorry for these gung-ho marines? The basis of gung-ho mentality, the bottom line of it, is racism, patriotism, machoism and something that makes you special 'cause you're born within the borders of this great "freedom and democracy." And when they roll the names of the dead on the TV screen, I'm outraged because they don't give a damn about the thousands of Palestinian people, Lebanese people, Syrian people, people of the whole Middle East, who have been slaughtered. Like the Vietnam memorial. Where's the 3 million Southeast Asian names? I thought one of the brothers at our meeting put this same point very sharply in another way: "During the Vietnam War they had antiwar protesters who would go to Washington, D.C. and they would read endless rolls of the U.S. dead. I never could get into that myself, because shortly after I got involved in protesting the war I realized that not only shouldn't the U.S. be in there but the Vietnamese should win. When I took this step, after that I couldn't get into this thing of reading the names of the war dead, the poor American boys who had been killed, as a form of protest. I think the memorial was the proof of the pudding. Now the same names are on that monument and they bring the school kids there to read the names and see the flag and tell them a story about how they served in a time of crisis. In the dark hour of gloom and when the country was divided, these guys fought and did their duty. And they encourage the next generation to go off and do their duty. Back during the Vietnam War I was rooting for the Vietnamese and so if I heard that they were taking a whipping, then I was bummed out, and when I heard the American forces had taken a licking, that cheered me up." I think what this brother is saying is important because what he's pointing out is that our class interests were on the side of the Vietnamese and we welcomed it when U.S. troops got their ass whipped. Today, the U.S. occupation in Lebanon is part of their preparations to go down against their Soviet social-imperialist rivals but

Vietnam Vets Write On

Deadly Chauvinism or "Chauvinism to the Death"

the point is that we have no interest in that war and we can't feel sorry if some imperialist troopers get offed 'cuz if we do we will end up siding with the people who sent them there.

Just look how they portray this stuff: with the president giving all these medals on the White House lawn and saying let's all be stone-hearted Marines, "These boys have just lost 250 brothers and they're still standing behind the sandbags." And talking about retaliation and upping their security and "we're gonna be bad." They say about the Palestinians or anyone who fights against them, "They don't fight fair," and "they are fanatics." I mean if an American soldier dies in a battle doing something wacko he gets a medal of honor. If someone who's fighting the U.S., French, Israeli troops occupying his country, sacrifices his life, they're acting crazy.

They got some nerve talking about fanatics or "senseless violence." They load these Rangers on an airplane for another training exercise and only halfway there do they tell them that it's not "training" it's the "real thing," that they're going to land on an island most of them have never heard of and kill anyone who tries to stop them. Telling them that if they get shot at, it will be by the "enemy." Any man, woman or child that resists must be a "terrorist, Cuban/Russian-inspired communist — enemy." That's all you need to know! And gung-ho or not, that's what the majority of U.S. troops think and accept as a fact. But this weekend one of the Rangers who was in Grenada was going through a lot of turmoil — a kid of 18 or 19. He asked us, "You mean to tell me I was on the wrong side?" And we got into objectively what role he was playing in these inter-imperialist war preparations. He was intense because he had done everything there based on the belief that he was acting in the best interests of America. He was right — what he didn't understand is that American interests are thoroughly reactionary. Finally a pig had to come over and take this guy by the arm. He told him, "You don't want to talk to these people." But the kid came back to continue to struggle around this stuff and the pig had to come over again to take him away.

I think this shows very starkly how terrified the rulers in this country are of their troops beginning to question in the least what they're doing in the world. Of course, we won't see this on the news, what we get is the *semper fi* syndrome. We've all seen it, a marine in a hospital who holds up a little card with the Marine Corps motto, *semper fi*. (That means "always faithful" chauvinism to the death.) And this makes me realize the fact that some human beings have never made the evolutionary leap from ape to man. I mean this guy gets blown up in a motel and a general comes and pins a medal on his chest and this guy is probably dead by now. That guy was *semper fi*, always faithful to the motherfuckers who sent him over there to commit murder and to further the interests of imperialism. In Vietnam these gung-ho types were treated like fools. There was this ROTC lieutenant. He got sent to 'Nam and he got this idea — you're supposed to walk down roads and the grunts said, "No way, Jack." This guy said, "You chickenshit motherfuckers," and he walked down the road. They named an LZ (Limited Zone) after him 'cuz he got blown away and that was a fine memorial for a gung-ho fool. Nobody felt sorry for him. A lot of guys that got killed people miss, but

not guys like that. People knew he'd got what he deserved.

And now they're talking about retaliation — it's not enough the thousands of people in the Middle East that these imperialists and their puppets in Israel have killed, it's not enough they oversaw the massacre of thousands of Palestinians in the refugee camps of Sabra and Shatilla. Last week in this Vietnam show they got into this big deal about these poor U.S. pilots that got shot down as if there was no reason for the Vietnamese to shoot these planes out of the sky. These planes were coming and blowing up hospitals, like in Grenada last week, blowing up schools, blowing up churches, blowing up military sites (very seldom) and trying time and time again — and what are they supposed to do? Wave at these planes? And these imperialist troops from the U.S., France, Italy — you know they are as the *RW* put it "Caught in the act, not caught in the middle." And now there is all this yelling to "Let the Marines do their job" as if they haven't, and "unleash them" as if they haven't been. Here I think the brother at the meeting made a very good point about these imperialist troops in Lebanon supposedly being "restrained." He said, "One of the things that has come up a lot around Beirut and Grenada both is the contrast between Beirut which seems like a Vietnam-type situation, a supposedly no-win, no-strategy situation compared to Grenada where they have an objective and achieved it easily. What I've been hearing a lot is this trip about the 'lesson of Vietnam' which is 'If you're gonna do something, do it right' or from lifers, 'If they'd only let us get out there and kick ass and take names, how do they expect to win a war when we are (and were in Vietnam) kept reined in.' 'How can we win a war if we don't get permission to slaughter them?' These are not the lessons I got out of Vietnam. I learned something about the nature of America, what were we doing there in the first place? Was this a bad foreign policy and an exception to the rule, or, as I found out, the rule. It really gets me — their lesson of we should have kicked ass and taken names — when I think on what we really did do in Vietnam. The whole thing about free-fire zones, or going out and defoliating people's crops, consciously trying to starve people into submission. Trying to drive people off the land. Trying to drive them into the cities so they were more controllable, so their ties were broken, out to destroy the whole social fabric of that society as a strategy for winning the war. Driving people into the so-called strategic hamlets, surrounded by barbed wire with the guns facing in, and that was supposed to protect them from the enemy. That's nothing but a concentration camp in my book. Then these dogfaces say, 'Gosh, we half-stepped. We have really got to be brutal.'" In other words, the U.S. did do everything short of *nuking* them to try and win that war — but maybe that is exactly the message — if conventional warfare doesn't work, then we are just going to have to nuke their asses. In Lebanon "unleashing" the Marines means sitting on top of a hill and watching the unleashing of terror from chemical warfare to bullets, bombs and the guns of the *New Jersey*. Walking in and knowing that nothing can be alive after the hell you have just unleashed on it. It means going in and killing anything that is alive and standing there and proclaiming a tremendous victory to be upheld by America. And after you unleash this hell, you

receive fire, and you think nothing else is alive and you walk in and you see this 12-year-old kid running away and you blow him away. If you take a prisoner, you kick him around, you do anything in the world to dead bodies, you rip the fucking patch off your shoulder and put an M-16 round through it and you stamp it into their forehead — that's what you're supposed to do. And that is what these gung-ho types did in 'Nam. They took C-4 and made it into the shape of a dildo and they shoved it up a woman's vagina and blew her up. Mass rapings of women, 200 men taking a woman and raping her. They were the people who wore ears. And that was one of the things that makes you go over behind a tree and puke your guts out and say Fuck This Shit. This is what imperialism unleashed on the people of Vietnam, has unleashed in Beirut, and has unleashed on whole sections of the world and *will use* again and again to preserve and defend their holy empire.

As another brother at the VVAW(AI) meeting said, "It's a fact that quite a few guys who went to 'Nam started off as the John Wayne type like they saw in *Sands of Iwo Jima* and the fact is when they came face to face with an armed people and the fact that they would not be able to carry out what they had seen on the screen — the real world said these people are not just gonna fall over for you. Myself, when I went over there, I was not a John Wayne type, not even close to it — stupid, yes — but it was a fact that after going through a scene like that for a few weeks, I started to ask a very dangerous question and that is: Why? Why am I here? What is going on here? The Vietnamese people had every right in the world to kill me because of what I was there for. Now I did come back alive so now I have the duty not only to expose what I did then but also to expose what they are trying to do now.

"One of the things I was really struck by when they started to roll the names of the many killed in Beirut is how all this is to prepare people for when it will be days and days and days that it will take to roll the names of the dead. This is part of their prewar planning here. And it's been more than just this last couple of weeks. It's been this past several months with 007 being shot out of the sky, the bombing in Beirut and on and on and what it has brought home to quite a few people is that the time when the U.S. and the USSR will go down to war is near. And they are preparing for that time."

And so we are supposed to either get in the patriotic mood (and all that represents) or we are to step aside and say nothing. And at the end of the meeting, one of the brothers made a very important point. He had just been to see a movie about nuclear war, and in this movie there is no anger, no one does anything to oppose it, they just accept all the misery it brings. And the point he felt about the movie was not so much that it promoted people just accepting things, but that it basically promoted a line that, well, if nuclear war is this horrible, then maybe we should strike first. Better them get it than the U.S. And this is a very liberal sentiment and not just your gung-ho types. And this is part of the message they are putting out today.

The stakes are clear and the imperialists are fighting desperately to set the terms. "Put your hand on your heart and prepare to die." America needs you. We've seen the coffins of 300 marines who have answered this call and undoubtedly we will see many more. But the truth is if we shed one tear or fall for one bit of this flagwaving, *semper fi* bullshit we'll inevitably wind up on the side of imperialism.

I personally was not a full-blown patriot when I joined the army in 1969. But I did feel I had a stake in America. Because of this I participated in an unjust genocidal war against an oppressed nation of people. The terms of what they're preparing for this time are world war but the answer is the same. We have no stake at all in defending this country, and this time, when they have everything on the line, and they're squeezing every ounce of patriotism they can, our reply is: Fuck You. To hell with their national honor. World revolution, not world war.

A member of VVAW(AI)
Seattle Chapter



OVERRO MOTHE

by Bob

Intellectuals

People who disagree with us about a number of important things but are willing to stand up with and support us in the face of this outrageous attack on a revolutionary organization* and take a stand against that — on that basis we have to struggle to try to win them over to standing with proletarian ideology and uniting with it. But it is going to be a long-term struggle. Lenin said that you have to overthrow and expropriate the bourgeoisie and that is a big struggle, but it is a relatively simple struggle compared to remolding the petty bourgeoisie. That is a long-term struggle, and, as he said, we cannot just crush them. We have to learn to live with them, at the same time struggling to remold them.

So in terms of overthrowing the bourgeoisie and building a united movement to accomplish that as well as the immediate question of the case (of the Mao Tsetung Defendants) before us, it is important to learn how to work among these people. And in the long-term, it is also going to be important to learn how to work among, unite with, but also struggle with them and remold them. A lot of times I think a lot of us are a little reluctant to do that and start coming up with some sectarian reason for not doing it because, frankly, it is hard to go out and argue with these intellectuals. They have done a lot of their own reading, developed a lot of their own theories, and think that they have things together. They are not intimidated by other people who have ideas. We have to learn how to struggle with them, too. We also have to learn how to draw them in and enable them to make a contribution to the struggle, even while we are battling with them on the question of ideology.

Reception following Speech in Washington, D.C.

Why Can't We Make Revolution Right Now?

Woman: This guy I know wanted to ask this question but he was chicken to come up here, so I had to try and figure it out for him.

Bob Avakian: Why is he afraid to come up here?

Woman: I don't know. He has this thing about being a general in the army and not needing to talk to you. But anyway, his line is something that you talked about a little bit in your speech. He is so fighting angry that he just wants to tear everything up. So he asks, you know, "Why can't we just get five hundred people in each city and go tear everything up now? Let's get down with it." But the point is, how to struggle with him to see that the masses have to make revolution because it is not going to last unless they do it. You cannot give people like him blind faith.

Bob Avakian: The problem with five hundred people now is that at the present time in every major city the police forces are already bigger than that. You know, if we did do something like that, we could probably get that number, then some more people would come forward, and we could probably hold out for a week — I'm serious. Then we would be wiped out and the struggle of the proletariat would be set back for years because there would be nobody, or only a few people around to pick up and go on. People would be demoralized, they would not understand it. They would say, "Well, these people went out and tried to make revolution and look what happened." It would probably be another ten or twenty years before we got up to the level we are now on. That would realistically mean throwing away an opportunity that might come a few years from now and I don't think we can afford to do that. This is too serious.

I think everybody would like to go for it now, but you cannot lose patience. You have to wait — now, that does not mean wait "patiently" — it means we work like hell. There will also be a big struggle and I am sure that the party will have a split when it comes to the question of actually struggling to recognize that the time has come to launch the armed struggle. There will undoubtedly be some people who say, "No! It's not time yet," and they will have fifty rationalizations and excuses for saying that. So you are bound to have a big struggle over that question. But I think it is rather clear that now is too early. As I said, we could probably hold out for a week and a lot of people would dig it. It would be written down in books and people would remember it and say, "Those people were right on." But we would still lose and then people would not see any chance of winning. That would be bad.

Woman: I think he sees that, on the one hand. But on the other hand, he can-

*This refers to the case of the Mao Tsetung Defendants.

Letters from Readers

A Voice That Must Be Heard

The following letters, from readers of the RW, speak to the urgency of the defense of the revolutionary leadership of Bob Avakian in the face of the international imperialist moves to suppress him, stifle his contributions, and silence his voice.

To the RW:

In recent times Bob Avakian's leadership has come under attack by both revisionist groups and reactionary forces from the U.S. and its little capitalist cousin, France. What I would like to do is to present my case for affirming Bob's leadership and outline its importance to the party and the overall revolutionary movement. I'd like to meet these objectives by concretely identifying three areas that validate my stance. First, the continuous presence of proletarian internationalism. In a time of national chauvinism, reactionary rhetoric on the right and social democracy and revisionism on the "left," Bob's continuous struggle internally and with those outward forces has been one of analyzing in and projecting of the proletarian internationalist line. It is precisely because of his concrete presentation of this line that he is the leader of the RCP and the reason why the RCP is where it is today. Because of his insistence on carrying the proletarian line through revolution, the RCP stands out as a beacon to the advanced and the oppressed of both this society and the world which is littered with leftist and opportunist revisionism. Second, Bob Avakian's objective and balanced leadership. The more I read of his

writings and hear him, the more I am convinced that Bob's objective leadership has allowed the revolutionary line to remain intact. In movements today the leadership tends to obscure the relationship between persona and content. A good example of this is Castro in Cuba. By total contrast, Chairman Avakian understands the contradictions and the subjective use of persona over content. Instead of utilizing this to bring forth self-aggrandizement he chooses instead to unleash new revolutionary forces in an effort to bring balanced leadership to the advanced. This is both a significant and distinct point for the advanced to grasp. This contribution should not and cannot be overlooked when evaluating his leadership. Objectivity is the key idea in utilizing Marxist-Leninist analysis of class struggle. Chairman Avakian, because of his clear and concrete understanding of the science of Marxist-Leninist thought, has put both the party in its present unrivaled position and produced the necessary leadership in these most critical and sharpening of times. Third and lastly, probably Bob's most important contribution which demands the continuity of his leadership is the concreteness, specificity and soundness of his oral and written work whether it is his analysis of human nature or the struggle of ideas in "Communists Are Rebels," his historical analysis of the revisionism of Stalin in *Conquer the World?* or his specific objectives outlined in "Coming From Behind" — what stands out is the specific and concrete

Continued on page 17

This article is the third in a series 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.

RULE THIS, BASTARD BASTARD

Bob Avakian

not see that people are ever going to do anything. You know, he sees it as the same old thing of "I live in a project and people are just laying around, and here you are talking about revolution with millions of people."

Bob Avakian: Frankly, for millions of people that will be what they do until maybe a few weeks before they pick up a gun. Most people are just trying to survive — that is the so-called freedom you get in this country. They do everything to you and you try and survive it. Most people are not even politically awake. They are going through life like zombies, maybe hating it. But let's face it — maybe hundreds of thousands or even a few million are to some degree politically aware, and more and more are becoming aware and active in one way or another — but most people will not get active until maybe a few months before the whole thing comes to a boiling point. We have to understand that and maximize everything we can. And we cannot lose patience because even a lot of these middle-class people out here are going to have to be at least neutralized, be at least passively sympathetic, or else we are not going to be able to win. And isn't that what we want — to be able to win? I do not like to wait any more than your friend does, I'm sure, but that isn't the question. The question is how to win because we are talking about history and a whole future in front of us. If it takes a few more years to actually win, we should do that and not try to seize power a little bit early and by doing so, set it all back for twenty years.

Reception following Speech
in Cincinnati, Ohio

Guns and Bloodshed

Interviewer: In the advertisements for your speech here in Seattle it says that you are a party that is not only willing to die but to kill for revolution. Why the emphasis on violence at a point in your party's development when you are not able to mount a meaningful May Day demonstration yet?

Bob Avakian: We have held meaningful May Day demonstrations, we just have not yet been able to have one on May First (when it is a working day) — not until this year. But what that quote says is this, and this is exactly what we mean and I think it is important to understand: crisis is deepening, storms are brewing, the system is sinking deeper into its own decay, world war is on the horizon. The only way to prevent this is revolution. The ruling class knows this and that's why they are attacking us. That's why they want to stomp out revolution. As the conditions sharpen up and millions of people are, as they will be, propelled into motion over the years ahead, we are going to be in their midst. That statement you quoted says: when it gets to the point where millions and millions and millions of people say, "I would rather die than live under this thing any longer" — then we are going to say, "Well, let's not only die, let's go out and kill, let's take up arms, let's make revolution because that's what is necessary. We are not going to be able to get rid of this thing unless you rise up in arms with the force of millions of people united around a common aim and a common program led by our party and overthrow it. That's the only way."

Interviewer: Do you think that a lot of people have that perspective now? It seems to me that the implication of your advertising your speech in that way is that there are a lot of people now who believe in revolution, who are looking for a party that is serious about revolution. My perception of the American people at this point is certainly that they are not at all interested in revolution and that they therefore are not at all looking for a party that is most serious about revolution. It seems like a curious way to advertise yourself.

Bob Avakian: Right now, today, there are millions of people who will welcome the time when things have developed to the point where they can join with others to take up guns to do away with their oppressors. That, I am convinced, is the truth. If you walk around out here, not only in Seattle but around the country the way our party does every day working among the people, there are literally millions of people who do feel that way, people who tell us all the time, "Listen, when you get to the point where you are taking up guns to do it, let me know and I'll be there." And most of those people mean it. They hate this system.

Interviewer: In your earlier (May Day, 1979) speech that I listened to, there is a tremendous emphasis on guns and bloodshed. In fact, at one point in that speech you make fun of the press for always concentrating on your rhetoric about guns and bloodshed, guns and bloodshed, and finally you say, "Okay, that's what we are about. We are about guns and bloodshed." And you go on to explain as you just did here. Doesn't that attract to your party mainly people who are interested in guns and bloodshed?

Bob Avakian: It does attract people who are interested in guns and bloodshed, but who are interested in that in order to throw off this oppression, not just people who want to join the NRA (National Rifle Association) or something like that. It is people who want to get rid of this oppression. Let's take Iran, right? Now their revolution is not thoroughly completed, but you did have an armed uprising there. People went out for weeks and months unarmed. They went out and got shot down, ten thousand in Tehran in one day alone. Why?

Because they said, "This is intolerable. I can't put up with it one more day. I would rather go out and be shot down." The way they felt is the way we feel and the way more and more people are feeling.

Interviewer: You don't feel revolution is possible without a mass uprising and civil war which is a very difficult step for people to take, to get to that point where, as you are saying, they would rather die than go on with the society as it exists. Your analysis of countries that have had revolution, however, is that capitalism has been restored in the Soviet Union; capitalism is in the process of being restored in China; Cuba is a colony of the Soviet Union, more or less, as is Eastern Europe; Vietnam and Cambodia are fighting each other, and so forth. Why should people follow you when you are asking them to go to the point of civil war in this country to create a revolution like ones that you yourself say have been betrayed where they have occurred elsewhere?

Bob Avakian: There are two things to look at here. One thing is that you have to take what we are asking them to do and put it up against what the capitalist class is asking them to do, which is to fight and die for nothing except in their reactionary purpose so that these capitalists can beat out the Russian capitalists to plunder more in the world. They are going to drag us into guns and violence anyway, that was another thing I pointed out in that speech. It is very likely that they are going to shoot off nuclear weapons in the next war. The second point is that we are talking about an unprecedented process in history where the masses of people consciously rise up and fight in their own interests to abolish every kind of exploitation and oppression and every class distinction. Can we expect that it is all going to be smooth sailing?

Interviewer: You are calling on people to give up their lives in a civil war for a revolution that is not going to bear fruit until the twenty-second century?

Bob Avakian: We are not guaranteeing them any cheap and easy guarantee of no setbacks and no reversals. There is no such thing. But we are saying that we can learn from the setbacks, that tremendous achievements have been made. Just as Marx said about the Paris Commune, he said even if it is drowned in blood — which it was — its principles and the light it shined toward the future would be eternal. That is what we believe about what the working class was able to do in Russia over several decades and in China, especially through the Cultural Revolution. We believe the victory of the working class is just as inevitable as it ever was, but that also inevitably it is going to involve a very complex and twisted process of struggle.

Public TV, "Newsmakers" program,
Seattle, Washington

The People Will Have The Final Say

There was a letter in our newspaper, the *Revolutionary Worker*, from one of our supporters or members, I'm not sure which, who was out selling our paper. He came into contact with an eighty-year-old worker from Eastern Europe who was around at the time of the Russian Revolution. This worker went to Hungary where the workers and oppressed people rose up and created a Soviet (a workers' form of government) for six months until it was drowned in blood. He had seen the Russian Revolution and seen it betrayed. He had seen the Chinese Revolution and seen it betrayed. He had seen all this in eighty years. He knew about the Paris Commune, the first revolution where our class, the working class, rose up and for two heroic months held power in its hands, began to suppress the capitalist class and prevent it from exploiting the people, and began to eliminate all the evils and madness that we take for granted as daily life in what they call the greatest of all possible systems. He knew about all this and he had seen eighty years of revolutions going forward and then being set back and reversed.

And what was his attitude? Cynicism? Despair? Any of that? No! — full of optimism! He himself put it this way: "The people will have the final say!" All his experience convinced him more and more that capitalism was indeed a dying system with no future. He had seen revolutions set back, yes, but each time he had seen people surge forward and reach even greater heights, coming forward and drawing from the lessons of the past, and on that basis moving forward and pushing the struggle ahead. This taught a deep lesson to me and to other people I know. Sometimes, even on the basis of ten or twelve years of experience in the revolutionary movement, if we want to be honest, all of us at times get a little bit of this feeling: "Damn, we struggle and we struggle and yet here is China and it goes backward." Although we understand it, although we have a scientific understanding and draw the lessons, still here is somebody who has been around for eighty years and has been a conscious revolutionary for sixty or so, not ten or twelve, and he has seen many more reversals and setbacks than we have seen but he still has that confidence and knowledge based on scientific appreciation and analysis that revolution is bound to go forward: that indeed, we, the oppressed people, the working class of the world will have the final say!

Excerpt, Speech in Honolulu, Hawaii

First Strike, Rapid Strike

Continued from page 5

weapons, along with those of France, have been the favorite diplomatic football of the Geneva talks — it is the given "reason for the stalemate" on both sides — and as such might be expected to be a source of protest and pressure within Britain — after all isn't that how a pluralistic society works? Instead, it's as if these formidable weapons don't exist! Moreover, the British (and French) intend to expand these forces *eightfold* within the next few years, replacing the older Polaris with the far more accurate, first-strike Trident, thus even more fully integrating the British weaponry into the overall NATO force structure and war plans.

So there is, it must be said, a blatant lack of protest against British imperialism. Noticeably absent has been the spirit of the group of women from Greenham Commons who, during a parade welcoming back British soldiers from the Falklands, turned their backs in protest (an act for which they were roughly beaten). At least, if there are such expressions, say among the youth or other rebellious parts of society, they are not being reported. Instead, much of the debate has been made to turn on the fact that the decision to launch the cruise missiles from England is in the hands of the U.S., known as a "one-key" system. Labor Party spokesmen have ominously questioned whether the U.S. "can be trusted" with control of the missiles, and asked whether the British shouldn't have the option to decide to fire their own missiles "if necessary." Such a debate about which country should have the right to pull the nuclear trigger on the Russians doesn't exactly smash at the foundations of British society.

But more than this even, the one-key system was established by NATO as a whole, not just at the recent whim of the U.S., in the original decision taken in 1979. Two-key, or joint control, was considered but rejected because it would have the effect of establishing the European powers as co-responsible with the U.S. for the missiles, an excellent argument for including the Europeans at negotiations. The Europeans, you see, were to be kept away from the talks because, first, this would draw the French and British missiles into the discussions, and second, because politically, as seems clear, the

U.S. was to play the nuclear cowboy on the world diplomatic stage while the European governments were to concentrate on building domestic public opinion for "going along" — or as it became in some countries later, "dragged along" — with the U.S. on the deployment. In other words, there has been a planned division of labor between the U.S. and European powers in the missile campaign, which set-up in fact allowed for a "debate" on how the launch key should be held.

The appearance of the missiles in Great Britain is clearly intended as a preliminary for the main bout, the deployment in West Germany which, according to some sources, could begin early next week. On the 21st, the West German Bundestag meets to give final approval to the deployment, at which time are scheduled the next round of mass demonstrations in West Germany. An early deployment by the U.S. (assuming that the missiles have not already been secreted into the country) would be yet a further step on the current U.S. war roll.

Here, another report from Britain helps us understand why this most bellicose war buildup is justified. *Jane's Defense Review* — a periodical only a hair's breadth removed from the British military establishment — published a story on Wednesday even as the deployments proceeded at Greenham Commons. It seems that the Soviets have developed a nefarious new weapon, one which could be launched from a submarine right off England's coast and hit targets on land. One which would not be detectable and could be used as a first-strike weapon; called the SSN-X-21, it is a Soviet... cruise missile! Actually, the SSN-X-21 has been known about and mentioned in the daily press for some months. The timing of this "surprise" revelation has obviously to do with current events. The point is: for these imperialists right in progress on deploying their own weapons of unprecedented destruction and accuracy, to accuse their rivals of the same crime, this takes nerve! But it is the deadly logic of which both sides will continue to justify their political need to go to war — and plainly in matters of such propaganda, as well as in military hardware, the British imperialists want to be right up there in the forefront. □

Mitty-ish daydreams," which would produce large-scale nightmares in the minds of the authorities, making it increasingly harder for them to push this railroad on as Darnell's lawyers and his supporters have worked to uncover and tear at all the machinations and motivations of the State. The State has shown *not only* their determination to get a guilty verdict on Darnell and on everything that his experience and life concentrates — they have *also* shown some of the problems they have in actually carrying through and getting that verdict. The pre-trial process has turned out to be far more protracted than they originally intended.

No End To Concocting

At this point, the case stands at the Michigan Supreme Court, the highest court in the state. (In July, the Michigan Court of Appeals summarily turned down Darnell's application for a pre-trial appeal before that court.) Counsel for Darnell is demanding that the Michigan Supreme Court review two issues and reverse the judge's rulings on them — one is the denial of the defense motion to dismiss the case for violation of the right to speedy trial and the other is the denial of the name of the informant. In what position does this appeal put the State? The State is now defending the whole long and stinking history of this political persecution, in the '60s and in the '80s, upholding in particular all the outrageous rulings that Judge Sullivan made this year as "totally correct," fighting against the defense getting these reconsidered on appeal, asserting again and again that "this Defendant merits absolutely no relief." What's more, in the course of this appeal process, they have had to sharpen their knives and *further develop* their railroad.

Perhaps the most blatantly vicious and totally threadbare of all of Sullivan's rulings, and the one that the prosecution has worked hardest to prettify and protect, is the ruling concerning speedy trial. Judge Sullivan refused to dismiss the charge against Darnell on the grounds that his right to speedy trial and due process of law were violated — despite the fact that the state is bringing Darnell to trial more than 14 years after the alleged crime, which was an absolutely unprecedented length of time. Despite the fact the "delay" (as they call it!) resulted in what is known as *prejudice* to Darnell's ability to defend himself against the charge — that is: the car the cop was allegedly driving at the time he was shot was destroyed by police; Milford Scott's letter to the prosecutor admitting that his testimony was false was "lost"; two witnesses for Darnell have died. Despite the fact that the prosecutors failed to produce any justification whatsoever for their deliberate 14-year delay in the course of a lengthy speedy trial hearing, and that the judge ruled that this delay was *justified* because, he said, in 1969, "The prosecutor had no case with which to proceed. The only evidence available was gone. Now that Milford Scott again says he's willing to testify, that evidence is available."

A month later, the same judge found that the same delay in charging Gale Simmons in the murder of the same Red Squad cop was *not justified* and did violate her right to speedy trial and dismissed her case! In dismissing Gale's case the judge said, "I've located cases of five years, of six years, but I've been unable to locate a case of 14 years." No case of 14 years, *ever* — except in the case of Darnell Summers, a revolutionary internationalist, whose charge this same judge had just refused to dismiss!

As the lawyers for Darnell have fought to get the Michigan Supreme Court to review Sullivan's speedy trial ruling and terminate these proceedings altogether, the prosecutor has argued that the Court needn't even *consider* the defense's arguments on this subject, but, rather, should just reject out of hand the request to have the issue reviewed because, they claim, the defense is somehow raising a new issue or new arguments. This is laughable — as anyone familiar with this case knows the issue of speedy trial has been a focal point in the entire legal battle to free Darnell and was raised earlier to the Court of Appeals. Indeed, the following legal organizations have informed the Supreme Court of Michigan that they will file amicus briefs supporting Darnell's position on this issue, if the Court grants the defense a hearing: The American

Civil Liberties Union, the National Conference of Black Lawyers, the Center for Constitutional Rights, the National Lawyers Guild, the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee and the Bill of Rights Foundation. As Judge Sullivan so aptly, if unintentionally, put it at one point in the speedy trial ruling, "The question of credibility may prove to be insurmountable."

At this point, it is not totally clear *exactly how* the prosecutor (with a little help from his friends) is further developing their railroad of Darnell through this appeal. One thing that does seem to be afoot thus far, however, is "step four" in the process of manufacturing evidence of threats on witnesses. That is, having gotten a real ruling from a real judge that "...14 years ago, threats to murder witnesses cooperating with the police were made," the prosecutor is now madly running up and down the Appeals Courts of the State, quoting the judge's ruling all over the place. Further, the prosecutor not only argues that "the trial court's concern is a valid one," but goes on to cite a number of legal cases where defendants had actually been tried and convicted of murdering witnesses! Concocting and more concocting! First their stupid lies are legitimized in secret hearing by the judge and this then becomes the new "evidence" for the prosecutor to freely make vicious innuendo by citing such cases and raising the State's concocting to new levels. And then, the prosecutor turns around and tells us in his very next brief that law enforcement agencies are not concocting evidence against Darnell!

This summer, the lower Court of Appeals obliged the prosecutor and refused to reconsider Sullivan's ruling denying the informant's name on the basis of a danger to the informant. Should the Michigan Supreme Court do the same, the prosecutor will no doubt use this as a backhanded approval (and green light), albeit a pitiful one, from the higher courts for the fabrication of evidence of threats on witnesses. Approval through the front door in the form of a formal decision from an Appeals Court upholding Sullivan's ruling could only come after consideration of another round of briefs and oral arguments by Darnell's lawyers attacking Sullivan's ruling, which would focus more attention on this issue than they think is wise, apparently, judging from the way the Court of Appeals earlier refused to reconsider the ruling.

The Supreme Court of Michigan has not yet ruled on Darnell's application for appellate review and, ultimately, a resolution which ends this case once and for all. Instead, the court has asked to be furnished with transcripts of the speedy trial hearing held last year. The trial date in the Wayne County Circuit Court has been postponed until January 23, 1984, while these transcripts are being prepared and considered. The political punishment of Darnell Summers must be turned around on them! Now is the time to heighten our political offensive. Class-conscious proletarians and progressive people have work to do to overturn this railroad *now*, before this case ever reaches trial.

The Coalition to Free Darnell Summers is currently circulating The Statement in Opposition to the Railroad of Darnell Summers as part of stepping up the political offensive. The statement is to be printed as a major ad in a Detroit newspaper the second week of December. The cost of placing this ad is \$6,000, and contributions are urgently needed. To obtain copies of this statement, brochures, or buttons, contact the Coalition to Free Darnell Summers. Call (313) 871-4616 or write to 2832 Grand Boulevard, Room 324, Detroit, Michigan 48211.

**Pick up the Gauntlet!
Free Darnell Summers!**

The State's Wild Concoctions

Continued from page 7

Scott at the parole board. Then these experts in terror tactics have the goddamn nerve to turn around again and again and point a finger at Darnell, his supporters, and the revolutionary internationalist trend supposedly for threatening witnesses. This is an integral part of *their* case. How the hell else can the prosecution try to get over with concocted evidence except by concocting more evidence — evidence of threats on their witnesses which they can conveniently claim is the cause of their witnesses flipping and flopping every which way? Their efforts to demonstrate a nonexistent potential harm to this informant are totally wide of the mark in a case where the informant's information would hurt *only* the prosecution, and where frankly it is a matter of record that the only witnesses that have turned up dead in this case were Carl James and Turhan Lewis, two witnesses for Darnell! But Judge Sullivan (who has been only too happy to deny every one of the motions by the defense challenging the prosecutor's frameup of Darnell based on coerced and cajoled lies) has the nerve to deny the name of this informant because of a nonexistent potential for harm from the defense.

In stark contrast to their whole bourgeois *modus operandi*, but this is the twisted style of their class. Darnell's defense efforts have relied on politically exposing the transparencies of the State's supposed criminal case, revealing the political motivations that stand behind it, and building public opposition to the railroad. It is *this* that the prosecution

fears from the defense and they damn well admit as much too, in a backhanded way, when what they have targeted as "threats" in their open hearings are in reality letters of support for Darnell from around the world, a crowd at the airport in West Germany protesting Darnell's extradition, and an article in the *Revolutionary Worker* politically exposing this case for the railroad that it is.

While their purposely heavy handed attempts to create a distorted image of Darnell and his supporters has undoubtedly caused the neanderthal-types to salivate, for many others such blatant distortions raised more questions than they answered and engendered the conviction that the authorities are indeed pursuing this case for highly political reasons. Could it be that what the prosecution is gnashing their teeth over in this quote from their reply and in the appeal generally is the fact that their whole rotten "case" has been thoroughly exposed at three levels of the Michigan courts? They whine about "deviant daydreams" and "unsupported allegations" only because such things are beginning to seriously infect others — from all over Detroit and from all walks of life. They are painfully aware that what they claim is "only in the mind of the defendant" is only in the minds of all these people and many more — revolutionary nationalists and a wide range of progressive Black individuals and groups; Vietnam veterans in Seattle, Washington; punks in Cleveland, Ohio; large numbers of proletarians from Turkey living in Germany; and many more. They fear an epidemic of "Walter

This article by Bob Avakian appeared recently in RW No. 227, but we are re-printing it this week because of the wide discussion of nuclear war bound to be provoked by the ABC TV show, "The Day After," scheduled to air Sunday night, November 20.

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

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

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

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

Survivalism

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

World War Must Be Opposed With Revolution, Not Peace

by Bob Avakian

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

Narrow Thinking

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

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

What is Needed

What is needed, what is urgently demanded in opposition to all this, is a

Continued on page 19

THIS IS ESSENTIALLY CORRECT BUT NOT LITERALLY CORRECT

THEY DO FANCY THAT THERE ARE OTHER WAYS...

QUITE TRUE

SOUTHERN HEMISPHERE

Three Brief Reports

They're Preparing and So Are We

In response to the U.S. invasion of Grenada, the explosive situation in Lebanon and the underlying acceleration of the moves toward world war between the U.S.-led imperialist bloc and their Soviet counterparts, the party together with class-conscious proletarians and other revolutionary-minded and progressive forces have leapt into the swirl of widespread debate and protest. Essential and central to this has been the increased distribution and wielding of the RW as part of intensifying preparations for revolution. The following are a few brief reports on just a few of the ways that the party together with others are responding to the situation.

Seattle: In light of recent developments, a broad spectrum of political forces are actively building for a teach-in, "Preventing Nuclear War and the Way Forward," which is meeting with widespread interest throughout the area. The teach-in is scheduled for November 22 (7 p.m. at C.A.M.P. Firehouse in Seattle) and features as speakers: Sherry Klink (Greenpeace*), Charles Meconis (Seattle Religious Peace Action Coalition*) and a representative of the Revolutionary Communist Party. In addition to the panelists, the event has been endorsed by VVAW (A-I); Abraham Keller (Educators for Social Responsibility*) and Scott Smith (Physicians for Social Responsibility*). The leaflet being circulated for the teach-in poses crucial questions confronting those who are agonizing over the prospect of world war and what to do to prevent its outbreak — how to analyze and assess the situation in the world from the Geneva arms negotiations to revolutionary struggles in oppressed nations and their relationship to escalating moves towards war; who are friends and enemies in this situation; and what are possible ways forward, posing varying answers — elections; powerful peace movement; civil disobedience; revolution — what are the responsibilities of those living in the U.S.? As the leaflet for the teach-in concludes: "These are tumultuous times. What we understand and therefore what we will do will affect world history in profound ways."

* * * * *

San Francisco: In responding to the party's call to expand the distribution of the RW, a team went to a neighboring city in the Bay Area where there is a high concentration of Black proletarians and where recently political unrest brews among the masses there around police brutality in the neighborhood.

They started agitation and selling the RW in one of the busy shopping centers where the proletariat congregates and immediately lots of interest and attention was stirred up. There was a very broad outrage against the invasion, particularly the fact that the U.S. imperialists deployed so much armed force in crushing such a small oppressed country. But more than that, there was a very intense apprehension of what this invasion signifies — certain escalation towards world war between two superpowers. Some proletarians reported that they already sensed something big in the making during the 007 airliner incident, but at that time they thought also it was mainly a big propaganda bluff to try to line people up to go down with the Soviets for a war somewhat more distant in the future. This round around Grenada cleared some of their illusions. One Black youth

(* listed for identification purposes only)

reported that lots of them are worrying about the draft and already, even among their relatives or friends, quite a few are in the U.S. army stationed in different parts of the world, especially Europe. Another youth who just got discharged from the army said that during the recent bombing of the U.S. marines in Lebanon he received repeated phone calls from the army to re-enlist.

While there was more a grasp of the urgency of the world situation and the reality of the question of world war, particularly among the youth, another question inevitably and repeatedly came up: Is there a way out of all this, is there a way to stop world war? Debate largely centered around this question, and some advanced expressed their angry frustration that today there are only a small number of people ready to go for revolution but most are still relatively inactive.

Amidst discussion and debate, dozens of RWs, together with several bundles went out.

In Silicon Valley — the surface calm and the daily sweatshop grind of two electronics plants was broken one week ago when RW sellers went into the parking lots during lunch break to expose the U.S. invasion of Grenada and engage in discussion with workers over the real stakes involved in the invasion — World War 3. These workers — many of them "illegals" — are on the lowest rung in the electronics industry working for minimum wage or just a little above, soldering parts and making chips to be sold to larger plants. Groupings of Mexican electronics workers listened earnestly and took up *Revolutionary Worker* papers as they grew more disgusted at the hypocrisy of U.S. imperialism. This provoked further questions — What is the link between the deployment of missiles in Europe and the events around the 007 issue and now this blatant invasion of Grenada? What is the road forward out of this horror? Is there a chance that we can make revolution before the outbreak of war? One Mexican guy pointed to the front page article on Grenada and called some of his friends over. He said that this is another bloody crime of the U.S. imperialists — we can't be silent about this outrage! He also mentioned that he had been politically active in Mexico and participated in demonstrations in Guadalajara and was happy to hear that there had just been a demonstration of about 1,000 people against the invasion of Grenada near the University of Mexico. He told his friends to get the paper and use it to expose these maneuvers by the U.S. and awaken others to the reality of what was behind all these lies about how the U.S. had to go in there to save "American" lives. Following this, he asked a question: "Now tell me — what were the Cubans doing there anyway?" Are they there helping out the Grenadan masses or are they the same as the U.S. marines? He commented that he'd always thought that Cuba is a socialist society — but now he's got questions about that. At another plant, another younger Mexican worker flipped through the pages of the RW as the focus of the discussion more honed in on the importance of seizing on events just like these to accelerate preparations for revolution and what kind of responsibility rests on the shoulders of proletarians — especially living in the belly of the beast. To this, he responded: "Yes, I do see that I have a responsibility." He then took up a bundle of papers and indicated greater interest in discussing the only "realistic" solution and the program for attaining that goal.

Several days later the sellers went into a residential area in Silicon Valley, hoping to find more electronics workers. If one enters into this area for the first time, he would think that he was in Tiajuana. A mile-long strip of boarded up apartments, along mud-filled pavement instead of sidewalks, and within these apartments live hundreds of families of Mexican "illegal" workers. By the time the sellers arrived there in the morning half the people were out. Among those who stayed, they found Mexican workers who labored in various low-paid, most dangerous jobs at different industries, including electronics. People were very enthusiastic in receiving the RW, outraged by the invasion but more than that, very anxious to dig into the possibility of revolution. In general, they viewed this invasion as more a step towards world war by two superpowers and viewed the Soviet Union as the same as the U.S. It was interesting to note that there was not the same demoralization over the setback of revolution in Central America as compared to sentiments among the Central Americans. Instead there was a strong urgent desire that revolution will come — but more spontaneously. More than 50 RWs were sold in a small area. As the sellers got into the question of preparation, some bundles of RWs were gotten out to those who wanted to get into this question more.

* * * * *

Los Angeles: The U.S. invasion of Grenada jolted many thousands in the Damián García Park area of Los Angeles. In households, on streetcorners, immigrant proletarians gasped in outrage. Some, like an older advanced proletarian said they felt like kicking in the TV at the news. At the same time, many serious questions were raised about what the invasion represented and the prospects in today's world for the revolutionary struggle for the proletariat and oppressed masses. American patriotism and chauvinism was being served up every night on the news; reactionary Cubans, a large number rumored to have recently been brought to the Damián García Park area from Miami, leapt out with their condemnation of the Soviets and Cuba; evangelists quickly added Grenada as a topic in their sermons to underscore that God is (and Central America ought to be) on the side of the U.S. imperialists; revisionists in the area urged further support for the Soviet brand of "liberation" as the only way forward. Some of the advanced proletarians in the area sought out the party and asked, "How do we respond?" "What shall we do?" "We must respond in a way that is more than normal."

On Sunday, November 6th the RCP and advanced proletarians called a rally under the slogans: "U.S. Imperialism, Get Your Bloody Hands Off Grenada and Lebanon," and "World Revolution, Not World War," raising up the red flag of the international proletariat. Even before the scheduled 1 p.m. rally, hot debate was spilling over between the upholders and defenders of U.S. imperialism and imperialism's gravediggers. Close to 100 people listened intently as the speaker from the party at the rally exposed the underlying causes and contradictions facing imperialists of both blocs which are sharpening as they move toward inter-imperialist world war; and the real opportunities and challenges to the proletariat were underscored especially to mount the political stage to further

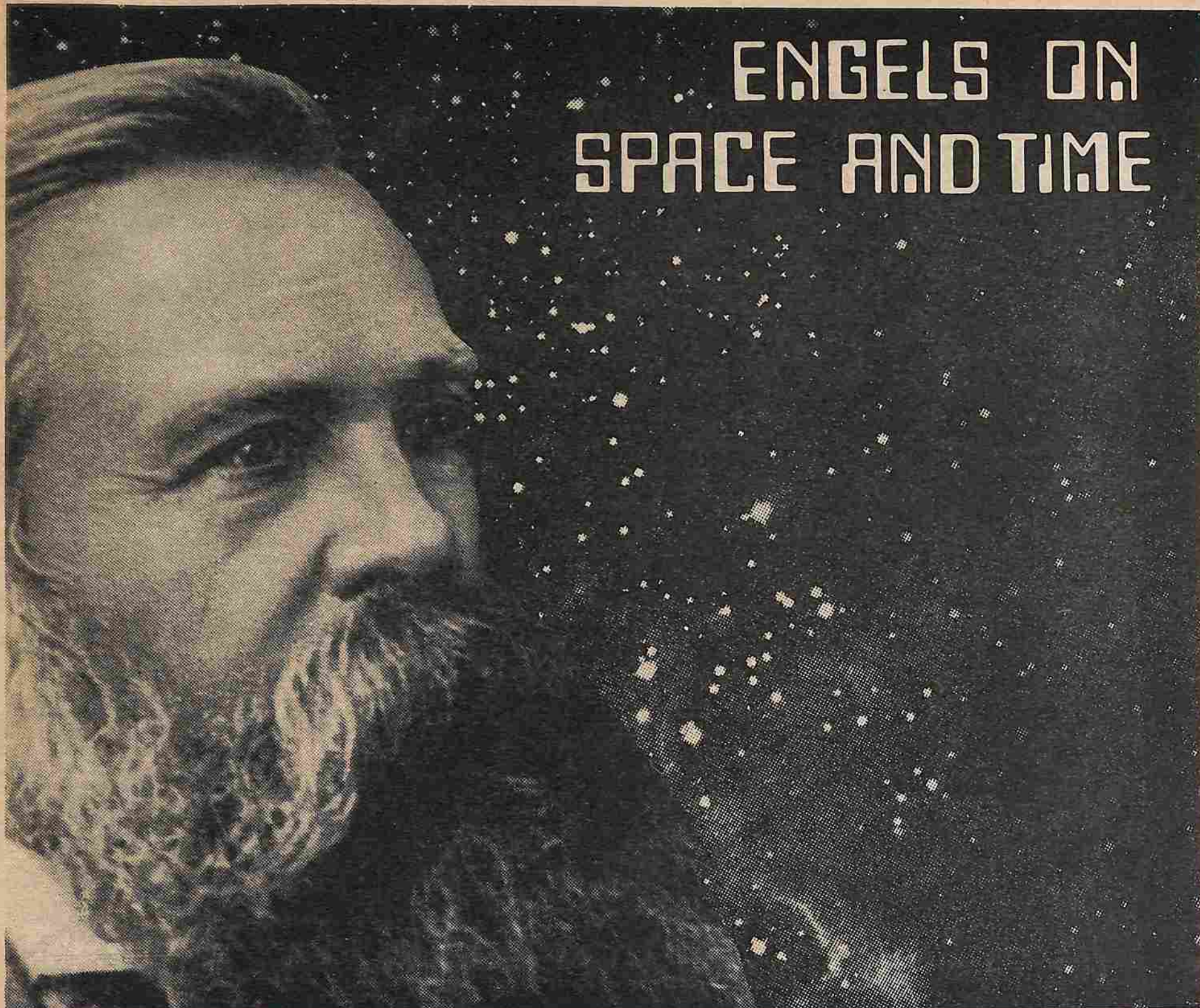
expose the bloody hand of U.S. imperialism and step up preparations for revolution — to join this party and take up and wield the party's main weapon, the *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper.

As soon as the party's speech ended, as many as 300 joined in several mass debates lasting over 3 hours on crucial questions and programs raised up from many directions by developments in the world.

"Why not equally target the Soviets' bloody hand in Grenada and Lebanon?" — an "innocent" question posed by reactionary Cubans, who thought the invasion was just fine and who loved Batista in Cuba. For some of the advanced this same question was very real since they see both the U.S. and the Soviets and their blocs as equally imperialist bloodsuckers preparing for war. People strained to understand more deeply the party's analysis and exposure of this invasion as part of the U.S. stepping up their war preparations against their Soviet imperialist rivals and the responsibility especially to those living in the belly of this beast. More questions and debate: "Even European countries oppose this invasion — doesn't this show the U.S. has really isolated and exposed itself? But why are the European countries so willing to have missiles deployed in their countries and why are they in Lebanon alongside the U.S.?" "Would the U.S. and Soviets end up finding some other way to work out their rivalry other than world war?" To this last question, an advanced proletarian raised the historical experience with Kautsky and the theory of ultra-imperialism using this to show the only road out for the proletariat is world revolution. Debate over the response to the situation raged as well: "Is revolution possible in a country like this? What about all these American patriots? Would the middle classes support the proletariat?" Others felt the appropriate response was to unite more firmly behind the FDR and FMLN while others questioned the wisdom given the increasing Soviet influence in Nicaragua and El Salvador, asking what kind of unity, with whom and for what?

As usual, when events of this size and character take place in a park, the uniformed LAPD were there to intimidate and harass people. And as usual, they only manage to help expose the hypocrisy of U.S. imperialism's "freedom and democracy", the type which their masters were so aptly demonstrating with their invasion of 6,000 marines into Grenada. In fact, the targeting of the Revolution Books literature table and insistence that the literature be moved from "blocking the entrance to the park," clearly aimed at keeping the proletariat ignorant slaves, was appropriately responded to when the 100 or so proletarians who had taken time out from the raging debates and had gathered around the table, moved right with the literature display and more eagerly bought up the books, in addition to over 100 RWs sold in the park and the bundles taken for wider distribution.

For the advanced, the fact that this rally with its revolutionary character had taken place was a welcome opportunity to dig into and more deeply understand the complicated developments in the world and on that basis further step up preparations for proletarian revolution and profoundly change the course of events. More than a few comments could be heard: "This feels like May First!" □



ENGELS ON SPACE AND TIME

Some time ago, we printed translations of two important articles from the Shanghai journal *Dialectics of Nature*. This journal was published by Chinese revolutionaries from 1973 through the end of 1975. The two articles were authored by Bian Sizu, and titled, "Matter Is Infinitely Divisible" (RW No. 122) and "The Universe is the Unity of Infinity and Finiteness" (RW No. 135). The appearance of these articles aroused great interest, sparking correspondence which can be found in RW issues 141, 214, and 225.

The following is Frederick Engels' contribution to the discussion of the finite and infinite, written over one-hundred years ago. It is taken from his great work, *Anti-Dühring* (Progress Publishers, 1975).

NATURAL PHILOSOPHY. TIME AND SPACE

We now come to *natural philosophy*. Here again Herr Dühring has every cause for dissatisfaction with his predecessors. Natural philosophy "sank so low that it became an arid, spurious doggerel founded on ignorance," and "fell to the prostituted philosophies of a Schelling and his like, rigging themselves out in the priesthood of the Absolute and hoodwinking the public." Fatigue has saved us from these "deformities"; but up to now it has only given place to "instability"; "and as far as the public at large is concerned, it is well known that the disappearance of a great charlatan is often only the opportunity for a lesser but commercially more experienced successor to put out again, under another sign-board, the products of his predecessor." Natural scientists themselves feel little "inclination to make excursions into the realm of world-encompassing ideas," and consequently jump to "wild and hasty conclusions" in the theoretical sphere. The need for deliverance is therefore urgent, and by a stroke of good luck Herr Dühring is at hand.

In order properly to appreciate the revelations which now follow on the development of the world in time and its limitations in space, we must turn back again to certain passages in *World Schematism*.

Infinity—which Hegel calls *bad* infinity—is attributed to being, also in accordance with Hegel (*Encyclopaedia*, § 93),³⁷ and then this infinity is investigated. "The clearest form of an infinity which can be conceived *without contradiction* is the unlimited accumulation of numbers in a numerical series. . . . As we can add yet another unit to any number, without ever exhausting the possibility of further numbers, so also to every state of being a further state succeeds, and infinity consists in the unlimited begetting of these states. This *exactly conceived* infinity has consequently only one single basic form with one single direction. For although it is immaterial to our thought whether

or not it conceives an opposite direction in the accumulation of states, this retrogressing infinity is nevertheless only a rashly constructed thought-image. Indeed, since this infinity would have to be traversed in reality in the *reverse* direction, it would in each of its states have an infinite succession of numbers behind itself. But this would involve the impermissible contradiction of a counted infinite numerical series, and so it is contrary to reason to postulate any second direction in infinity."

The first conclusion drawn from this conception of infinity is that the chain of causes and effects in the world must at some time have had a beginning: "an infinite number of causes which assumedly already have lined up next to one another is inconceivable, just because it presupposes that the uncountable has been counted." And thus a *final cause* is proved.

The second conclusion is "the law of definite number: the accumulation of identities of any actual species of independent things is only conceivable as forming a definite number. "Not only must the number of celestial bodies existing at any point of time be in itself finite, but so must also the total number of all, even the tiniest independent particles of matter existing in the world. This latter requisite is the real reason why no composition can be conceived without atoms. All actual division has always a definite limit, and must have it if the contradiction of the counted uncountable is to be avoided. For the same reason, not only must the number of the earth's revolutions round the sun up to the present time be a finite number, even though it cannot be stated, but all periodical processes of nature must have had some beginning, and all differentiation, all the multifariousness of nature which appears in succession must have its roots in one *self-equal state*. This state may, without involving a contradiction, have existed from eternity; but even this idea would be excluded if time in itself were composed of real parts and were not, on the contrary, merely arbitrarily divided up by our minds owing to the variety of conceivable possibilities. The case is quite different with the real, and in itself distinguished content of time; this real filling of time with distinguishable facts and the forms of being of this sphere belong, precisely because of their distinguishability, to the realm of the countable. If we imagine a state in which no change occurs and which in its self-equality provides no differences of succession whatever, the more specialized idea of time transforms itself into the more general idea of being. What the accumulation of empty duration would mean is quite unimaginable.

Continued on page 18.

The Blade in the East

Continued from page 1

We can become a powerful partnership for good — not just in our own countries, not just in the Pacific region, but throughout the world." It was a call for Japan to play a much more open, active and all-around role for the U.S. imperialist bloc.

Partners

On this point, there was no disagreement from Premier Nakasone and the Japanese imperialists, who in fact have been leaping out quite aggressively on the international stage of late. At the Williamsburg Summit of Western imperialist powers in June of this year, Japan took an unprecedented step of signing the joint declaration which reaffirms NATO's resolve to go ahead with the deployment of cruise and Pershing II missiles in Europe. The action raised "Japan's foreign profile to a postwar high," commented the *Far Eastern Economic Review*. Japan went a step further in its "high profile" by suggesting an addition to one of their Williamsburg statements which read: "The security of our countries is indivisible and must be approached on a global basis. Attempts to avoid serious negotiations by seeking to influence public opinion in our countries will fail." This was an unmistakable slap at the Soviets, who have been attempting to create divisions between Japan and NATO by raising the possibility of moving some of the SS-20s from the European side of the Urals to the Asian side and by pointing out that Japan is particularly vulnerable to nuclear attack because of its high concentration of population and heavy industrial structure.

Another example of Japan stepping out much more actively on the international stage is its role in the Iran/Iraq war. In August of this year, the Japanese foreign minister visited both Iran and Iraq to urge them to end their war. In part, Japan was acting out of a necessity to protect and expand its own imperialist interests in the area. Japan has poured significant investment and aid into Iran, and Iran and Iraq together supply almost one-quarter of Japan's crude oil imports. But the Japanese imperialists realize that with the heating up of the contradictions internationally, the situation in the Persian Gulf is becoming increasingly dangerous and untenable for the U.S. bloc as a whole. According to the *Christian Science Monitor*, Japanese officials said at the time of the foreign minister's trip that "Tokyo has strong links with both Iran and Iraq, making it the only country in the Western bloc capable of undertaking such a difficult role."

Japan's connections with Iran illustrate an important aspect of its international activity — the extension of influence through economic "aid." Already in the '70s, Japan supplanted the U.S. as the major source of such aid to South Korea and Southeast Asia. By 1980, Japan overtook France in total amount of foreign aid doled out annually, and soon will overtake West Germany to become No. 2 behind the U.S. Earlier this year, Japan finalized a huge \$4 billion aid and soft loan package to the Chun regime. Considering South Korea's military/strategic significance to Japan, this \$4 billion could well be considered a part of the Japanese defense budget. Japan has concentrated its foreign aid efforts in East and Southwest Asia in the past, but it has been broadening its targets in recent years by moving into the Middle East, Africa, and Latin America. And in accordance with this stretching of its tentacles, Japan has announced that it would double the amount of foreign aid over the next five years. In the Persian Gulf, Japan is financing airports and other installations that can be used by U.S. and Western forces in times of crisis. And it is paying particular attention to stepping up aid to countries like Egypt, Turkey and Pakistan that play key roles in strategic plans of the U.S. bloc.

With the quickening pace of developments internationally and within Japan itself, the time may not be far off when Japan will go beyond ostensibly diplomatic and economic activity to play an overtly military role. One sign of this

was a recently released "private" study, commissioned by the Japanese government, which gave recommendations on improving UN "peacekeeping activities." One of the study's proposals was for Japan to take a more direct role in the "peacekeeping activities," including the participation of Japanese troops. Although the proposal was finally taken out of the study due to the political furor it caused in Japan, the chairman of the study group remarked that the report opened the door to future debate over Japan's role in international "peacekeeping" operations.

In line with the emphasis on broad and strategic issues of Japan's global responsibility, the Reagan-Nakasone talks were described by the *New York Times* as marked by "cordiality." On the surface at least, there was none of the harshly worded attacks that the U.S. has been directing at aspects of Japan's economic and military policies. There do, of course, exist real and at times sharp contradictions between Japan and the U.S. Economic frictions, for example, reflect the imperialist nature of both countries which in the global context must strive for spheres of influence, and contend even within each other's home markets. But before and during the Reagan trip, both Japan and the U.S. went to some lengths to minimize these frictions. Japan agreed to extend its "voluntary" curbs on car exports to the U.S. for one more year and took further measures to ease import restrictions. While telling Japan that "Americans believe their markets are less open than ours," Reagan also pledged to "combat protectionist measures" in the U.S. While contradictions will continue to flare up and even intensify over economic and military matters (over how the war will actually unfold, the character and pace of the Japanese military buildup, the control of weapons, etc.), Reagan's trip reflects the fact that these are contradictions among "partners" alright, but partners in crime — that is, the friction is located within the framework of a bloc actively preparing for war with its rival.

"Big Aircraft Carrier"

Even the usual criticism by the U.S. that Japan is proceeding with military buildup at a snail's pace was largely toned down during Reagan's visit. The closest Reagan came to pressing Nakasone on this point was his remark that "The United States remains convinced that the most important contribution Japan can make toward peace and security in Asia is for Japan to provide for its own defense and share more of the burden of our mutual defense efforts."

The U.S. will continue to prod Japan to "rearm" faster and bigger. But

overall, the U.S. is quite happy with the progress that the Japanese imperialists have made in the past several years, both in terms of aggressively stirring up public opinion for war as well as in stepping up actual military preparations. It was in 1981 that the U.S. let out "leaks" that for the past couple of decades U.S. warships and planes have been carrying nuclear arms in and out of Japan under a secret agreement between the U.S. and Japanese governments. This was a way of breaking the dam, forcing the debate over the military buildup and nuclear arms much more into the open. By the following year, a foreign ministry official could declare in testimony before the Japanese Diet that Japan would allow the U.S. to respond to a conventional attack on Japan with the use of nuclear weapons. Of course, Japan has existed under the U.S. nuclear umbrella for many years, but until recently it preferred not to advertise this fact, but rather offer it behind a big shield of "pacifism." Now Japan openly flaunts the threat of massive nuclear retaliation in the face of the Soviets.

In his visit to the U.S. earlier this year, Nakasone declared that his goal for Japan was to make it a "big aircraft carrier putting up a tremendous bulwark of defense against the infiltration of the (Soviets') Backfire bomber," to gain "complete and full control of the four straits that go through the Japanese islands so that there should be no passage of Soviet submarines," and to defend sealanes 1,000 miles out from Japan. To fulfill these goals (and, of course, others), Japan is working on expanding its already impressive fleet of antisubmarine ships and securing antisubmarine and early warning aircraft. Japan and the U.S. have started 24-hour patrols of the Soya Strait between the Soviet island of Sakhalin and the northern Japanese island of Hokkaido. One by-product of the Korean jet incident was that it shed some light on one rarely discussed aspect of Japanese military responsibilities. According to the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, "One area that may not be underestimated in the future is Japan's electronic surveillance capability. Reliable information on this sensitive subject is hard to confirm, but Japanese press reports cited government sources who claimed: 'Self defense forces played a central role in uncovering the facts of the case.' If true, that assessment undercuts a long-standing view by many foreigners and Japanese that Japan's defense monitoring system was dangerously poor." Naturally, the "facts of the case" here refers to the version of events offered up by Reagan and company. But some glimpse was obtained of Japan's special responsibility in surveillance of the Soviets.

All this is being done in the name of Japan's "self-defense," but in reality they are crucial elements in the U.S. bloc's strategy of fighting and defeating the Soviets. The main base for the Soviet Pacific fleet is in Vladivostok, and in order for the Soviet ships and subs to get out to the Pacific, they must pass through precisely those straits that Nakasone pledged to control. Furthermore, since the Soviet Backfire bombers stationed in Siberia can reach U.S. bases as far away as Guam and the Philippines, Japanese air defense and surveillance takes on a strategic significance.

The recent pace of militarization in Japan is indeed striking, but it would be wrong to think that Japan suddenly transformed itself from a "pacifist" country into an emerging military power. Shortly after World War 2, the U.S. began to have an interest in building up a "strong" Japan as a reactionary bulwark against the then-socialist Soviet Union, and later China. With the Korean War, Japan's munitions industry was put into full gear, and thousands of former imperial army troops went to Korea to fight under the UN command in their old stomping grounds. Then with the Vietnam War, Japan served as a base area for U.S. forces and as a major supplier of such weapons as the "smart bombs" and a reported 90% of the napalm used by the U.S. in Vietnam. Meanwhile through the '70s, Japan was increasing its own defense spending by 7% annually, far surpassing the rates in NATO countries, and now has the seventh largest armed forces in the world. And its armed forces have the capacity to expand very quickly on short notice. This has all taken place

under the much-touted "peace constitution" which renounces war "forever" and forbids possession of an armed force.

However, it is true that the Japanese imperialists have taken some leaps in war preparations in the past few years, and the intensifying situation internationally is bound to necessitate even further leaps, including the possibility of more open presence of U.S. nuclear weapons in Japan or even Japan going nuclear itself. Of course, one of the obstacles to military buildup in general and development of nuclear weapons in particular in Japan has been the broad antiwar and anti-nuclear sentiments of the Japanese people, rooted in their experiences during World War 2. However, Japan already possesses a huge and highly sophisticated industrial structure that can be quickly converted into not only high gear conventional military production but also nuclear arms production. It is estimated by some that Japan, highly developed in nuclear technology, can carry out a conversion program to put nuclear warheads into present conventional missiles in less than one year.

There is also work being done on the public opinion front to tackle the Japanese "nuclear allergy." U.S. and Japanese strategic and foreign policy analysts carry out discussions about how and under what circumstances Japan would drop its "nonnuclear" policy, who would control the key to the weapons systems, and so forth. The *New York Times* quoted a top Japanese think-tank saying, "There is a growing frustration" among Japanese about constraints on Japan's international influence and activity: "More people are becoming self-confident and even a bit arrogant. Some young hawks are talking about going nuclear; of course, they are still a minority. But just a few years ago talking about nuclear weapons was completely taboo." As the semi-official codding of ultranationalist groups indicates, this reactionary social base is being mobilized by the Japanese rulers to pave the way for further gearing up for war.

In this light it is significant that Reagan spent quite a lot of time dwelling on nuclear weapons in his speech to the Japanese Diet. Declaring that "our dream is to see the day when nuclear weapons will be banished from the face of this earth" (the U.S. began deployment of cruise missiles in Britain immediately after Reagan's return to Washington), Reagan vowed that the U.S. will not accept any agreements that would allow transfers of Soviet SS-20 missiles from the European theater to the Far East. Nakasone has not only made the same point but has gone a step further by demanding that the Soviets dismantle all SS-20s in Asia, now estimated in numbers somewhere over 100 and capable of reaching China, South Korea and Japan. This focus on the Asian SS-20s is intended to achieve several effects: To put greater pressure on the Soviets on the intermediate-range nuclear forces question by showing the unity of the bloc against all SS-20s; to steer attention away from the hundreds of U.S. nuclear warheads already deployed in South Korea and on ships and aircraft in the Pacific; to pose the specter of Soviet nukes as a justification for possible buildup of U.S. nuclear forces in the region. U.S. defense officials have recently even raised speculation about the possibility of basing cruise missiles in South Korea, Japan or other sites in Asia.

Korea

Reagan's swing through South Korea could have been titled "The commander-in-chief goes to the frontlines." The whole show was calculated to project the U.S. as brash and swaggering, ready to run over anybody that dares to challenge it. South Korea was already in a state of full military readiness, as ordered by Chun Doo Hwan after the bombing in Burma. Wearing an olive drab battle parka, Reagan ventured inside the DMZ (against Nancy's wishes and over Chun's objections, so it was said). The press dutifully pointed out that no previous presidents had "dared" go into the DMZ. There were constant reminders that Reagan supposedly risked the danger of attack by North Korea, "an unpredictable enemy with no regard for human life" — this was no movie. His speech to soldiers in battle fatigues and with M-16s

Continued on page 17



A Voice That Must Be Heard

Continued from page 10

application of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought. When generalized rhetoric and simplistic statements could be utilized to mask uncertainty, Chairman Avakian has been forthright in avoiding this, much to the dismay of his critics.

When I first began reading Bob's writings it struck me that here is someone who is very specific in detail and determined to apply dialectical materialism and bring it to both the advanced and the masses. To study and understand these writings requires determination, tenacity and the motivation and desire for revolutionary change. Those who criticize and label his writings as simplistic and rhetorical have lost their scientific objectivity and are muddled in their revisionist subjectivity. This all the more emphasizes the importance of Chairman Avakian's continued leadership.

In these times when the idea of war is

more powerful than the idea of revolution I am reminded of Lenin's steadfastness in a similar time more than 60 years ago. Lenin brought forth then and Bob Avakian brings forth now that kind of determination that is essential in understanding the historical circumstances and the rising of the masses in revolution. In a time when reactionary forces and opportunists would deny him, Chairman Avakian's determination must be here and continue to bring forth revolution. Let this letter be a heralding call to all the politically advanced among the proletariat, intelligentsia and all who seek world change. Step out and come forth and join the battle. Stop the forces that would deny Bob Avakian from continuing his most far reaching and historically important leadership. Revolution in the '80s — Go For It.

A revolutionary ex-navy medic
Buffalo, NY

To the RW:

From my experience I have found that the RW is quite different in comparison to bourgeois newspapers. The newspaper calls on us to become conscious and prepare ourselves for the morrow.

As a Salvadoran, I invite all readers of the RW to take part in supporting any kind of struggle in the U.S. and any part of the world. I know we are part of society and must not stand aside with folded arms like simple spectators. In such a situation I also recognize that people who don't take such a position are soldiers in service of injustice. I know it is hard to sacrifice to make the decision to struggle, but what would happen or will happen if the corrupt and ambitious governments drag us into a third world war? Only the people united can stop any war whenever it comes. A short time ago I was visiting some apartments asking for money and

signatures in support of the chairman of the party, Bob Avakian — the money was to print an advertisement in the bourgeois press (see *New York Times* ad reprinted in RW No. 230) and denounce the U.S. government and the French government who in joint collaboration are trying to extradite Bob Avakian from France. The majority of the people I visited were Salvadorans. I explained to them the nature of the fight and to my surprise many agreed and told me we should continue forward. But also heated discussions broke out with some others who said they want nothing to do with communism and threw me out of their apartment. It's a bit hard, but the way forward is forged through making it.

An internationalist Salvadoran
Houston, October 20, 1983
(Translated from Spanish by the RW)

The Blade

Continued from page 16

slung over their shoulders was given in a mortar bunker surrounded by sandbags and camouflaged netting. Recalling the last two U.S. soldiers killed in the DMZ in 1976, Reagan warned North Korea in his speech to the troops: "Let me state for the record: nothing like that had better happen again." With the defense of the U.S. actions in Grenada contained in the same speech, the message was loud and unambiguous.

In his speech to the South Korean parliament, Reagan attempted to draw a clear contrast between North and South Korea. While the south has achieved an "economic miracle," said Reagan, "North Korea is one of the most repressive societies on earth. It does not prosper, it arms. Let the world look long and hard at both sides of the 38th Parallel and then ask: which side enjoys a better life?" South Korea — a virtual paradise. One of the most brutal examples of what life under the U.S. puppet regime means took place in the city of Kwangju in May of 1980. Hundreds of thousands of people, mainly youth, had risen up in revolt against the Chun regime and taken over the city. Thirty thousand government

troops were sent to Kwangju, and they conducted a bloody suppression of the rebellion, murdering hundreds. It should be noted that South Korean troops are under the ultimate command of the U.S. forces commander in South Korea. Thus, the bloodbath in Kwangju could not have taken place without the U.S. military's knowledge, if not direct approval. And these very same U.S. imperialists and their South Korean henchmen howl in indignation about the "barbarity" of the Soviets in shooting down a planeload of "innocent civilians." Point for point on the barbarity score, the U.S. and its lackies are way out in front.

The security measures taken by Chun around Reagan's trip also show the reality behind the contrast between "repressive" north and "free" south. Chun ordered hundreds of known anti-regime activists to be held under house arrest, and demonstrations on university campuses protesting the Reagan visit were violently broken up by riot police.

Ever since the 007 jet incident and especially the Burma bombing, South Korea has been pictured as a snarling attack dog, itching to strike back at the Russians and the North Koreans and barely restrained by the U.S. In Washington, before embarking on the Asian trip, Reagan referred to the Burma bombing and told South Korean

reporters: "I admire your government's restraint under this extreme provocation. It's very easy, and I know it's only human, to want to strike out in retaliation." Such a mad dog role is precisely the role that the U.S. wants South Korea to play. Perhaps next time, the leash will not be strong enough to restrain South Korea. (It is still unclear what lay behind the Burma bombing, which is serving as the main pretext for the latest round of condemnations and threats against North Korea. Recently, Burma said it had "conclusive evidence" that North Korea was responsible, but so far no hard evidence has been made public. It should be pointed out that before the bombing there was a purge of the No. 2 man in Burma and his followers. The bombing could possibly be related to this. One also cannot rule out the possible connections with internal struggles within the Chun regime. After all, Chun himself came to power after his predecessor Park Chung Hee was murdered as a result of just such an internal struggle.)

The Korean Peninsula is one of the most heavily militarized areas in the world. There are 600,000-800,000 troops in the north, and 400,000-500,000 in the south (of which more than a third have combat experience in Vietnam). Forty thousand U.S. troops are stationed in the south, where more than 600 tactical

nuclear weapons dot the landscape. The U.S. Seventh Fleet offshore also has aircraft capable of delivering nuclear warheads to Korean battlefields. (The U.S. has the gall to condemn North Korea for being "heavily armed" and "on a war footing"!)

The heavily militarized situation indicates the high tensions that exist in Korea. Although the cat and dog relations between the north and the south are a factor in this, much more fundamentally the tensions are rooted in the fact that the Korean Peninsula is the point at which the strategic interests of the Soviet Union, the U.S., Japan and China collide. The U.S./Japanese communiqué notes that "the security of the Republic of Korea is essential to the security of Japan." The Chinese revisionists have stepped up efforts to try to woo North Korea away from Soviet influence. For years, the revisionist leaders of North Korea have attempted to follow a "centrist" path between Moscow and Peking. As can be seen from all this, the situation in the Korean Peninsula is complicated, with many forces at work. But one thing is certain. As the contradictions in the international sphere continue to sharpen, the tensions in Korea can only mount closer to a breaking point. □

Accumulating Revolutionary Forces for the Coming Showdown

*An important and timely analysis
of the objective situation
and the role of the party*

**Report from a meeting of the Central Committee of the
Revolutionary Communist Party, USA
held in the latter part of 1982**

Available at Revolution Books:
859-1/2 MLK Dr. NW No. 103, Atlanta, GA 30314, (404) 577-4656
3126 Grove St., Berkeley, CA 94703 (415) 841-8314
90 River St., Cambridge, MA 02139 (617) 492-9016
2525 N. Lincoln Ave., Chicago, IL 60614 (312) 528-5353
110 W. McMillan St., Cincinnati, OH 45219 (513) 281-4275
5744 Woodward Ave., Detroit, MI 48202 (313) 872-2286
2648 South King St., Honolulu, HI 96826 (808) 944-3106
P.O. Box 26A34, Los Angeles, CA 90026 (213) 484-2907
138 West 10th St., New York, NY 10014 (212) 691-3345
(Everybody's Books), 1541 Grant Ave., SF, CA 94133 (415) 781-4989
5232 University Way, NE, Seattle, WA 98105 (206) 527-8558
2438 18th St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009 (202) 265-1969

Orders from outside the U.S. may be placed with:
Liberation Distributors, P.O. Box 5341, Chicago, IL 60680, USA

50¢ (plus 75¢ postage)

Engels on Space and Time

Continued from page 15

Thus far Herr Dühring, and he is not a little edified by the significance of these revelations. At first he hopes that they will "at least not be regarded as paltry truths"; but later we find: "Recall to your mind the *extremely simple* methods by which we helped forward the concepts of infinity and their critique to a *hitherto unknown import* . . . the elements of the universal conception of space and time, which have been given such *simple* form by the sharpening and deepening now effected."

We helped forward! The deepening and sharpening now effected! Who are "we," and when is this "now"? Who is deepening and sharpening?

"Thesis: The world has a beginning in time, and with regard to space is also limited.

"Proof: For if it is assumed that the world has no beginning in time, then an eternity must have elapsed up to every given point of time, and consequently an infinite series of successive states of things must have passed away in the world. The infinity of a series, however, consists precisely in this, that it never can be completed by means of a successive synthesis. Hence an infinite elapsed series of worlds is impossible, and consequently a beginning of the world is a necessary condition of its existence. And this was the first thing to be proved.

"With regard to the second, if the opposite is again assumed, then the world must be an infinite given total of co-existent things. Now we cannot conceive the dimensions of a quantum, which is not given within certain limits of an intuition, in any other way than by means of the synthesis of its parts, and can conceive the total of such a quantum only by means of a completed synthesis, or by the repeated addition of a unit to itself. Accordingly, to conceive the world, which fills all spaces, as a whole, the successive synthesis of the parts of an infinite world would have to be looked upon as completed; that is, an infinite time would have to be regarded as elapsed in the enumeration of all co-existing things. This is impossible. For this reason an infinite aggregate of actual things cannot be regarded as a given whole nor, therefore, as given *at the same time*. Hence it follows that the world is not infinite, as regards extension in space, but enclosed in limits. And this was the second thing to be proved."

These sentences are copied word for word from a well-known book which first appeared in 1781 and is called: *Critique of Pure Reason*, by Immanuel Kant, where all and sundry can read them, in the first part, Second Division, Book II, Chapter II, Section II: The First Antinomy of Pure Reason. So that Herr Dühring's fame rests solely on his having tacked on the name—Law of Definite Number—to an idea expressed by Kant, and on having made the discovery that there was once a time when as yet there was no time, though there was a world. As regards all the rest, that is, anything in Herr Dühring's exegesis which has some meaning, "We"—is Immanuel Kant, and the "now" is only ninety-five years ago. Certainly "extremely simple"! Remarkable "hitherto unknown import"!

Kant, however, does not at all claim that the above propositions are established by his proof. On the contrary; on the opposite page he states and proves the opposite: that the world has no beginning in time and no end in space; and it is precisely in this that he finds the antinomy, the insoluble contradiction, that the one is just as demonstrable as the other. People of smaller calibre might perhaps feel a little doubt here on account of "a Kant" having found an insoluble difficulty. But not so our valiant fabricator of "from the ground up original conclusions and views"; he cheerfully copies down as much of Kant's antinomy as suits his purpose, and throws the rest aside.

The problem itself has a very simple solution. Eternity in time, infinity in space, signify from the start, and in the simple meaning of the words, that there is no end in any direction, neither forwards nor backwards, upwards or downwards, to the right or to the left. This infinity is something quite different from that of an infinite series, for the latter always starts from one, with a first term. The inapplicability of this idea of series to our object becomes clear directly we apply it to space. The infinite series, transferred to the sphere of space, is a line drawn from a definite point in a definite direction to infinity. Is the infinity of space expressed in this even in the remotest way? On the contrary, the idea of spatial dimensions involves six lines drawn from this one point in three opposite directions, and consequently we would have six of these dimensions. Kant saw this so clearly that he transferred his numerical series only indirectly, in a roundabout way, to the space relations of the world. Herr Dühring, on the other hand, compels us to accept six dimensions in space, and immediately afterwards can find no words to express his indignation at the mathematical mysticism of Gauss, who would not rest content with the usual three dimensions of space.

As applied to time, the line or series of units infinite in both directions has a certain figurative meaning. But if we think of time as a series counted from one forward, or as a line starting from a definite point, we imply in advance that time has a beginning: we put forward as a premise precisely what we are to prove. We give the infinity of time a one-sided, halved character; but a one-sided, halved infinity is also a contradiction in itself, the exact opposite of an "infinity conceived without contradiction." We can only get past this contradiction if we assume that the one from which we begin to count the series, the point from which we proceed to measure the line is any one in the series, that it is any one of the points in the line, and that it is a matter of indifference to the line or to the series where we place this one or this point.

But what of the contradiction of "the counted infinite numerical series"? We shall be in a position to examine this more closely as soon as Herr Dühring has performed

for us the clever trick of counting it. When he has completed the task of counting from $-\infty$ (minus infinity) to 0 let him come again. It is certainly obvious that, at whatever point he begins to count, he will leave behind him an infinite series and, with it, the task which he is to fulfil. Let him just reverse his own infinite series $1+2+3+4\dots$ and try to count from the infinite end back to 1; it would obviously only be attempted by a man who has not the faintest understanding of what the problem is. And again: if Herr Dühring states that the infinite series of elapsed time has been counted, he is thereby stating that time has a beginning; for otherwise he would not have been able to start "counting" at all. Once again, therefore, he puts into the argument, as a premise, the thing that he has to prove. The idea of an infinite series which has been counted, in other words, the world-encompassing Dühringian law of definite number, is therefore a *contradictio in adjecto*, contains within itself a contradiction, and in fact an *absurd* contradiction.

It is clear that an infinity which has an end but no beginning is neither more nor less infinite than that which has a beginning but no end. The slightest dialectical insight should have told Herr Dühring that beginning and end necessarily belong together, like the North Pole and the South Pole, and that if the end is left out, the beginning just becomes the end—the one end which the series has; and vice versa. The whole deception would be impossible but for the mathematical usage of working with infinite series. Because in mathematics it is necessary to start from definite, finite terms in order to reach the indefinite, the infinite, all mathematical series, positive or negative, must start from 1, or they cannot be used for calculation. The abstract requirement of a mathematician is, however, far from being a compulsory law for the world of reality.

For that matter, Herr Dühring will never succeed in conceiving real infinity without contradiction. Infinity is a contradiction, and is full of contradictions. From the outset it is a contradiction that an infinity is composed of nothing but finites, and yet this is the case. The limitedness of the material world leads no less to contradictions than its unlimitedness, and every attempt to get over these contradictions leads, as we have seen, to new and worse contradictions. It is just because infinity is a contradiction that it is an infinite process, unrolling endlessly in time and in space. The removal of the contradiction would be the end of infinity. Hegel saw this quite correctly, and for that reason treated with well-merited contempt the gentlemen who subtilized over this contradiction.

Let us pass on. So time had a beginning. What was there before this beginning? The universe, which was then in a self-equal, unchanging state. And as in this state no changes succeed one another, the more specialized idea of time transforms itself into the more general idea of being. In the first place, we are here not in the least concerned with what ideas change in Herr Dühring's head. The subject at issue is not the *idea of time*, but *real time*, which Herr Dühring cannot rid himself of so cheaply. In the second place, however much the idea of time may convert itself into the more general idea of being, this does not take us one step further. For the basic forms of all being are space and time, and being out of time is just as gross an absurdity as being out of space. The Hegelian "timelessly past being" and the neo-Schellingian "unpreconceivable being" are rational ideas compared with this being out of time. And for this reason Herr Dühring sets to work very cautiously; actually it is of course time, but of such a kind as cannot really be called time; time, indeed, in itself does not consist of real parts, and is only divided up at will by our mind—only an actual filling of time with distinguishable facts is susceptible of being counted—what the accumulation of empty duration means is quite unimaginable. What this accumulation is supposed to mean is here beside the point; the question is, whether the world, in the state here assumed, has duration, passes through a duration in time. We have long known that we can get nothing by measuring such a duration without content just as we can get nothing by measuring without aim or purpose in empty space; and Hegel, just because of the weariness of such an effort, calls such an infinity *bad*. According to Herr Dühring time exists only through change; change in and through time does not exist. Just because time is different from change, is independent of it, it is possible to measure it by change, for measuring always requires something different from the thing to be measured. And time in which no recognizable changes occur is very far removed from *not being time*; it is rather *pure time*, unaffected by any foreign admixtures, that is, real time, time *as such*. In fact, if we want to grasp the idea of time in all its purity, divorced from all alien and extraneous admixtures, we are compelled to put aside, as not being relevant here, all the various events which occur simultaneously or one after another in time, and in this way to form the idea of a time in which nothing happens. In doing this, therefore, we have not let the concept of time be submerged in the general idea of being, but have thereby for the first time arrived at the pure concept of time.

But all these contradictions and impossibilities are only mere child's play compared with the confusion into which Herr Dühring falls with his self-equal initial state of the world. If the world had ever been in a state in which no change whatever was taking place, how could it pass from this state to alteration? The absolutely unchanging, especially when it has been in this state from eternity, cannot possibly get out of such a state by itself and pass over into a state of motion and change. An initial impulse must therefore have come from outside, from outside the universe, an impulse which set it in motion. But as everyone

Continued on page 19

Engels

Continued from page 18

knows, the "initial impulse" is only another expression for God. God and the beyond, which in his world schematism Herr Dühring pretended to have so beautifully unriddled, are both introduced again by him here, sharpened and deepened, into natural philosophy.

Further, Herr Dühring says: "Where magnitude is attributed to a constant element of being, it will remain unchanged in its determinateness. This holds good . . . of matter and mechanical force." The first sentence, it may be noted in passing, is a precious example of Herr Dühring's axiomatic-tautological grandiloquence: where magnitude does not change, it remains the same. Therefore the amount of mechanical force which exists in the world remains the same for all eternity. We will overlook the fact that, in so far as this is correct, Descartes already knew and said it in philosophy nearly three hundred years ago; that in natural science the theory of the conservation of energy has held sway for the last twenty years; and that Herr Dühring, in limiting it to *mechanical* force, does not in any way improve on it. But where was the mechanical force at the time of the unchanging state? Herr Dühring obstinately refuses to give us any answer to this question.

Where, Herr Dühring, was the eternally self-equal mechanical force at that time, and what did it put in motion? The reply: "The original state of the universe, or to put it more plainly, of an unchanging existence of matter which comprised no accumulation of changes in time, is a question which can be spurned only by a mind that sees the acme of wisdom in the self-mutilation of its own generative power."

Therefore: either you accept without examination my unchanging original state, or I, Eugen Dühring, the possessor of creative power, will certify you as intellectual eunuchs. That may, of course, deter a good many people. But we, who have already seen some examples of Herr Dühring's generative power, can permit ourselves to leave this genteel abuse unanswered for the moment, and ask once again: But Herr Dühring, if you please, what about that mechanical force?

Herr Dühring at once grows embarrassed. In actual fact, he stammers, "the absolute identity of that initial extreme state does not in itself provide any principle of transition. But we must remember that at bottom the position is similar with every new link, however small, in the chain of existence with which we are familiar. So that whoever wants to raise difficulties in the fundamental case now under consideration must take care that he does not allow himself to pass them by on less obvious occasions. Moreover, there exists the possibility of interposing successively graduated intermediate stages, and also a bridge of continuity by which it is possible to move backwards and reach the extinction of the process of change. It is true that from a purely conceptual standpoint this continuity does not help us past the main difficulty, but to us it is the basic form of all regularity and of every known form of transition in general, so that we are entitled to use it also as a medium between that first equilibrium and the disturbance of it. But if we had conceived the so to speak (!) motionless equilibrium on the model of the ideas which are accepted without any particular objection (!) in our present-day mechanics, there would be no way of explaining how matter could have reached the process of change." Apart from the mechanics of masses there is, however, we are told, also a transformation of mass movement into the movement of extremely small particles, but as to how this takes place—"for this up to the present we have no general principle at our disposal and consequently we should not be surprised if in the end these processes take place somewhat *in the dark*."

That is all Herr Dühring has to say. And in fact, we would have to see the acme of wisdom not only in the self-mutilation of our generative power, but also in blind, implicit faith, if we allowed ourselves to be put off with these really pitiable rank subterfuges and circumlocutions. Herr Dühring admits that absolute identity cannot of itself effect the transition to change. Nor is there any means whereby absolute equilibrium can of itself pass into motion. What is there, then? Three lame, false arguments.

Firstly: it is just as difficult to show the transition from each link, however small, in the chain of existence with which we are familiar, to the next one.—Herr Dühring seems to think his readers are infants. The establishment of individual transitions and connections between the tiniest links in the chain of existence is precisely the content of natural science, and when there is a hitch at some point in its work no one, not even Herr Dühring, thinks of explaining prior motion as having arisen out of nothing, but always only as a transfer, transformation or transmission of some previous motion. But here the issue is admittedly one of accepting motion as having arisen out of immobility, that is, *out of nothing*.

In the second place, we have the "bridge of continuity." From a purely conceptual standpoint, this, to be sure, does not help us over the difficulty, but all the same we are entitled to use it as a medium between immobility and motion. Unfortunately the continuity of immobility consists in *not* moving; how therefore it is to produce motion remains more mysterious than ever. And however infinitely small the parts into which Herr Dühring minces his transition from complete non-motion to universal motion, and however long the duration he assigns to it, we have not got a ten-thousandth part of a millimetre further. Without an act of creation we can never get from nothing to something, even if the something were as small as a mathematical differential. The bridge of continuity is therefore not even an asses' bridge*; it is passable only for Herr Dühring.

Thirdly: so long as present-day mechanics holds good—and this science, according to Herr Dühring, is one of the most essential levers for the formation of thought—it cannot be explained at all how it is possible to pass from immobility to motion. But the mechanical theory of heat shows us that the movement of masses under certain conditions changes into molecular movement (although here too one motion originates from another motion, but never from immobility); and this, Herr Dühring shyly suggests, may possibly furnish a bridge between the strictly static (in equilibrium) and dynamic (in motion). But these processes take place "somewhat in the dark." And it is in the dark that Herr Dühring leaves us sitting.

This is the point we have reached with all his deepening and sharpening—that we have perpetually gone deeper into ever sharper nonsense, and finally land up where of necessity we had to land up—"in the dark." But this does not abash Herr Dühring much. Right on the next page he has the effrontery to declare that he has "been able to provide a real content for the idea of self-equal stability, directly from the behaviour of matter and the *mechanical forces*." And this man describes other people as "charlatans"!

Fortunately, in spite of all this helpless wandering and confusion "in the dark," we are left with one consolation, and this is certainly edifying to the soul: "The mathematics of the inhabitants of other celestial bodies can rest on no other axioms than our own!"

* In the original a play on words: *Eselsbrücke* (asses' bridge) means in German also an unauthorized aid in study used by dull-headed or lazy students; a crib or pony.—Ed.

Revolution

Continued from page 13

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

A dramatic example of the principle involved here — and a powerful refutation of the politics of tailing the mainstream — was provided by the incident involving the Korean airliner double-0-7 and the events in its aftermath. Where, in a situation of a clearly contrived and pre-planned provocation by the U.S. government (working with the South Korean and Japanese governments), designed to elicit exactly the response it did from the rival gangsters in the Soviet Union — where in the U.S. was the outpouring of mass protest from the pacifists and others who hope to avoid nuclear war by persuading the ruling classes that it is insane, unwinnable and so on? Not long ago, at the time of the UN conference on disarmament, when everybody spoke out against nuclear war and ruling class representatives spoke at rallies to oppose nuclear war, hundreds of thousands of people came out; but when Reagan spoke at the UN recently, in the wake of — riding the crest of — the double-0-7 incident, where were those hundreds of thousands, why were they not out protesting and demonstrating all the more urgently against nuclear war? Or take the situation in England recently. When the Falklands War was utilized by the ruling class there to make stepped-up preparation, materially and ideologically, for Britain's contribution to Western imperialism's showdown with the Soviet-led bloc, where then were the hundreds of thousands who had been protesting against the danger of nuclear war and especially against England's being involved in it, why were there only a small number protesting, why were not those

hundreds of thousands out in mass exposing and opposing British imperialism in that concrete and very important act of gangsterism and preparation for world war? To a significant degree what is involved in these instances is the chauvinism with which large sections of the people in the imperialist countries have been saturated. But especially in regard to those who do oppose at least many of the crimes perpetrated by "their own" imperialist ruling class and who do oppose nuclear war mainly for reasons other than a desire to preserve a privileged existence for themselves, what is also of significance is the truth that Lenin stressed:

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

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

YES, EXACTLY

FOR A HARVEST OF DRAGONS

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

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

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

By Bob Avakian

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

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

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

ORDER NOW!

153 pp.

\$6.95 Paperback

\$13.95 Cloth

Include 75¢ to cover postage

RCP Publications

P.O. Box 3486, Merchandise Mart
Chicago, Illinois 60654

Other works by Bob Avakian available from RCP Publications include:

Conquer The World? The International Proletariat Must And Will
Special Issue No. 50 *Revolution Magazine* Nov. 1981 \$2.00

Mao Tsetung's Immortal Contributions 501 pp.
Paper \$4.95 Cloth \$12.95

The Loss In China And The Revolutionary Legacy of Mao Tsetung 151 pp./\$2.00

PAMPHLETS AND TAPES:

If There Is To Be A Revolution, There Must Be A Revolutionary Party 174 pp./\$2.00

There's Nothing More Revolutionary Than Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought 64 pp./\$2.25

Bob Avakian Replies To Letter From: "Black Nationalist With Communistic Inclinations" 33 pp./\$1.00

Bob Avakian Speaks On May 1st (30 min. cassette tape) \$2.50

Bob Avakian Speaks On The Mao Defendants Railroad And The Historic Battles Ahead 69 pp./\$1.50

Coming From Behind To Make Revolution, and Crucial Questions In Coming From Behind 80 pp./\$1.25

Communists Are Rebels 125 pp./\$.50

Summing Up The Black Panther Party 21 pp./\$.60

How Can We Apologize For Taking History Into Our Hands 27 pp./\$.50

Iran: It's Not Our Embassy 12 pp./\$.25

1980 — A Year, A Decade Of Historic Importance 23 pp./\$.50

Communist Revolution: The Road To The Future, The Goal We Will Win 38 pp./\$.50

Our Class Will Free Itself And All Mankind 30 pp./\$.75

In addition to the works listed above, xerox collections of "Reflections and Sketches" and "More Reflections and Sketches," two series of articles published in the *Revolutionary Worker*, are available from Revolution Books. For the addresses of these stores, see page 2.

