



# REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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

No. 232 (Vol. 5, No. 30) Published weekly in two sections — English Section 1

November 25, 1983

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

## Euromissiles

# The Talks, the Walks, the Stakes, the Slugfest

The White House meeting rooms and other sanctuaries of imperialism were fairly sobbing with official grief. "I can't believe this is going to be permanent," said Ronald Reagan. "We'll be ready to resume negotiations at any time that they want us to come back." The U.S. negotiator at Geneva, Paul Nitze, said he was "disappointed" and called the Soviet action "unjustified." Reagan capped the crocodile chorus by crying that "peace is too important" to justify the Soviets breaking off the talks on Intermediate

Nuclear Forces (INF) at Geneva as they had on that day.

Quite a nervy performance for the Americans who had, mind you, flown the first pieces of their new Pershing II's into West Germany only *hours* before these statements were made. And a *performance* it certainly was — behind the scenes, many U.S. diplomats, as ABC reported, "could hardly conceal their glee." One State Department official crowed, "They failed to shake the alliance. It is a victory for the alliance, and I see the Soviet ac-

tion as sour grapes."

That the Americans were chortling with delight, and celebrating their victory at the breakdown of the Geneva talks — touted as the hope for peace in Europe — is macabre... but from the point of view of the U.S. imperialists this lunacy was perfectly normal. After all, in the designs of the U.S., the Geneva talks had nothing to do with peace, and everything to do with one-upping the Soviets in the race to prepare for all-out war. Plainly the U.S. believes it has scored another direct hit in

its continuing autumn slugfest.

### Soviet Moves

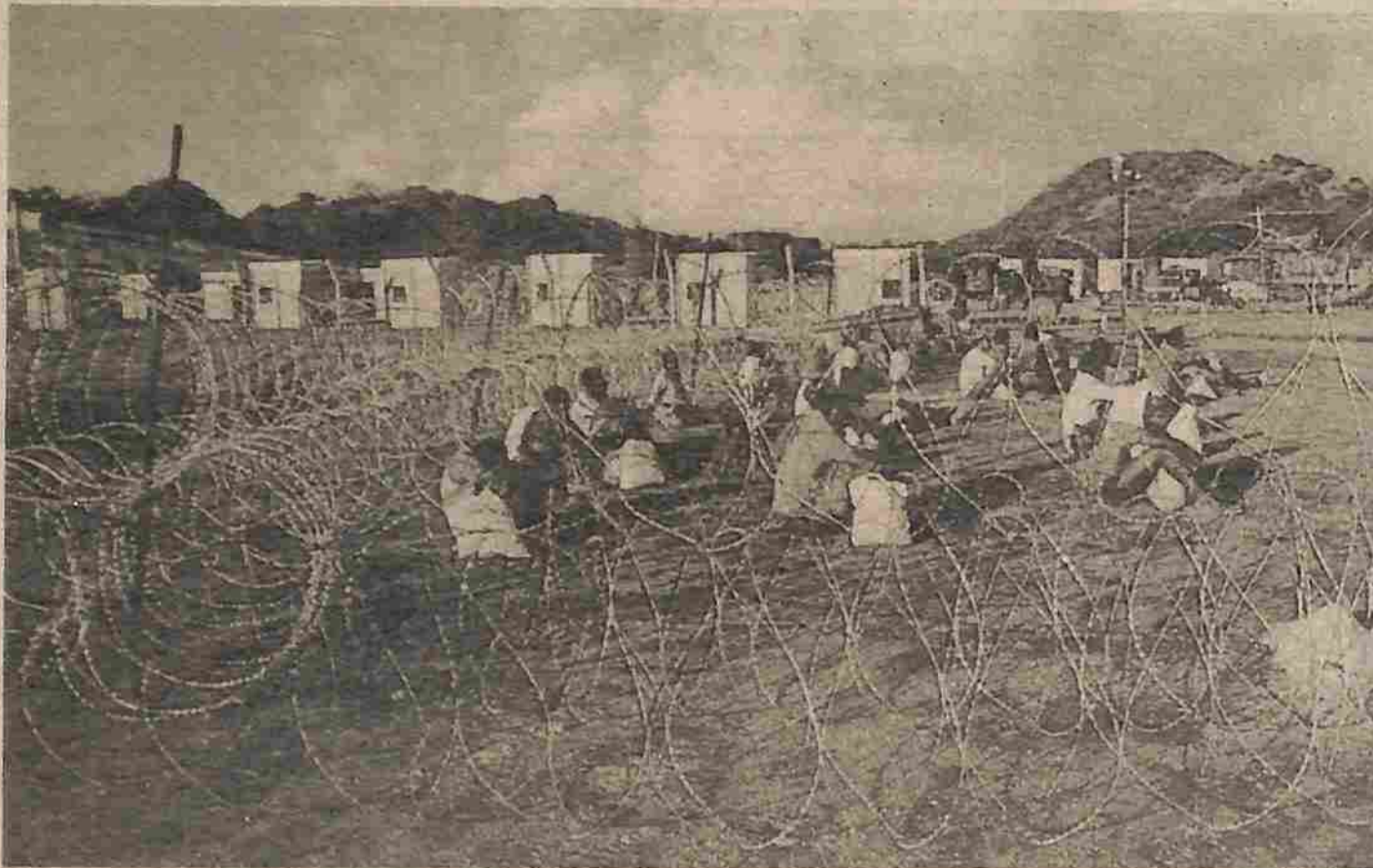
Then it was the Soviets' turn. On Thursday, November 24, a statement by Yuri Andropov was broadcast by Soviet TV. It declared a three-pronged Soviet nuclear deployment of their own: a lifting of the moratorium on SS-20 deployments in the Soviet Union aimed at Western Europe (a moratorium deliberately ignored for months by virtually all Western

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**"The Day After" and the Real Horror Show See Centerfold**

Letter To The Editor

# On Democracy's "Dilemma" And the Way Out Of This Madness



Grenadians being held by the Marines for interrogation. In the background are wooden packing crate holding cells.

ing how the U.S. fulfilled its moral responsibility to its own national security by intervening in Grenada (intervene sounds more democratic than invade). The U.S. likewise fulfilled its moral responsibility to the Caribbean peoples "who are trying to make their infant constitutional politics work," and to Grenada itself, by bringing them (with something more than the point of a bayonet, he might have added) the chance for a more decent regime. There is no dilemma at all between the moral imperative of the Jeffersonian ideal of equal opportunity for all, and the moral imperative of the United States protecting its own property interests, and security.

In the same edition of the *Journal* there was a letter from a Harvard law student that poses the *real* Jeffersonian dilemma for the U.S. There is this tension: on the one hand, there are "our ideals of extending human rights throughout the world." He describes these rights as the goals of the Founding Fathers, life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness, and the vote. On the other hand, there are the limits of American power to extend these rights. He especially decries the effect of Vietnam in making the U.S. people less amenable to exerting that power. So he thinks Americans should be proud to have done some concrete bit of good in this imperfect world, and especially in Grenada where the cost of exerting the power was quite low. And even more especially, since it claimed some turf from a competitor who with a vengeance has taken ahold of the Jeffersonian principle of equal opportunity for all, especially in terms of property. The writer remarks that "even a marginal shrinkage of the Soviet sphere of influence, especially if that sphere is filled with American ideals, represents a positive contribution to the human spirit... and fulfills Jefferson's ideal and promise to the world." True enough.

The next question is, is there any way out of this madness? In this context, Bob Avakian's rejection of the pseudo-Marxian dilemma, and his contributions in pointing the way forward, in showing what it is that we can work for and how to fight for it, are immensely uplifting. Every effort must be extended so that he can put his feet down long enough and safely enough to continue the kind of work that will produce, among other things, the urgently needed weapon that his new book certainly will be, with its enticing tentative title, *Democracy: Can't We Do Better Than That?*

A Reader  
Seattle, Washington

To the *Revolutionary Worker*:

Dear Editor,

The *RW* article on Bob Avakian's contributions on the theoretical front ("Just What Are They Trying To Silence?" *RW* 230) speaks to a dilemma that is often ascribed to Marxists. If Marxists remain true to their ideals, they cannot influence history. If they choose to confront historical reality, they must abandon their ideals. The article goes on to show Avakian has out and out rejected this logic. Avakian has shown how the very development of society itself is the foundation for something newer and higher for humanity, and that further, Leninism is the "art of winning," and that the conscious activism of the masses is the means. There is no dilemma at all, far from it.

It is interesting that the bourgeoisie is not only fond of trying to stick this pseudo-dilemma on anyone who really wants to change the world. They also like to talk about their own moral "dilemma," brought on by their own lofty ideals. It is the tension, so they say, between the morality of the Jeffersonian ideal, and the exigencies of *realpolitik*. The invasion of Grenada has been an occasion for them to give quite a show of agonizing over their dilemma, since surely they are hard pressed to give some moral justification for that overt act of brutality and cowardice — the elephant stomping on the flea.

Irving Kristol, the reactionary bourgeois ideologue, is a case in point. His essay in the November 15 *Wall Street Journal* begins by scoffing at some U.S. Senator who immediately after the invasion declared, "you can't impose democracy at the point of a bayonet." Anyone who knows any history at all knows that the only way democracy has ever been brought to any part of the world is "at the point of a bayonet." But Kristol recognizes that there is a problem here, that is, with the common perception of democracy and the historical facts. He says that "a significant portion of the American people are genuinely confused and perplexed" over Grenada. This is indeed troublesome. To give some moral justification to the invasion, to respond to the need to make foreign policy defensible in moral terms, as he puts it, he invokes the "dilemma."

On one horn are the Jeffersonian principles of freedom of choice, and the right of all men to life, liberty and property (he prefers the term "property," which was in the original draft of the Declaration of Independence, to the more ambiguous "pursuit of happiness"). The expedient horn is "the responsibility to our own national security," or as he might have said, "national interests," or "sphere of influence."

Kristol expresses his resolution of the dilemma in the following principle.

"If they don't make it necessary for us to intervene in their internal affairs, we won't. If on the other hand, our national security or the security of our allies is affected by their internal affairs, we might very well intervene." Could there be a better expression of what the Jeffersonian principle of "equal opportunity for all" (see Avakian's article in the above mentioned *RW*) means on a global scale? Yes, equal opportunity for you guys to do it anyway you want to do it, as long as you don't get in the way of us guys doing it the way we want to, and vice versa. Here is where the more concrete and explicit term "property" is operative. National security translates into property. And since for a number of reasons there is a major threat these days to the earth's largest property owner, "intervention" will be necessary, and on a global scale, and shall we say, at considerable cost.

So here is Grenada. Within the principle of equal opportunity for all, a threat was met by intervention. Certainly free elections can be arranged, with bayonets drawn or not. Grenadians can choose however it is they want to have their life and pursue their happiness. And as Kristol is at pains to point out, this does not necessarily mean the American way, as long as their equal opportunity efforts don't impede the "security" moves of the U.S.

In fact, there is no dilemma at all. Kristol concludes his essay by express-

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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.)

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**VERRULE THIS,  
MOTHERFUCKER**

# This System

# JOLTS

# People Awake

by Bob Avakian

Where I went to high school, I came out of this one scene into another. The world was being turned upside down, just like it is right now. It was the late '50s and the early 1960s. Struggle was raging. The 1950s really was a miserable dead period. I think the 1960s actually brought about the only rebirth we've seen in this country for a long time, even though what was started then still has to be finished. People came awake and alive for the first time in years in this country. That's what was happening in the late '50s and the early 1960s — people challenging, people questioning after years. Not like some of these old fogeys out here who say, "Hey, you can't question. It's authority, it's government. If they didn't know what they were doing, they wouldn't be our leaders," and all the rest of that trash they feed us all the time. The world was being turned upside down. The Civil Rights movement was raging. Black people were saying, "We're not going along with this any longer; we've always hated it, we've always fought against it, and now we're determined to get rid of it once and for all."

When I went to high school, I was smacked in the face with this. Like a lot of others I believed in this American Dream. I went out and played football. I loved football. (And I still like it, as a matter of fact, but I went to see this movie, *North Dallas Forty*, and now it's hard for me to enjoy football as much as I used to because it graphically reminds you how capitalism mangles and destroys even football, and corrupts and pollutes everything it touches. But nevertheless, in high school I was playing football.) On our team there were Blacks, there were whites, there were Mexicans, Chinese, everything out there on the football field. We were all friends on the football field, but when we came off the field a lot of people said, "Hey, that's as far as it goes. Now you go your way and they go their way. They might be your friends on the field, but that's far enough. You can't go to their home and sit down and have dinner or talk with their family, because they're different from you and furthermore, they're not as good as you." Those were the lies we were fed. I was told all kinds of horror stories before I got to that high school. I was told all kinds of lies — unbelievable lies — I have to look back and wonder how I could actually believe some of the madness that I was told about people who had a different skin color and a little bit different cultural interests and so on than I did. But I learned a lot. People came up to me and they said at that time — just like many things happening still today — people who I thought were my friends said, "Hey, if you keep hanging around with those niggers, then you're not my friend any more." And I said, "Fuck you! I don't need a friend like you!"

That's what they said and you had to take a stand. The world was being turned upside down — it wasn't anything just about me, there were millions of people, especially young people, who had to take a stand at that time. The world was being turned upside down whether you liked it or not. I remember this guy came up to me and he said, "Hey, I hear that you actually believe in going out with Black girls." And I said, "If I like her and she likes me, why not?" He said, "Well, why don't you stay with your own kind?" And I looked at him and said, "You mean like *you*?" That's the reality. You were faced with these choices: were you going to be a damn hypocrite, go out there and slap each other on the back when you were playing football, or joke around in class maybe, but then when the football practice is over or you leave the classroom, you go two different directions and you're not going to be friends?

It wasn't popular not to be a hypocrite. That is the truth, that's the kind of society capitalism is. A lot of people wanted to say, "You can't do this," or other people would come and say (in private), "Listen, I agree with you, but hey, I'm gonna be too unpopular if I do what you're doing and what other people are doing. If I don't stay in my own crowd, if I challenge the accepted social norms, I'm gonna be unpopular. I might not have any friends, I might not get invited to the senior prom." Well, who gives a damn! — the world is about a lot more than all that petty bullshit.

\*\*\*\*

This is the reality of what this system does. It jolts people awake, it forces them to think. It causes them to question the hardship it puts them through, the crisis and wars it plunges them into. That's why the rulers of this country, as they can see the crisis sharpening up and things getting more and more intense out there — people with anger exploding, often against each other, often against themselves, but nevertheless the capitalists themselves can see that storms are gathering — they can't stand for there to be a party out there that doesn't compromise with them, that doesn't flinch in the face of them, that doesn't back off, that isn't worried if we are a little unpopular or if some people say "I can't hang around you because I don't want people identifying me as, or even calling me, a communist." A party that doesn't let itself be taken off the track by that, doesn't let itself be backed down by these superficial idiotic ideas that still have hold on a lot of people's minds, but stands up and tells people the truth and says, "This is where this system is heading, this is the only place it can head, further and further dragging us down, dragging us even toward World War 3. We cannot stand around any longer, we cannot sit around any longer;

*This article is the fourth in a series of material compiled from a 1979 speaking tour by 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.*

we cannot simply pray, we cannot simply hope it will go away; we cannot hide from it; we've got to become conscious, we've got to get united, we've got to get prepared, and we've got to rise up millions strong and make revolution in this country because that's the only answer to it!"

They can't stand for us to be out there telling the truth to people and not backing off of it. And each time they attack us, we go further, we go deeper, we go broader, and we take that question to more people — and that's why they keep coming down harder and harder. Because they're not playing a game, and we're not playing a game, either. This is not a game out here. Many people say they do not believe revolution is possible in this country; they do not believe that this question of making revolution is real. I'll tell you something — the people who run this country do. The people who run this country know this is serious; they know the question of millions of people coming into motion against them is real, because they know what they've got in store for us. Much as they are trying to hide it, they know there is going to be more unemployment and more crisis in the economy, while people are worked even harder and driven to death even faster on the job; they know the housing is going to tumble down around us even faster, the schools are going to be even lousier, the hospitals are going to close and slam their doors in our faces; and they know most of all that to try to get themselves out of all this and prolong this system even a little bit longer and breathe a few more last gasps into it, they are going to plunge the whole world into war, they and their Russian imperialist rival.

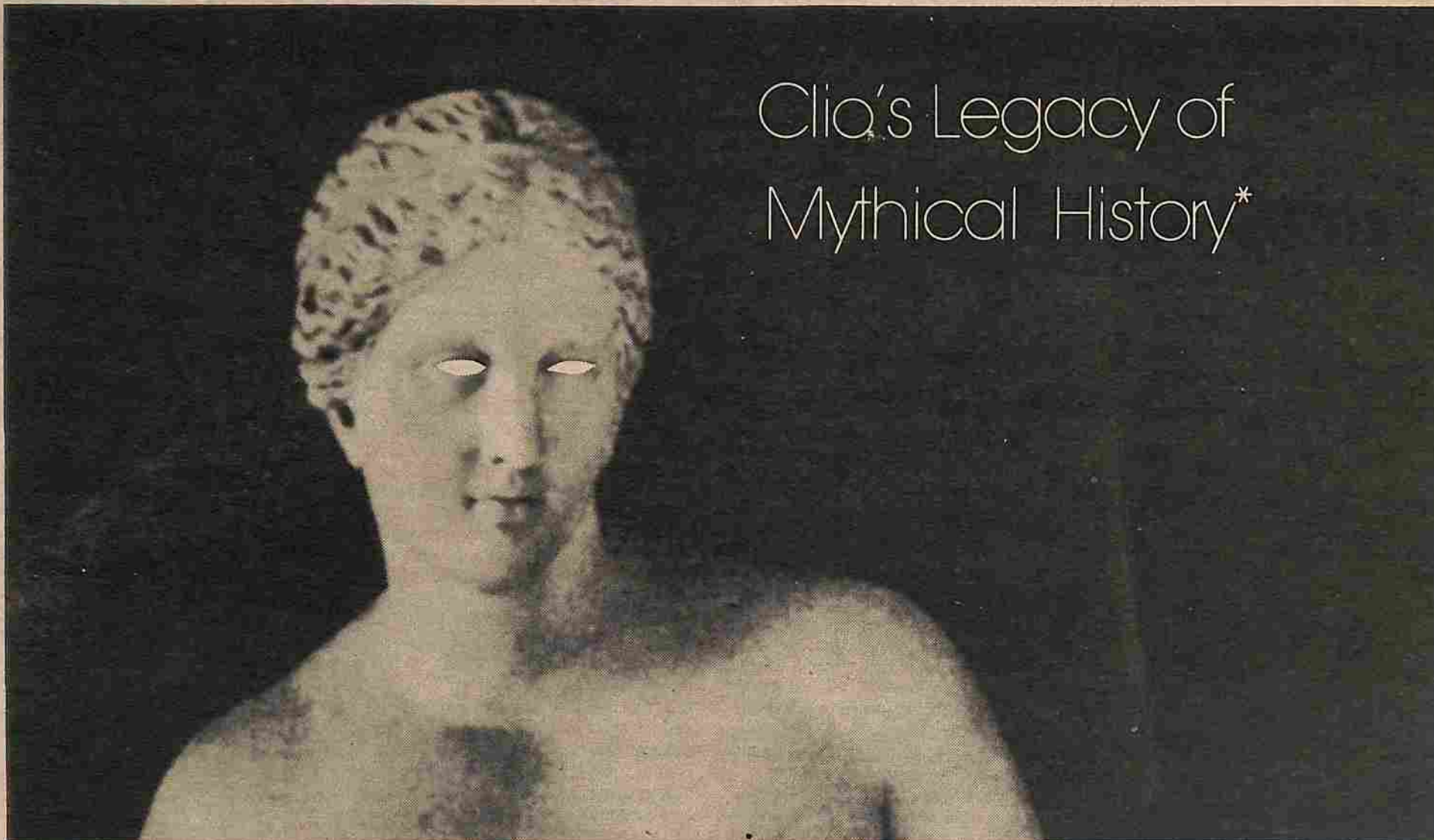
And it's time that people started waking up to this. It's time they stopped opening their mouths and exercising that dubious freedom — the freedom to act a fool for the ruling class. It's time they threw that so-called freedom away, along with the lies and the propaganda and the brainwashing carried out by the people ruling over and crushing and degrading and humiliating and tormenting us every day. It's time we went out and started struggling with people, waking them up to the reality of what is going on in this society and this world. And our party will not compromise on this. We are not going to go out here and repeat these lies. We are not going to go out and tell one person one thing and turn around and tell another person something different, in order to appeal to them both. We are not going to tell people that there is an "easy" way to get rid of this madness out here, that we can just grease it and slide on through with no struggle, no hardship, and no sacrifice. That's a lie.

Oh, we know it would be easier. It would be easier like going to a doctor when you have a stomachache. Something hurts inside your stomach, so this doctor takes some tests and discovers that you've got a tumor, a cancerous tumor, in your stomach. Now he thinks about that and says to himself, "Hmmm, if I tell this guy that he's got cancer, he won't like to hear that. Maybe he'll leave, and he won't come back. Maybe he'll go see another doctor, and I'll lose a patient and some money. Not too good, not too cool. I'm going to tell him it's just some indigestion, and he should just go home and take some Pepto-Bismol, and everything will be cool." Now if that doctor — out of selfish interests or even misplaced concern for you, not wanting to upset you — comes out and tells you it's just a case of a little indigestion, maybe you'll be glad for a while. You'll thank him. You'll be relieved and you'll go away happy — for a little while. But sooner or later and probably sooner you'll find out that here was a cancer growing inside of you, and this doctor knew it all the time. The rest of your body was healthy, and if this cancer had been cut out, your body could have gone on and grown vigorously, and you might have avoided this disaster. But he didn't want to tell you that. After all, an operation would be necessary and operations are bloody: flesh gets cut, blood runs inside your body, it's unpleasant, and there's always the danger that you might die on the operating table. But there's a certainty you're going to die if he lies to you, and you're going to die for nothing and with no hope for anything better.

So you go on living and six months or a year later you are finally driven to a different doctor, and he tells you, "Look, you've had stomach cancer for the last year. If somebody told you the truth a year ago, even if you didn't want to hear it then and they had to argue with you to get you up off it, you could have had it cut out. Yes, it would have been painful; it would have required sacrifice and bloodshed and included even the threat of dying. But if you'd survived it, you could have grown and been healthy and vigorous. Now it's too late." Now, how would you feel in that position? How would you feel about that first doctor? Would you think he was your friend? Would you thank him for playing up to you and pandering to your prejudices and your fears? — or would you want to kill him, first on your list?

We are not going to go out here and practice political quackery. We are not going to go out here and tell people that the problems in this society are minor, just a little political indigestion, and that a little political Pepto-Bismol can solve them: vote in this guy or that guy, change some faces in union office, get a few petty reforms from City Hall, a few increases in your paycheck (to see them stolen back and more the next year). That's not going to solve it. All this madness out here is fundamentally rooted in this capitalist system which is a decadent, parasitic, and dying system. It has to be swept completely out of the way before any of this stuff is going to end, and before society can move on to a much higher and brighter future. That's what we say straight up and we won't compromise or capitulate on this, which is why our party is coming under these sharper attacks.

From a Speech in Cleveland, Ohio



## Clio's Legacy of Mythical History\*

In recent weeks we have been treated to a cacophonous chorus of historical nonsense about the origins of World War 2 and world war in general. The *New York Times* editorialized November 22, off the movie *The Day After*, "Indeed, one could argue that humanism in the contemplation of war can breed pacifism, which may render democracies vulnerable and thus invite war." Mr. Objective, Ted Koppel, intoned during ABC's *Viewpoint* program following the movie, "During the 1930s, in Europe, especially in England, there were discussions not dissimilar from this discussion, in which people with the best of motives spoke about pacifism, the need *not* to go to war, the... the horror of war. And some historians feel, I would suggest most historians feel, that it was *that very sense* that brought about precisely what everyone was trying to avoid. I think what Dr. Kissinger was talking about before is precisely that. The danger that in being human about what we've just seen, we may become not only impractical but unwise." Yes, sir, nothing breeds war like the desire for peace. Say what?!

The present-day relevance of the discussion of peace, and the fantastic rewriting of the history of the 1930s by Koppel (and he is by no means unique), is, of course, preparations for World War 3, and specific questions like "deterrence" and "preventing war" by arming exactly for war. What this mythical history lesson would have us believe is that the so-called policy of "appeasement" toward Nazi Germany in the late 1930s showed a peacenik lack of fortitude on the part of the Western imperialists, thus emboldening Adolf & Co. to launch the second interimperialist world slaughterfest. And they accuse communists of tampering with history!

To get at the real causes and forces involved before World War 2, and how this recent bunk palmed off as history seeks to twist and conceal the essential factors leading to world war, a brief review of the alleged "appeasement" policy of the late 1930s is in order. The most notorious episode of this aspect of the preparations of the "Allies" for World War 2 came in September 1938, when British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain made a pact in Munich giving Czechoslovakia to Germany, thereby supposedly "giving in" to the Nazis' territorial appetite. In fact, the British (and the U.S., which supported this action at the time) knew quite well they would soon be going down with Germany, but wished to first wear Germany

down as much as possible. The plan was to first push Germany to the east — directly against the Soviet Union — and thus bog Germany down, and in the process hopefully weaken both the Soviet Union and especially Germany. An interesting concept of pacifism.

In other words, the Munich Pact was no more peacefully intentioned than the recent invasion of Grenada. It was simply one, albeit an important, element in the prewar maneuvering. In particular, it was central to the prewar peace wars of the time, and in no way negates but rather further confirms the fact that the source of World War 2 (and interimperialist war in general) is the need of competing blocs of capital for a redivision of the world.\*\* The Munich Pact-type policies were based merely on particular tactics deemed correct for the 1930s, which in turn were based on the international balance of forces and preparedness for world war, interbloc jockeying, etc. For the imperialists today, especially for U.S. imperialism which after all cannot sit out the first years of the next war as it did in the first two, the tactics of that period clearly do not in the main suit present needs. So "pacifism" is a real bad guy these days for the same underlying reason that "peace in our time" was the cynical slogan of the Munich days.

One aim in these fictionalized accounts of the pre-World War 2 period is historical obfuscation and deceit on the origins of imperialist war in general. Only one class can benefit from concealing imperialism's innate and cyclic drives for redivision of the world: the bourgeoisie. Another purpose of this deceit is to attack the broad sentiments of masses of people for peace and movements like those opposed to the rulers' war preparations, attempting to cast a pall of blame on these sentiments and movements for the future war.

Most of all, though, the bourgeoisie seeks to channel the desire for peace and concern over another world war down very narrow, and very dead-end alleys. "Peace Through Strength!" they bellow. "Peace Through Increased Firepower!" echoes one philistine T-shirt. Then there's "Peace Through Deterrence!" And "Peace Through Armed Western

Unity!" In particular, the bourgeoisie is adamant that this desire for peace and opposition to war preparations, which they cannot will away but — especially with revolutionary opposition — must contend with, should not be directed against the governments of the Western bloc. Instead, the bourgeoisie seeks to circumscribe and channel as much as possible these sentiments and movements so as to strengthen these very governments and their war moves.

One thing must be granted them: they do seek peace. An *imperialist peace* based on themselves receiving the victor's share of the spoils coming off yet another imperialist war, and an imperialist peace in which they will be able even more than today to dictate the nature and terms of political, economic, and military relations internationally. Sort of like after World War 2.... And surely no one should be surprised at their duplicity in using people's sentiments for peace. Rather, one should gain a deeper materialist understanding of the class nature and content of war and peace, and all the formal treaties, pacts, deals, surrenders, etc., that attend the two. The U.S. imperialists' claims to be the most ardent seekers of peace in history are as cheap as they are insidious. Whether it's a lexicon of Reagan's doublespeak (like calling the MX missile "The Peacekeeper"!), or that of Kennedy-types and their "Freeze," it all amounts to a bourgeois form of diversion from the source of and solution to preparations for interimperialist world war, and the war itself.

Bob Avakian recently wrote an article entitled "World War Must Be Opposed With Revolution, Not Peace," in which he said, "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 alternative — to seeing their position in the world severely undermined and perhaps even overthrown by their rivals or by the revolutionary masses." In their own perverse fashion, the bourgeoisie also says a mere desire for peace will not bring it; the difference is two-fold, and crucial. First, they would have it that the responsibility for a world war would rest largely on those who most fervently desire to prevent world war, and by no means is inherent in imperialism's genetic code: expand or die. Second, they would have it that imperialism's continued "peaceful" reign is not only desirable in the first place, but possible to boot, if, and only if, the masses unreservedly support one

bourgeois "peace" wagon or another. For those genuinely seeking to end imperialism's wars and manifold other horrors, it's daily becoming clearer that, as Bob Avakian pointed out above, the way out of this madness lies elsewhere.

### The Missing World War

As a further historical note, it is most interesting to observe the general absence of reference to World War 1 in the rulers' prewar mass propaganda today. Wasn't World War 1 a legitimate, bona fide, card-carrying, full-scale world war? But alas, for the academic, media and cultural apologists of the bourgeoisie, there was no similar "Munich period" before World War 1. And while there was plenty of imperialist maneuvering and prewar peace wars, overall the preparations prior to World War 1 and the war itself reveal even more obviously the naked, underlying power interests involved. Further, with World War 1 they can't dull people's senses with all the well-established bullshit about how the Nazis were the only real bad guys in World War 2. Just think how many World War 2 movies (compared to those about World War 1) have been made — and it's not because it was the more recent world war either; numerically, Westerns beat them both. When they do talk about World War 1 among themselves, many historians present it as an insoluble conundrum, and often as an ugly chapter in the history of the world ("big powers greedily vying for larger chunks of empire" is a rather mainstream line on World War 1 among these types). While another world war will have many new features and particularities of its own, its fundamental character will be as thoroughly imperialist as that of the previous two. Since both these world wars shed much light on the origins, nature and terms of the approaching war, class-conscious proletarians and all those actively opposing the war preparations underway today by the ruling classes of the world would do well to become familiar with the basic features of World Wars 1 and 2. □

\* Clio was the Muse of History in Greek mythology, daughter of Mnemosyne (Memory), rumored to have been remarkably short, and Zeus.

\*\* For a full analysis of the source and role of inter-imperialist world war, readers should study 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), as well as Bob Avakian's "Outline of Views on the Historical Experience of the International Communist Movement and the Lessons for Today," *Revolution*, Issue 49, June 1981. Also relevant in the same issue of *Revolution* is the article "Some Notes on the Military and Diplomatic History of WW 2."

**The Whole World is Watching;  
And In The Interests  
Of The World, We Must  
Step Out Onto The Stage!**

**Die ganze Welt schaut zu;  
und für die Interessen der Welt  
müssen wir auf die  
politische Bühne treten!**

**Tüm Dünya Seyrediyor;  
Ve Dünyanın Çıkarları İçin  
Siyasi Sahnede Yerimizi Almalıyız!**

**Aufruf für einen  
antiimperialistischen Block  
am 21.11.1983 in den Bonner Strassen**

**21 Kasım'da Bonn Caddelerinde,  
Anti-Emperyalist Bir Bölük  
Olusturmaya Çağrı**

**A Call For An Anti-imperialist Contingent  
In The Streets Of Bonn, November 21st**

The following is the text of a call for the anti-imperialist forces in West Germany to take the political stage on November 21 — the day the West German parliament voted to deploy the Pershing II and cruise missiles. This call was put out in German, Turkish and English and signed by: ATIF, Federation of Workers from Turkey in West Germany; FightBack, Revolutionary Voice of GIs in Europe; Revolutionary Communist Party, USA; Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (USA); and the "World Without Imperialism" Contingent. Look for full coverage of the actions in Bonn in future issues of the RW.

\*\*\*\*\*

**THE WHOLE WORLD IS WATCHING; AND IN THE INTERESTS OF THE  
WORLD WE MUST STEP OUT ONTO THE STAGE!  
A CALL FOR AN ANTI-IMPERIALIST CONTINGENT IN THE STREETS OF  
BONN, NOVEMBER 21!**

A clear and powerful statement must be made in the streets of Bonn on November 21, the day the parliament rubberstamps the Pershing 2 and Cruise missile deployment. On that day, when they will claim to speak in the name of their "democratic mandate" and will declare the solemn approval for this calculated move toward war — they must be indicted, exposed and opposed by thousands in the streets. Let them declare their "right" to approve these steps — while the whole world can see that their deliberations take place behind rows of barbed wire and their armed thugs.

The demonstration in Bonn on Nov. 21 was called because important sections of the anti-war movement want to continue a vocal opposition to missiles and war preparations — and are not about to stop after a single "action week," especially since the missiles are going in. At the recent Köln conference, the DKP-SPD spectrum at first vigorously opposed a Bundes-wide action. Since they were then defeated in plenum, these "official forces" now support the demonstration in words in hopes of controlling it, while they are doing little or nothing to build for it. Despite them, the reactionary parliament will be a political target on November 21.

Thousands throughout West Germany are looking for a chance to make the most resolute statement possible against these missiles, and against the sinister forces that conjured them into being. Thousands more are thoroughly disgusted at seeing the movement they are part of being reduced to a plaything of parliamentarians — to see it diffused, sanitized, suppressed and essentially sold-out. And many thousands more have been drawn into political life and are seriously asking (perhaps for the first time) profound and radical questions about the direction of world events.

But a sharp question remains: when the eyes of millions (both in West Germany and throughout the world) are focused on Bonn that day — when they evaluate the forces in the field over the question of this clear move toward war... what will they see?

Will the followers of "NATO-Willy" have the last word?

Will the statement outside the Bundestag that day be little more than a last minute "beg-in" attempting to loyally "pressure legally elected representatives" of the war-makers?

**NO! THIS CANNOT BE ALLOWED!** It will not be allowed! A clear, unmistakable voice must be heard that dares to speak the truth, and that raises the indictment of the system of imperialism as a clear pole on the political arena that day.

In this politically charged situation, we have both the possibility and necessity to turn these aspirations into a material force — by erecting a political pole that indicates the source of the drive toward war, and points toward a way out of this crisis, a pole that can influence and attract forces that have newly broken into political life and the process of radicalization.

For these reasons, then, a call:

**TO ALL ANTI-IMPERIALIST FORCES (FROM PACIFIST TO  
REVOLUTIONARY);**

**TO JOIN TOGETHER IN A SINGLE UNITED ANTI-IMPERIALIST  
CONTINGENT FOR BONN ON NOVEMBER 21.**

**TO TAKE PART IN THE EVENTS OF THAT DAY UNDER THE SLOGANS:**

**"DOWN WITH THE PERSHING AND CRUISE MISSILES AND ALL WAR  
PREPARATIONS, BOTH EAST AND WEST!"**

**"A WORLD WITHOUT IMPERIALISM, NOT AN IMPERIALIST WORLD  
WAR!"**

These two slogans concentrate the political points that are most important to drive home now. In particular:

—The missiles are a crucial preparation for an actual, approaching reactionary global war. The present problem is not primarily that the missiles increase the danger of war — but rather the reverse, that because there is the growing threat of world war, the ruling classes are readying their missiles and alliances.

—This threat of world war does not arise from "bad policies" or from the irrationalities of a handful of madmen — it is the outcome of the very working of the global system of imperialism, that web of reactionary social relations that spans the planet and now embraces both blocs.

—There is nothing in the Status-quo, east or west, worth defending. While radical solutions have long been necessary in general, they are increasingly urgent in light of the great new crimes which the ruling classes are about to unleash.

—That relative prosperity and stability that has reigned in "Western Metropolises" for a generation cannot be, and should not be defended. It was always inseparable from the brutal mangling of hundreds of millions of lives throughout the world, because modern "Western Civilization" is based on that global exploitation. For too long, "Save Germany by any means" has been an implicit theme of opposition to war preparations. First of all, it must be said that it is a WORLD war that is being prepared, and that even if the war were somehow magically to leave the BRD untouched — it will still lay waste to vast stretches of the planet and murder millions, and *that* (regardless of the particular and narrow interests of either Germany) is the point being addressed here.

It is wrong to approach such questions from the point of view of the interests of the people of any one country (especially an imperialist metropole country like the BRD). Instead we must stand for something different and genuinely internationalist — approaching politics from the interests of the oppressed people of the whole world.

—Both blocs are co-responsible for the approach of war. And in particular the BRD is not a "hapless pawn" of others, but an eager active power in these pre-war preparations in hopes of sitting at some future "victors' table" where imperialists would carve up the world again, for the third time.

Going to Bonn on the 21st to make an explicitly anti-imperialist statement will not in any way imply that we grant "legitimacy" to the Bundestag or the system they serve. On the contrary, if anti-imperialists do not plan and carry through a unified contingent, their forces will be swamped, hidden, and dispersed within the general level of the current peace movement. And even worse, in the absence of a clear anti-imperialist pole, the stage will be left open for the DKP, the SPD and other forces.

In fact, the grip of such forces on even the broader ranks of those who oppose the missiles is far from as firm or permanent as they might wish.

Some have said that such a contingent would only represent a minority within the broader movement, and would be raising politics that the majority of the West German people (even the majority of the West German "peace movement") cannot presently support. In a sense this is true. But is this an argument for not mobilizing those who do understand the nature of the system, and in that way fighting to win over even more? If we do not dare to tell people the truth now about the nature of the imperialist system and their drive toward war — have we not given up the real opportunity to win new, fresh and growing forces over the period ahead.

In regard to the argument that says that any gathering of anti-imperialist forces now would simply serve as an opportunity for the police to cast their nets: First of all, it must be said that no one has the intent of walking blindly into the arms of the police! Certainly the police will try to prevent and suppress such an anti-imperialist expression, exactly because it would represent a deadly threat to not only their war plans, but their system itself. But there is no law that says that the police will succeed in their plots.

Arguments for "sitting on the sidelines" now, in the coming months, is (in the final analysis) a call for capitulation in crucial moments of the current struggle over the missiles.

This is not the time to step off the political stage. After 21-11 will come the actual process of deployment, capped by the ruling class celebration on 12-12, when they will toast the 4th anniversary of their "2-track" blood pact and their success in their latest belligerent step toward war.

The challenge before us is to cause the ruling class to pay the greatest political price possible; by waging a battle for political exposure of the system.

What we do in the next weeks is of tremendous importance for the future. Autumn in West Germany may not yet have broken out of the bounds assigned to it by the West German bourgeoisie — but in the world as a whole it was certainly overall "Hot Autumn" . . . from Grenada, to Chile, to the Philippines, to Lebanon exactly because of the growing intensity of a pre-war period. Millions are asking deep and searching questions about the causes behind the single-minded devotion of the rulers of both blocs to the preparations for war. Because this whole fall is only the first battle of a period in which the drumbeats of war will certainly quicken, how clear and powerful our message is, on the streets of Bonn on the 21st, and in the months ahead, will make a difference in how such questions are answered.

**STEP OUT ONTO THE STAGE!**

**ON TO NOVEMBER 21 — FOR AN ANTI-IMPERIALIST CONTINGENT!  
SIGNATORIES — UNTERZEICHER — İMZALAYANLAR**

**ATIF—**

Federation of workers from Turkey in West Germany  
Föderation der Arbeiter aus der Türkei in BRD.  
Almanya Türkiyeli İşçiler Federasyonu.

**FightBack—**

Revolutionary Voice of GI's in Europe.  
Die revolutionäre Stimme der GIs in Europa.  
Avrupa'daki Amerikalı Askerlerin Devrimci Sesi.

**Revolutionary Communist Party, USA—**

Revolutionärer Kommunistische Partei, USA.  
ABD-Devrimci Komünist Partisi.

**Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (USA)—**

Revolutionärer Kommunistische Jugend Brigade (USA).  
ABD-Genç Komünistler Birliği.

**"World Without Imperialism" Contingent—**

"Für ein Welt ohne Imperialismus Kontingent"  
aus den USA nach der BRD.

"Emperyalizmsiz Bir Dünya İçin Tugayı" ABD'den Avrupa'ya.

## U.S. Bloc Eyes Syria

# "Pre-emption, Retaliation" and Preparation

Under the pretext of "retaliation," there is some active war preparation underway in and around Lebanon these days. The Israeli and French air strikes in eastern Lebanon last week were presented as acts of "retribution" for the October bomb attacks on Israeli and French positions. But they were not the last word on the subject. U.S. Secretary of Defense Weinberger's November 22 "revelation" that the October 23 truck bomb attacks had involved Iranians operating with the "sponsorship and knowledge and authority of the Syrian government" was a clear signal that the U.S. considers the matter of "retaliation" to be far from closed and that the U.S.'s further pursuit of the matter will be more forthrightly aimed at Damascus. (At the same time, the continuing implication of Iranians in the matter may prove of similar utility; even as the U.S. has staged a major escalation of its Mediterranean forces in proximity to Lebanon, it has positioned the U.S. *Ranger* and other forces from the

Seventh Fleet near the Persian Gulf, in anticipation of a possible escalation in the fighting in that area.)

On November 20 Israeli strikes against Druse and Palestinian positions in the mountains east of Beirut were likewise notable — Israel justified these attacks also as "retribution" for the growing wave of attacks against its occupation forces in southern Lebanon. And they were clearly coordinated beforehand with the U.S. Israeli officials simultaneously served notice that the Israeli policy of "pre-emption," with which it "took out" villages, towns and military positions in southern Lebanon from 1978 to 1982 under the pretext that they posed an imminent or potential threat to Israeli borders, was once again alive and well. Given the conditions of Israeli occupation of the south, the resurrection of this "pre-emptive" stance signals a wide range of possible Israeli military actions, not only in the south, but as the November 20 attacks show, in the rest of Lebanon as well.

At the same time, the situation today is far different from that of 1978-1982. The U.S.-backed Israeli invasion of Lebanon last year has indeed changed that country's political map, but not entirely as intended. The Syrian state, its military beefed up by the Soviet Union and its political position in the "internal" Lebanon situation considerably enhanced, has emerged as an ever more formidable adversary. The military dimensions of this were clearly involved in the French/Israeli air strikes in eastern Lebanon last week. These were obviously more than projections of U.S./Israeli/French power intended solely as signals. Mainly directed at a purported "training camp" just four miles from the Syrian border, they simultaneously served as a "trial run" to test and probe the Syrian defense system in the area. Given the importance of the Israeli air force to its overall military posture, the matter of improved Syrian air defense looms large in the military thinking of the U.S. and Israel. In contemplating their war fighting

capabilities, the Western consensus is that they have a decisive advantage, but there is still a question of what price they would have to pay. Israeli air power no longer stands so clearly as a relatively cheap and easy way in which to punish adversaries; the shooting down of one Israeli plane during its 45 minute air strike November 20 was a sign that adversaries — whether Syrian or Lebanese — can no longer be so readily "put back in the box." At the same time, the U.S. is more and more compelled to resolve its political dilemmas in Lebanon through military means — thus the increasing profile of its "strategic cooperation" with Israel. And while Weinberger, in the course of his November 22 press conference, "declined" to state that the alleged Syrian complicity in the October 23 bomb attack constituted an "act of war," the very posing of the question shows how far things have come. □

## the Slugfest

Continued from page 1

politicians and media); accelerated deployments of short-range nuclear missiles in East Germany and Czechoslovakia, including SS-21 and SS-23 launchers; and most dramatically, a deployment "in oceans and seas," meaning probably, Soviet nuclear submarines off the coasts of the U.S. The Soviets have at least one operational cruise missile design of their own, the SS-C-1b, with a range of about 300 miles, which could be mounted on these submarines. British sources have also reported a new and more modern Soviet cruise weapon, the SS-N-X1.

Andropov coupled the announcement of new deployments with some "SS-20 diplomacy" — if the Europeans did not reject the new U.S. missiles on its territory, Europe flirted with "certain catastrophe," Andropov said. Of course, the Soviets, too, continue to talk of their readiness to negotiate, of their peaceful nature. The particular Soviet twist on this theme is the supposed "defensive" character of all their actions — their latest war preparations are as always "counter-measures" to the U.S. But the Russian threats to blow Europe sky high are much more to the point. Fundamentally, like the U.S., Soviet imperialist diplomacy rests on force and threats of force, like the one this week — the Soviet campaign to sow contradictions within the Western alliance rests nakedly on nuclear terror.

### The Bundestag and The Pershings

The latest and key round of imperialist war moves began on Tuesday, November 22, as the Bundestag (West German Parliament) formally approved the stationing of U.S. missiles by a vote of 286-226, with the Greens and Social Democratic Party (SPD) voting en bloc against the plan. The SPD (which arranged the missile deployment in the first place) greatly softened its new-found "opposition" to the deployment by insisting in its official resolution that it opposed deployment now, but "from within the alliance" — thus publicly affirming support for West Germany's part in NATO, which is after all, a key political message that the deployments are supposed to give to the Soviets. (Besides, the opposition vote was, the SPD knew, quite a safe one since the missiles were sure to be passed in any case.) Outside, over three hundred demonstrators were arrested in the two days of the Bundestag debates, with a group of demonstrators at one point attempting to break through police lines to get to the

Bundestag itself. As usual, reports of the more militant actions in the U.S. press were deliberately spotty, but it appears that scattered smaller actions also occurred throughout Bonn during the debates. In the week beforehand, a call to anti-imperialists to take the political stage had been circulated, signed by the ATIF, RCP, USA, RCYB, *FightBack*, and "World Without Imperialism" contingent. (See page 5 for the text of this call.)

The U.S. wasted no time following the vote. Within less than twenty-four hours, parts of the new Pershing II's were being flown into an airbase at Ramstein, site of demonstrations only last month. The missiles will then be transported to the U.S. base at Mutlangen, near the town of Swäbisch Gmünd. Even as the missiles were arriving, the Geneva talks were opening what was to be a final meeting. After 25 minutes, Soviet negotiator Yuli Kvitsinsky stormed out of the talks, saying they had been indefinitely "discontinued." Kvitsinsky's limousine was briefly blocked by peace demonstrators as the Soviet delegation attempted to leave. As both sides already knew, this was the signal for some most aggressive moves on the part of the Soviet Union; Andropov's television statement on the three-pronged deployment soon followed.

"They'll come back," Reagan said of the Soviets, with choreographed optimism, as the talks broke down and the new missiles went up. Perhaps they will be back. Both the Soviets and the U.S. need the charade of peacetalks to prove to the masses that they are honestly exploring every peaceful alternative toward war — the war that both imperialist blocs know full well is the only way the conflict will actually be resolved.

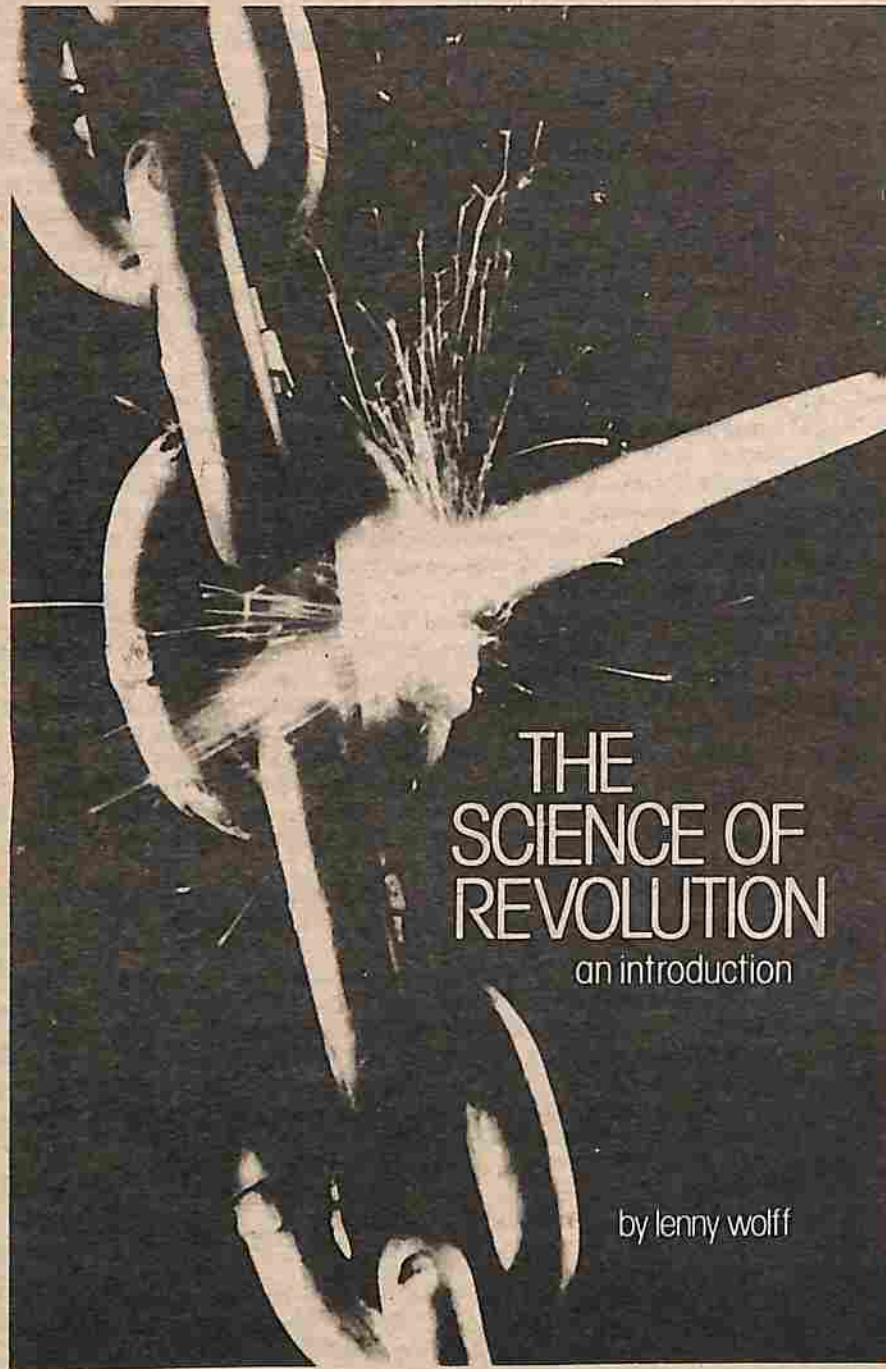
This is the point made by liberals like Senator Paul Tsongas, who must greatly admire the current strategy of the U.S. Speaking of Reagan, Tsongas said, "I would agree that people instinctively are drawn toward someone who exhibits strength and decisiveness. The question is whether that is balanced with an equal perception of someone who is willing to take a risk for peace and believes in the diplomatic process. If you look at the Euromissile issue, you had a commitment to the dual track: put the missiles in, and negotiate." This has now become: keep putting the missiles in and keep calling for negotiations. In any case, we must thank Mr. Reagan and Mr. Nitze for revealing the true reason for embarking on the deployment of hundreds of new nuclear missiles... why, it's all so that new peacetalks can begin!

In reality, whether or not a new set of talks begins, the next period will be any-

thing but calm. This is a crisis not simply over arms, but one which concentrates the global showdown between the two blocs. The Soviets, for example, in their official pamphlet on the crisis, "How To Avert the Threat to Europe," object that the U.S. is striving "to compel the Soviet Union to consent to strategic military superiority... not merely in physical terms, but de jure, that is in terms of international law." The U.S. — in de-

manding that the Soviets accept the deployment of hundreds of new missiles aimed straight at Soviet territory — is indeed deliberately challenging the Soviets' world position. Correspondingly, the Soviets by threatening Europe with their SS-20's, are striking at the heart of Western power — the U.S.-European alliance. Neither power will back off very far with these kinds of stakes on the line. The slugfest is just beginning. □

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



THE  
SCIENCE OF  
REVOLUTION  
an introduction

by lenny wolff

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

RCP Publications,  
PO Box 3486, Chicago, IL 60654

# The Brokers and the Battle Over Tripoli

As of this writing, PLO "rebels," backed by heavy Syrian tank and artillery barrages, have entered the northern Lebanese city of Tripoli. Having gained control of the Palestinian refugee camp of Baddawi on Tripoli's northern outskirts, after a lengthy battle there with Arafat loyalists had reduced the camp to little more than rubble, the "rebels" appear poised for a final push. As the Syrians have deployed enough tanks and artillery to reduce Tripoli to ruins, block by block, and have clearly demonstrated that they have no compunction not to do so, the ultimate outcome of this battle — should it continue — is clear. At the same time, Arafat continues to call upon a host of parties — particularly the Arab states and the Soviet Union — to intervene. And these and other "interested parties," all expressing "dismay" over the fighting, cynically maneuver to reap political gain out of the mounting wreckage.

The battle has taken a murderous toll: since the fighting first erupted on November 3, more than a thousand have died and at least 2,000 have sustained injury. The civilian portion of this toll is very high, and more than 200,000 have fled their homes, or what now remains of them. A correspondent from the Rome daily *Il Messagero* fills in some of the picture the figures only hint at:

"Long and disorderly lines of refugees, mainly women, exhausted old people and children, form ragged dots between the fields and olive groves and around the countryside of Tripoli. They don't know where to go or to whom to appeal. Columns of ambulances travel between the still active Palestinian positions and the five hospitals in town, discharging the wounded into the corridors, the waiting rooms, or just at the gates. Often the wounded stay there until they die, and the corpses, enveloped in nylon bags sprayed with chloroform concentrates, are transferred into refrigerator trucks parked in front of the hospitals, where stunned women who have no more tears come to identify a son, a husband, a grandchild, a relative...."

"The order to evacuate Nahr al-Bared (the Palestinian camp which fell to the rebels November 5) came after two rockets hit the concrete underground shelter in the camp. All its occupants were buried under the debris. Among them were 23 families of survivors of the massacres at Sabra and Shatilla."

The savagery of the fighting, the intra-Palestinian qualities of the conflict, the looming threat of an outright takeover of the PLO by Syria — all this has provoked widespread dismay and anger among the Palestinians. A Palestinian youth, speaking to reporters from the Nahr al-Bared camp (under "rebel" occupation), spoke of the prevailing mood: "as black as boiling asphalt." And throughout the Palestinian diaspora, this churning sentiment has erupted into demonstrations of outrage and clashes with the authorities. In Syria itself, demonstrations broke out almost immediately in the refugee camps outside Damascus; the Syrian state, demonstrating anew the principles underlying its "firm stand" towards the Palestinians, gunned down the protestors, killing eight and wounding 38. In the West Bank, home to over 700,000 Palestinians living under the occupation of democratic Israel, a wave of demonstrations, strikes and public activity has brought on a similarly predictable response — the Israelis killing at least two Palestinian youths and wounding several others in repeated clashes over the past weeks. In Nahr al-Bared itself, a tumultuous demonstration of thousands broke out Nov. 18 against the new "authorities," and the car of two prominent "rebel" spokesmen — Nimr Saleh and Mahmoud Lahbadi — was set afire as they attempted to address and cajole

the crowd. Speaking more eloquently, and truthfully, than the spokesmen were the "rebel" gunmen who then fired repeatedly into the crowd, killing a reported 25 and wounding many more.

The fighting in Tripoli is a function of several, interpenetrating arenas of conflict. And besides the Palestinian question, with its internal and external dimensions, there is the question of Tripoli itself, which has for some time posed something of a problem to the Syrians in their Lebanese campaign. The Tripoli population represents a relative stronghold of anti-Syrian sentiment. And the Syrian army maintained a threatening pose outside the city long before Arafat's return to the area, massing tanks and troops, manning checkpoints and the like on the city's perimeter. The fighting among the many militias within the city has been in part a function of pro- and anti-Syrian trends (though it has other political and religious dimensions as well). The local Sunni Moslem populace still carries burning memories of the events at Hama, the Syrian city not far across the border, when the Syrian military quashed a revolt in early 1982 by destroying the entire city, killing an untold number of people in the process (estimates range from 5-20,000). When Arafat, in a terse exchange with the Syrian leadership this past summer, intimated that he would make Tripoli a new basing area, they reportedly replied, "We care less for Tripoli than we did for

Hama"; the parallels are readily perceived on all sides.

Still, it is the specifically Palestinian dimension that has fueled the current battle. The relationship of the Palestinian movement to the political alignments, in the Middle East and internationally, underlines and largely sets the terms for the conflict. And its outcome will be similarly far-ranging in its consequences.

The PLO, of course, is severely, probably irrevocably, split. Certainly there is no return to the state of affairs as existed before the conflict came to a head. On the one side are the "rebels" who, since their original barracks mutiny in the Bekka Valley last May, have staged a "creeping coup d'état" giving them decisive control over the bulk of the Palestinian military force in Lebanon, and significant political position within the PLO as well. While the "rebel" challenge to Arafat has its own internal history and dynamic, it is primarily a function of the Syrian (and secondarily, Libyan) state's bid to gain unchallenged control over the Palestinian movement — in its military, political and diplomatic aspects. That this has become so is as much due to the political program of the "rebels" as it is to the brazen determination of Syria (more on this, along with the touchpoints of Syrian-Soviet collusion in the matter, later).

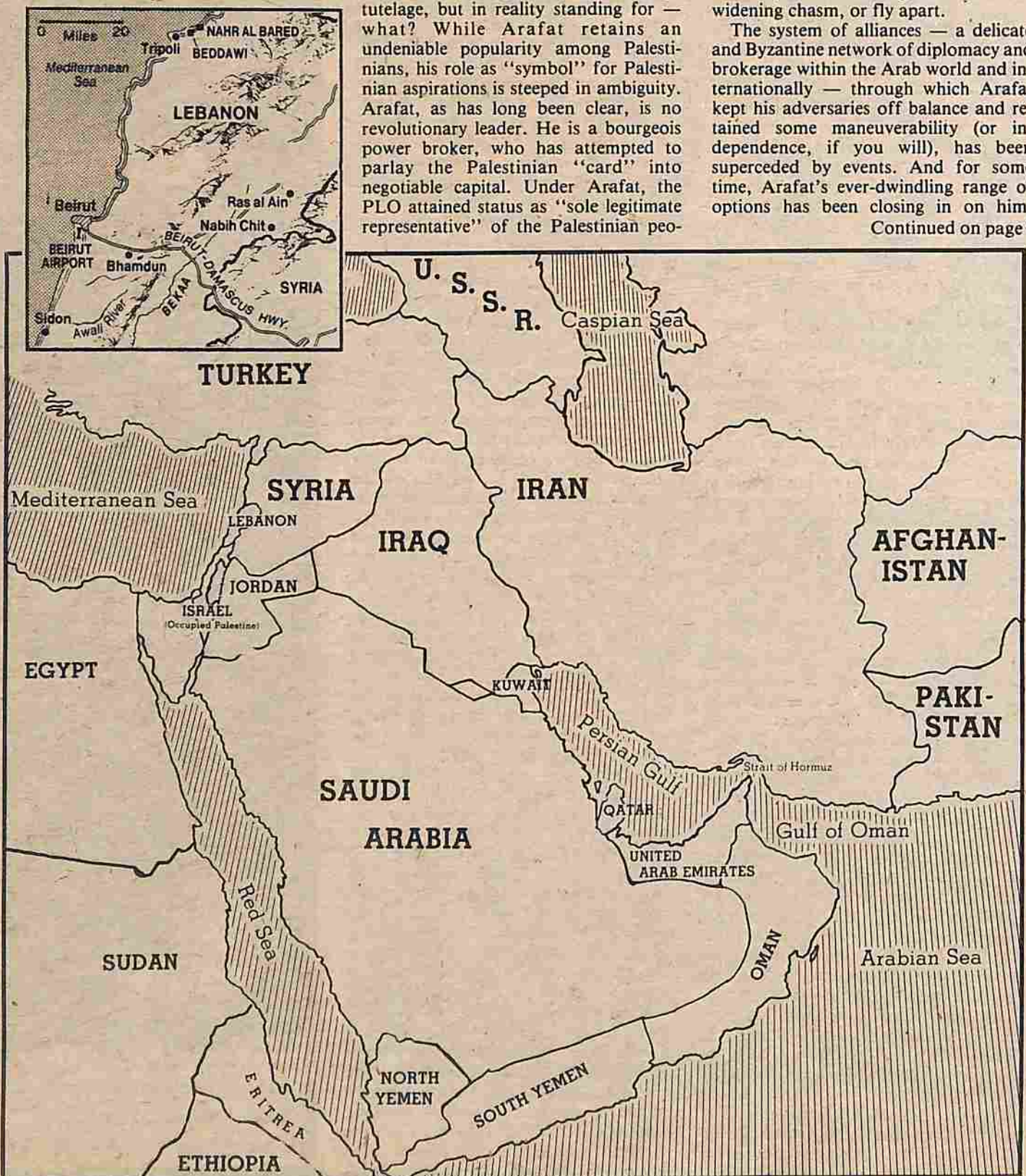
On the other side of the divide is Arafat, ostensibly upholding the banner of Palestinian independence from foreign tutelage, but in reality standing for — what? While Arafat retains an undeniable popularity among Palestinians, his role as "symbol" for Palestinian aspirations is steeped in ambiguity. Arafat, as has long been clear, is no revolutionary leader. He is a bourgeois power broker, who has attempted to parlay the Palestinian "card" into negotiable capital. Under Arafat, the PLO attained status as "sole legitimate representative" of the Palestinian peo-

ple, gained a tenuous "legitimacy" among the Arab heads of state and internationally, and increasingly relinquished any vision of (much less coherent strategy towards) social and political revolution. Instead, the PLO had largely become a vehicle for Arafat's maneuvering, alliance-building and diplomacy. "Armed struggle" and the maintenance of a military and political base in Lebanon were holding actions in lieu of a negotiated settlement to the Palestinian question — an envisioned statehood to which the U.S. and its Israeli strategic ally have remained implacably opposed.

Following the Israeli invasion into Lebanon and the PLO's subsequent expulsion from Beirut, contradictions have come to a head. The PLO itself maintained an illusory "unity" only at the cost of ever-mounting political incoherence (the strategy sanctioned by last February's Palestinian National Council meeting was dubbed, with a straight face, "movement within immobilism"). The "strategy" of bloc-straddling — strengthening ties with the pro-U.S. Arab states and thus keeping a backdoor open to a U.S.-mediated settlement, while simultaneously affirming a "strategic alliance" with Syria and the "socialist camp" (the Soviet Union and its allies) — has become ever more impossible to maintain. As the contention between the U.S. and Soviet blocs has heightened, the "straddler" must shift to one side or another, or risk falling into the ever-widening chasm, or fly apart.

The system of alliances — a delicate and Byzantine network of diplomacy and brokerage within the Arab world and internationally — through which Arafat kept his adversaries off balance and retained some maneuverability (or independence, if you will), has been superseded by events. And for some time, Arafat's ever-dwindling range of options has been closing in on him,

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## The Brokers and the Battle Over Tripoli

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representing less an orbit of maneuverability than a noose tightening around his neck. What remains, but the meager prospects of "confederation" with Jordan's King Hussein? Or to serve as titular "leader," or figurehead, of a PLO more tightly bound to the Soviet Union? Where would that leave Arafat's growing alignment with Islamic forces, who have been calling upon the PLO to renounce its secular aims and turn to the prosecution of *jihād*?

Clearly, Arafat has resisted making a clear commitment that would foreclose other options, and has continued reaching out in a myriad of often contradictory directions. But the Syrian/"rebel" challenge has brought him closer to the precipice; no longer can Arafat put the PLO on indefinite hold while he chases the illusion that something better will come along. Indeed, the split has revealed his basic quandary; while he has enjoyed a resurgence of popular support from the Palestinians in response to the murderous Syrian offensive, he has been unable to translate this into the kind of hard negotiating currency his position requires. His return to Tripoli (in mid-September) was a last-ditch bid to regain some initiative along these lines. Arafat and his aides, who beginning in early October were pointing to an imminent "final battle" around Tripoli, aimed to bring the split to a head in such a way as to bring all of Arafat's remaining reserves of support — especially, it was hoped, from the Soviet Union and Arab states — to bear on the situation. An October 16 mediation package offered up by the pro-Soviet Democratic Front and Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine — which essentially remonstrated the Syrians for the more heavy-handed features of their takeover bid, and at the same time called upon Arafat to face the music, cease his flirtations with the Hussein "option" and seek a rapprochement with the "rebels" — was basically ignored by Arafat. He welcomed the features of the package that emphasized a nominal PLO independence from outright Syrian *diktat*, and simultaneously stepped up his contacts with King Hussein. Clearly, Arafat was calculating that any forthcoming "final battle" would allow him to cash in on the international reserves of support he thought he had coming.

He appears to have badly overestimated his hand. While the Soviet leaders have engaged in much public hand-wringing over the fighting, and have issued a "stern warning" to the Syrians to back off, the only effective measure they have proposed is that Arafat leave Tripoli via Moscow, whereupon the Soviets would "help" him put his house back in order. The political terms and consequences of this arrangement are clear enough. With all the problems involved, the Soviets would nonetheless be very willing to orchestrate a refurbished Palestinian-Syrian "alliance," so long as Arafat was more securely in their vest pocket.

As for the Arab states, they have done little but dispatch emissaries — a gesture of calculated futility. Repeatedly in these past months Arafat has called for the Arab League states to convene a summit, through which he hoped greater pressure could be brought to bear on Syria. These calls have fallen on deaf ears. Last fall, of course, the Arab heads of state made a big display of according Arafat "equal" status at the Fez Arab Summit. The arrangement there was a deal typical of Arafat's dealings. By joining hands with the Arab leaders at Fez he was helping them smooth over the bitter memories of the debacle of Beirut and thus deflect the broad domestic anger and criticism they faced. In exchange, Arafat obtained their assistance in keeping alive and active his politics of illusionment — the claim that Beirut was a victory, from which the Palestinian bargaining position would be greatly enhanced.

Today, even as Arafat mounts ever more urgent appeals, the Arab states apparently aren't even going to convene for their scheduled summit at Riyadh, which

had been set to begin November 22. (It was this summit which had posed something of a deadline for Assad; thus the timing of the "final push" against Arafat, designed to enhance Assad's position to the fullest at the summit's outset.) The Arab rulers are for the most part overwhelmingly integrated into the U.S. bloc, their "pan-Arab" concerns long since eclipsed by their own state interests. And with Syria doing the dirty work, their interest is to sit back and wait. Even the Saudi's recent statement specifying that Arafat, and he alone, was the "sole legitimate representative" of the Palestinian people, is a two-edged sword. Should Arafat be finished off — politically or physically — in the current fighting, the door has been opened wide for King Hussein to reclaim that mantle, thus greasing the skids for the triumphal implementation of the Reagan Plan.

While the pro-U.S. Arab states have need to make face-saving gestures, the U.S. and Israel have made no secret of their happiness over the events in Tripoli. Speaking of a region in which American-Israeli weaponry has killed tens of thousands over the years, the State Dept. did try to score some very cheap political points when it issued a statement inveighing against the "radical and brutal behavior" of the Palestinians in Tripoli. But mainly the U.S. and Israel have made clear that they find the fighting to be very much in their interest, and have no interest in seeing it stop.

The Syrians, after all, while clearly pushing the PLO to further their own designs, are nonetheless in some respects finishing off the job the U.S. and Israel started last summer. In the context of its international dimensions, the U.S.-Israeli invasion into Lebanon was largely intended to cripple the PLO and thereby bring the Palestinians of the West Bank and Gaza Strip to heel. The Reagan Plan, the "fresh start" the president called for even as the Israelis continued to bomb Beirut, was designed to finish the job. The Israelis, having failed repeatedly in their efforts to prop up local Palestinian collaborators of any effectiveness, hoped that credible collaborators — "moderates" they call them — would step forward, willing to "compromise" even as Israel continued to impose ever harsher measures against the West Bank and Gaza Palestinians. The aim in this was not so much to secure a lasting settlement to the West Bank and Gaza situations, but to effect an arrangement which would secure the greatest possible Palestinian complaisance as Israel proceeded to settle the occupied territories with Jewish inhabitants — squeezing the Palestinians into an ever more marginal and dependent existence, and perhaps clearing the way for their wholesale expulsion at some later point. The U.S., mindful of the possible destabilizing effects of this on its Jordanian clients, nonetheless keenly appreciates the special requirements and needs of the Israeli state that has served their interests so well. Certainly, the U.S. and Israel are united in a common interest to produce some Palestinian "moderates," and see in the PLO conflict an opportunity to make this happen (as does Jordan's King Hussein).

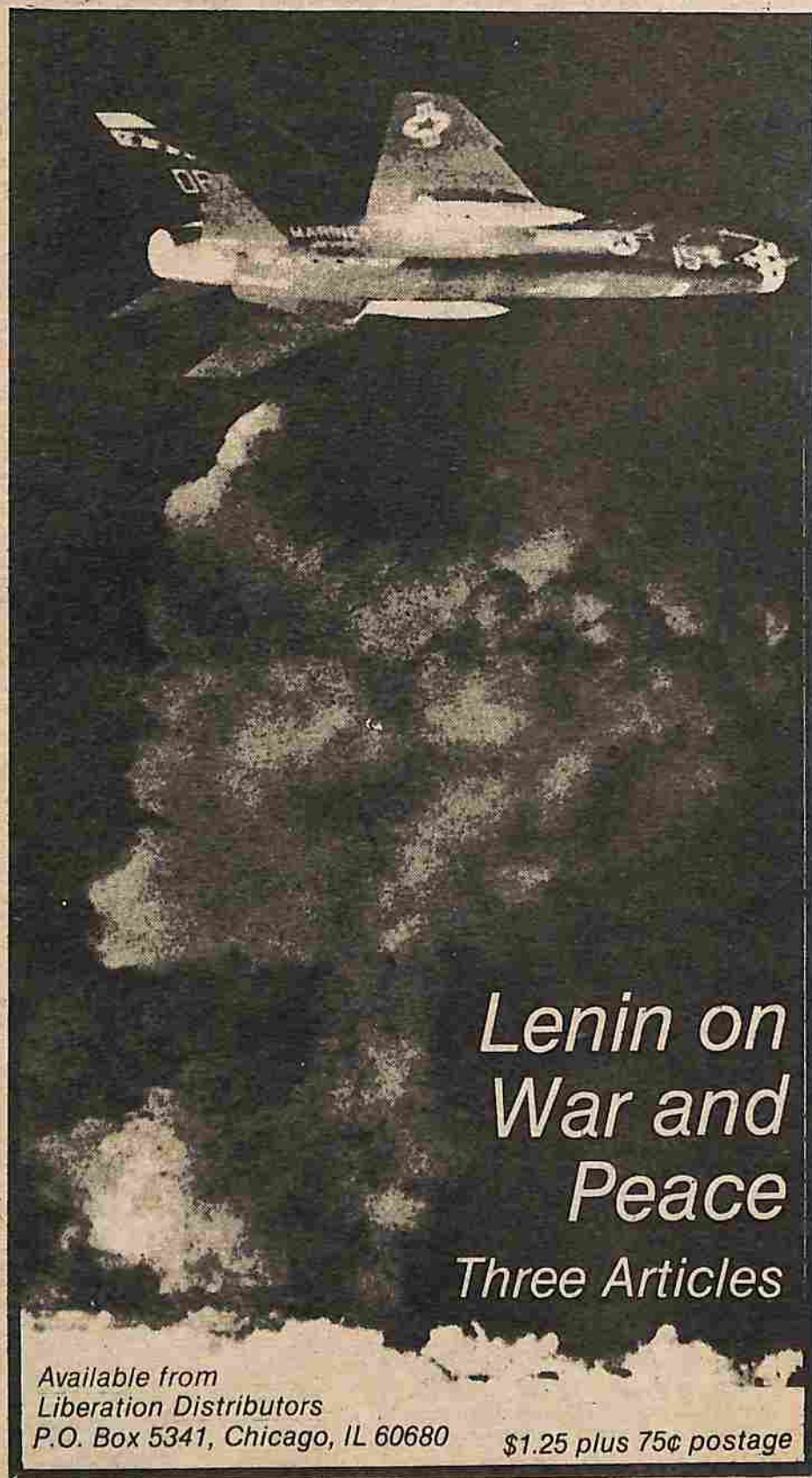
Thus it is more than coincidental that the U.S. has been busily preparing Arafat's political obituary even as the Reagan Plan is being brought back to life. The U.S. in particular is working to impress the "lesson" of Arafat's presumed demise upon the Palestinians; his downfall, U.S. government officials and the media are saying, is attributable to his failure to break decisively with the "radical" elements. King Hussein has also been driving home this point. Speaking to his Arab League brethren as much as he was to the West Bank Palestinians, the King recently said that Arafat, in seeking unanimous consensus, had remained hostage to the "radical" element. Arafat, the King indicated, should have stuck with the Reagan Plan even though it meant a PLO split and challenged the radicals in rallying the "majority" to his moderate approach. In this perverse summation of the breakdown of the Arafat-Hussein "confederation" talks last spring, Hussein was actively prepar-

ing public opinion for a possible bid of his own to enter talks under a revived Reagan Plan. There have been reports that Jordan is considering appointing new mayors for several West Bank towns, as a first step towards the limited "self-rule" that might prove acceptable to Israel. Whether the King would have any use for Arafat in all this is debatable; Arafat, for all his own moderation, is still a long way from what the Israelis had in mind! And, if for no reason other than history, he remains an anathema to Israel; indeed, insofar as he remains a "symbol" of Palestinian national aspirations, he represents something of a national nightmare to the Israelis, who would much rather celebrate his death. In any event, the King has apparently signaled to Arafat that if there is to be any alignment between them, it will be on Hussein's own terms.

The U.S., along with Israel and Jordan, faces some real necessity in pushing forward on the Reagan Plan. For while Syria's prosecution of the PLO conflict has opened, they all hope, a "window of opportunity" for their mutual West Bank-Gaza designs, it also poses a growing threat. In its bid to seize control over the PLO, Syria has done much more than bring some 10,000 Palestinian fighters under its command in Lebanon. Nor does it appear that its grab for the Palestinian "card" is solely to be a function of conference room diplomacy. It is worth noting that the text circulated by the PLO "rebels" after the mutiny was launched last spring called for the resumption of armed struggle, not only in Lebanon (where the "rebels" have thus far served the Syrians well as shock troops) but ultimately in the West Bank as well. The text, which certainly reflects a mutual understanding between the "rebels" and Syria, specifies that the struggle for the West Bank would be launched from Jordanian territory after the overthrow of the Hussein regime in Jordan. This does

not mean that Syria is committed to such a path, and it certainly has need to fuel its partnership with the "rebels" through the calculated spread of illusions. But the recent assassination of three Jordanian diplomats, the fledgling efforts by "rebel" forces to set up clandestine operations in northern Jordan, and the emerging efforts of the Syrians and "rebels" to set up an organizational base on the West Bank (a pro-"rebel" magazine is now being published in East Jerusalem), indicate that the Syrians certainly intend to make active use of their surrogates on a variety of fronts. Make no mistake, such activity is very much a function of Syrian interests. As *al-Ba'ath* reemphasized a few months ago, Syria "rejects the logic of the independence of Palestinian decisions when those decisions concern the Arab-Israeli conflict." And while the Soviet Union, apparently worried over the opportunities an outright PLO split might present the U.S., has kept a discreet distance from the more odious features of the Syrian takeover, its overriding interest is in furthering a Palestinian-Syrian alignment along these basic lines.

The Syrian leaders, owing to their own class interest and relations over the Syrian masses, have never taken their "anti-imperialism" very far beyond the realm of rhetoric. A major cause of Assad's dispute with Arafat has been that they were both in fact playing a very similar game — not, as Syrian statements have claimed, because Arafat had departed from the "true path," but because Assad felt it was time to eliminate the competition in the Palestinian brokerage business. As U.S.-Soviet contention and war preparations are marshaling world alignments to an ever more insistent beat, there is a growing role for comprador rulers like Assad — acting as an adjunct of a contending imperialism — to contest and probe. □



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## Civilized Savagery Vs. The Indians of Brazil



Their names are not Apache, Cheyenne and Creek, but have a flavor of their own: Yanomamo, Xukuru-Kariri, and Mehinaku. But this the indigenous tribes of Brazil do have in common with the Indians of the U.S.: they are being wiped out. Their cultures are being destroyed, their economies undermined, disease thins their ranks, the children are sold into virtual slavery, and the women prostituted. In many cases, the genocidal policies directed against the Brazilian Indians today are direct copies of the methods used by the Custers of the nineteenth century and by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and FBI today.

The bulk of the Indians in Brazil live in the region of the Amazon Basin; they are, by and large, hunters and gatherers, pitting spears and bow and arrow against the jungle. For many, contact with Western society has occurred only within the last few decades. It is usually fatal.

When the first Portuguese, Pedro Alvares Cabral, stepped ashore in Brazil in 1500 an estimated six million Indians inhabited the land; by 1900 the number was about a million; today there are perhaps 150,000. Fifteen to 20 tribes are eliminated from the country each decade; 26 tribes were wiped out in the '70s, totaling 30,000 Indians.

The Brazilian government calls their Indian policy "integrationism" and talks of how the Indians must be "emancipated" from their tribal lands and how their "isolation" from Brazilian society must be ended. When this has happened, says Minister of the Interior Rangel Rais, they can become "politicians, generals and even presidents of the Republic." Perhaps even more, some observers say. Beginning in 1970, the Brazilian government asked Litton Industries and the Goodyear Corporation to make a detailed survey of mineral, hydraulic and other resources throughout the Amazon. Within three years, it had become obvious that the region was littered with high-grade deposits of tin, bauxite, iron, manganese, gold, and possibly petroleum. Every major metals company in the industrialized world set up shop in the Amazon. Brazilian companies too, armed with huge loans from the Western banks, raced in. Everyone was looking for El Dorado — and the last remaining Indian tribes in Brazil were sitting right on top of it.

This most recent rush into the Amazon was a phase of the headlong expansion of the Brazilian economy throughout the late '60s and '70s. Fueled first by programs like the U.S. Alliance For Pro-

gress, by direct corporate investment, and later by massive infusions of loan capital from the major banking institutions of the Western bloc, the "Brazilian miracle" took shape — and the way the resulting transformations of Brazilian society impinged on the Indians reveals much about its visage. (For more on imperialism and Brazil, see Lenny Wolf, *The Science of Revolution* (Chicago: RCP Publications, 1983). These Indians were one of the last major populations to lie outside the embrace of the world imperialist relations. No more — now, as one Brazilian anthropologist observed, "The quotation of rubber, nuts, and other products on the New York Market or the perspectives of peace or of war among the Great Powers, influence the ebb or flow of the waves of extractors of forest products, permitting the last remaining autonomous tribes to survive, or condemning them to extinction."

One of the initial targets of the Alliance For Progress programs of the early and mid-'60s was northeastern Brazil, a site of tremendous agrarian unrest in the early '60s and a stronghold of various leftist forces. As Western capital flowed in, the life of the rural masses in the northeast changed dramatically. Large-scale farming with modern technical methods began to emerge, and, aided by Brazilian governmental subsidies, began to be oriented more and more towards the production of export crops — coffee, sugar, soybeans, cattle, and fruit and vegetables. As huge modern plantations arose, millions of the rural poor were driven off their small plots. Most headed for the swelling metropolitan centers of Brazil — Rio, São Paulo, Brasília — but the Brazilian government pointed out another path too. These landless peasants now formed a labor force to conquer the Amazon — and the Indians. With large sums from Western banks, and with aid from the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, a system of roads began to be erected, in part to serve the new Amazonian industrial development, and in part to provide for mass emigration into the Amazon. Simultaneously, \$1 billion was set aside to provide potential settlers a house, 250 acres of land, and a grubstake of six months wages. For the destitute of Brazil's northeast — where as many as one of every two children dies of malnutrition before the age of five — it was a compelling prospect.

In many areas, though, working the newly-settled plots proved near impossible, for a variety of reasons, including the lack of infrastructure to support small-



*This Amazon Indian displays a peculiar trophy, which has apparently been possessed by his tribe for years. A Brazilian government agent (from FUNAI) recounted the story of the helmet in an interview. He said the tribe tells that "years ago a white man floated downriver on a raft, pumping his arms up and down. They shot him. The raft stopped, held to the bottom by a black vine. Days later they pulled up the vine. It was a hose attached to this helmet. Inside was the fish-eaten head of another white man. It was a diamond prospector who had been walking on the river bottom. He drowned when his companion stopped pumping air."*

scale production. Where it was possible, the grounding of Brazilian agriculture in commodity relations soon led to polarization of rural Amazonia and the absorption or expropriation of poorer settlers by richer ones as well as by agribusiness corporations and foreign capital, such as the King Ranch of Texas which established a plantation hundreds of thousands of acres in size. For the once again expropriated settlers, there was but the prospect of returning to the metropolitan shantytowns, serving as semi-slave labor on the Amazon mining and development projects, or pushing further inland with enticement of yet more land grants by the government — and thus used over and over as a battering ram against the Indians.

The shock troops of this advance are in the frontier towns, the "boomtowns," whose life is nauseatingly familiar. There are drawn the dregs, and the desperate —

the law is the six-gun, or an ambitious commandante. The sole entertainment is bars and brothels, given a modern touch by ubiquitous porno films, including the infamous "snuff" films with their actual scenes of women being tortured. Accounts have surfaced of bounties offered, and paid, for Indian scalps. Indeed the advance into the Amazon has been every bit as savage as that of the U.S. into the American West.

Consider but a few cases. In the vast jungle region along the Aripuana and Roosevelt rivers, for instance, the more than 10,000 native peoples have fought off diamond prospectors and rubber collectors for over 100 years. But in the late '60s, a large Brazilian firm organized a band of prospectors and pistoleros to clear out the largest of the tribes, the Cintas Largas. A plane was requisitioned, and the moment chosen. The Cintas

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# "The Day After" and The Real Horror Show

On a medium ordinarily given to such fare as *The Dukes of Hazard*, *Dallas* and *The A-Team*, where only a few years ago two married people couldn't even be shown in bed together, on American TV last week over 100 million people were watching middle Americans turned to bone, vaporized, or killed more slowly by radiation sickness in the course of a full-scale nuclear war. *The Day After* was given a buildup accorded to few other TV productions (even surpassing *The Winds of War*). . . it was planned that way from the get. The idea for the film was said to originate at the executive levels of ABC, which solicited a script and then assigned a director to shoot the film, budgeting \$7 million for the production — three times the normal cost of a TV movie. The film was the subject of articles for weeks before airing.

But that was just the beginning of it. The show was immediately followed by a special edition of ABC's *Viewpoint* featuring mainly big-name politicians. Secretary of State Shultz appeared with a comment. The next day Vice President Bush commented on behalf of Reagan. For days news programs peered into living rooms and church basements for the public's reaction, while an organization called "The Day Before," composed of seventeen mainstream peace groups and



especially churches, sponsored hundreds of discussion groups across the country. An unprecedented national debate had been engineered.

Why? What has caused this deluge of politics to descend on the Average American? Is it because of a sudden discovery that nukes are dangerous? No, that much has penetrated. Some new, vastly more destructive nuclear technology? No, not much more the U.S. and Soviets can do to each other than wipe out every single city in each country. The coming election? Been plenty of elections since Hiroshima without all this hubbub. The crisis over the Euromissiles? Well, yes, there is a connection here, but it is not the missiles in themselves that have heightened war tensions, but that the missiles stem from a deeper cause, the gathering and tightening global rivalry of two imperialist blocs — the U.S. and their allies vs. the Soviets and their allies — a conflict which can only be resolved by all-out war to redivide the world. This reality is what has driven the U.S. bourgeoisie to smack people in the face with... "Your Future?" (as a fortune-teller's sign in the movie had it, facing the viewer in a scene full of rubble). "What most explains the unprecedented controversy surrounding the show," said *Newsweek*, "is that it both coincides with and reinforces a growing

nuclear consciousness." (Interestingly, *Newsweek* did not say "anti-nuclear consciousness"... but let us discuss that a bit later.) In the past, the U.S. did not attach the same urgency to reinforcing this consciousness (nor was it out there in the same way). Today, close to, and on the frontlines of, such horror, things are different.

Some insight into the intent of all the national uproar was provided after the fictional nuclear holocaust ended, and the *real* horror show began — Ted Koppel's *Viewpoint*. Billed as "representing all sides in the nuclear debate," the show in the main presented a panoply of notorious war criminals and imperialist degenerates. William Buckley and Robert McNamara appeared, looking like irradiated zombies who had somehow wandered out of the last scenes of the film. Henry Kissinger was there, speaking as if radiation sickness had already affected him too (perhaps prematurely, as a result of working out atomic strategies for so long) and threatening to cause a vomiting attack at any moment. Elie Wiesel, the Humanist jester in the nuclear court, was there to explain how, philosophically speaking, pacifism actually helps *bring on* holocaust.

Of all the *Viewpoint* panelists, only Carl Sagan appeared alive and seriously

trying to address the question of how to prevent nuclear war. For the rest, nukes and nuclear war weren't a question — they are a reality — and necessity. Yes, everyone paid homage to Secretary of Schultz's wooden comment just following the film about how awful nukes were, "unacceptable," not the future, etc., and especially how "reductions" are necessary. But then again, in the *real* world, "If we cut them (nuclear warheads) in half in ten years it will be a miraculous achievement," the dove McNamara cheerfully informed us. This would leave each power with, oh, say 10,000 warheads apiece, Bob further explained. "We cannot eliminate these weapons completely in the foreseeable future," Kissinger agreed. And Brent Scowcroft, head of the presidential commission that ushered the MX into being this year, summed it up for all with his "two facts" of imperialist life: there is the fact of nuclear know-how which we "cannot disinvent," he said, and there is the fact of "our fundamental antagonism" with the Soviet Union. A statement with which no one, save Sagan, disagreed, which underlay all their comments and which accounted for the overall dreary atmosphere of the panel. On a basic level, to millions watching, it must have been obvious that these returnees of the living dead have no answers except the inevitable one of *using* their nuclear know-how to deal with their fundamental antagonists, the Soviet bloc.

On the question of "reductions" in nuclear warheads, Sagan at one point suggested that, if the U.S. and the Soviets could keep their megatonnage at a certain level, a nuclear war fought at this level could avoid the catastrophic effects on climate which Sagan calls "nuclear winter" and which, Sagan has convincingly shown, realistically threaten to make the whole human race extinct. But we were all treated to a real lesson in the realism of imperialist thought when the Living Dead on the panel explained that this sort of reduction was impossible because, as Scowcroft said, "that encourages other (smaller) powers to become major nuclear powers in a way that they can do because the numbers are relatively small." The *whole point*, don't you see, is for the U.S. to use the nukes to lord it over the planet — "don't you critics know anything about politics and economics?"

The show was also an exercise in imperialist double-think and double-talk — in short the rationalization and justification of all manner of current imperialist war preparations in the garb of preserving the peace and preventing war. "More missiles are stabilizing — less missiles are more dangerous," we were told. "Pacifism leads toward war — belligerent ag-

gression, such as the invasion of Grenada, leads towards stability and peace." "The MX is designed to further arms controls — an antiballistic missile system could prevent the horror of nuclear war." It's hard to think of a single bit of imperialist double-talk that was left out of this presentation.

But these reactionaries didn't stop at simply reiterating current themes; they took steps to break new ground in the nuclear debate — that is, new ground in terms of more openly articulating and rationalizing the U.S. bourgeoisie's actual war-fighting plans. The vanguard role in this respect was played by the imperialists' man for all seasons — whether Vietnam summer or nuclear winter — Henry Kissinger. "I do not like this undifferentiated discussion of all nuclear wars taking Carl Sagan's form," Kissinger complained. "... we have a moral and political obligation to think of procedures, strategies and methods to keep the war from mindlessly escalating... and not to talk ourselves into the frame of mind that the first time a nuclear weapon is used it must end with the destruction of hundreds of millions of people and a nuclear winter." This is nothing but an oblique way of raising the question of "limited" nuclear war, fought for specific political ends, that is in fact an essential component of U.S. military strategy and one that the bourgeoisie needs to create public opinion in support of. Or take Kissinger's comment that "... we are talking as if nuclear weapons cause war; what will cause wars is political tensions, and crises, and uncontrolled ambitions, and unless one is willing to face that fact and unless one is willing to do something about it... sooner or later there will be war." This is just Kissinger's way of targeting the Soviets — after all, who else has uncontrolled ambitions, certainly not the U.S. imperialists! — and educating people in the hard realities of imperialist geopolitics. War, even nuclear war, is a continuation of politics by other means — according to Kissinger the politics of benevolent and enlightened democracies against the evil Soviet empire.

At the last, it was McNamara's role to play the upbeat conqueror of nuclear fear and hysteria (a major ideological target throughout the "Week After" debates). And when this mass murderer of the Vietnam War is the upbeat element — right there that says a lot about the discussion. McNamara had on hand a list of fifteen ways to be a warmonger for peace. But the bottom line for this dove was "we should have confidence... we constantly underrate our own strength." And this — peace through strength! — is the only "cure" the bourgeoisie can concoct for the masses' horror and outrage over nuclear war!

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## Mind Over Megatons

While some good Americans sought to avoid nightmarish visions of interruptions in their lifestyles by simply refusing to tune in to *The Day After* (the chauvinistic ostrichism approach), others decided to go ahead and risk the mental consequences, aggravated by some basic sense of civic duty. For these, an army of psychologists rushed in as an adjunct to the army of ideologues.

Families were cautioned to watch the show together. Kids under 12 were cautioned not to watch the show at all. *The Day After* hotlines sprang up from coast to coast for the depressed; and those who felt like "getting in touch with their feelings" could do so at innumerable organized meetings. Nuclear war, after all, can be a real bummer.

But the end of the American way would be worse. And hey, if you can learn to live with the movie, maybe you can learn to live with the real thing! All it takes is a little psychological preparation, coming, it is true, after a fairly lengthy period of stability for those good Americans who are now being prepared. Perhaps current events will help at least some of them begin to realize that the originators of this campaign to "cope"

with nuclear war are those of the very same class, and defenders of the very same system, that is planning this war.

Things may not be so wonderful in the neighborhood one day, and along with various philistines and psychiatric counselors, this is driving Mr. Rogers into a frenzied defense of American institutions and home-spun values. He actually had the nerve to stress psychological damage potentially inflicted on young kiddies by *The Day After*.

Well, tell it to the kids of Hiroshima. Tell it to the kids of Vietnam. Tell it to the kids of the Sabra and Shatila camps, of Brazil, and of a thousand other places we could mention. For that matter, tell it to the kids of the South Bronx — or Atlanta.

It's not as if the masses of the people of the world don't have plenty of experience with the American Way *already*. But, wait, there is more in store — they are preparing to unleash unprecedented murder and destruction. And it really is so typically American of them to pontificate about how "children should not be deprived of their childhood" while they obscenely calculate to risk perhaps the entire planet to keep America No. 1. □



# Seattle, New York: Forums Address Earthshaking Questions

*The questioning throughout broad segments of society has been propelled to the surface by the recent wave of events in the world... downing of the 007... escalating war in Lebanon... the U.S. invasion of Grenada... the deployment of the cruise and Pershing II missiles in Europe... and through it all the drums of World War 3 beating louder and louder. The RCP has worked together with others to respond to this situation, including through participating in teach-ins held in the days following the airing of The Day After to help provide a forum for those anxious to dig into the stakes and terms of world events and what can be done to change the course of history. The following are two brief accounts received by the RW:*

\* \* \* \* \*

Seattle, November 22 — Nearly 100 people gathered to take part in a teach-in entitled "Preventing Nuclear War and the Way Forward." Many people first awakening to political life had come to seriously evaluate the different trends represented on the panel which included Charlie Meconis of Seattle Religious Peace Action Coalition\* and participant in the Trident Blockade, Sherry Klink of Green Peace,\* and a speaker from the RCP, USA. Looking around, it seemed as if a slice of the world was present. A Salvadoran, an anarchist from West Germany and an activist from the Pacific Island nation of Belau where the MX missiles are tested all took part in the teach-in. There were members of El Salvador support groups and students from various high schools who were seeing what these people had to say that was so different from their history teachers. Native Americans active in the Native American movement came to strengthen their ties with the struggles of other sections of the people, particularly the anti-nuke movement. Black proletarians and Iranians came to play an active role in this far-ranging discussion.

As a member of Vietnam Veterans Against the War (Anti-Imperialist) said in a solidarity statement, "This is certainly not the kind of panel we saw after *The Day After!*" People burst into applause. A Palestinian sent a solidarity statement to the teach-in. "I as a Palestinian youth give my support to all oppressed people

throughout the world from Iran to Afghanistan, all the way to India and Africa, Chile, Peru and El Salvador and even to people living in the bellies of beasts to unite and overthrow both U.S. and Soviet imperialist blocs and their running dogs...."

While all three panelists were ardent in their desire to not only prevent nuclear war but end all oppression on a world scale, there were differing views (from both the panel and the audience) on what this would entail. After the presentations the audience and panelists wrestled with the questions posed for an additional one and a half hours. An important part of the discussion focused on what would it take to prevent world war—was revolution necessary or possible; were direct actions the most effective means of opposing moves towards war. There was lively discussion about the nature of imperialism. Some viewed it as a policy carried out in oppressed nations. Others saw it as a worldwide system. A high school student asked, "Why is imperialism so closely linked to democracy? Does it have to be like that? Could you change imperialism within the system and then why would you need revolution?"

Participants in the audience drew from a wide range of experience, from the plunder of Indian lands in South Dakota to the Iranian revolution, in the course of the discussion in which many views about how to analyze and act to change the world were discussed. As one Black proletarian saw the presentations, "It seems to me that two different viewpoints were presented, a belief in the system and a non-belief in the system, a belief in armed revolution and a belief that there are ways to stop nuclear war short of that. I would like to discuss that further." One student later raised, "We have to go out and say that imperialism is bad but if we go out and say we're going to have revolution, they will come out and shoot us. You can't underestimate the power of the U.S. military." Others in attendance expressed the view that in the context of this country, they supported pacifism as the road forward while distinguishing that from revolution in the oppressed nations which they support. A peace activist later expressed amazement that so many at the teach-in were openly discussing armed

revolution as the alternative. She said she found this both scary and challenging. There was wide support for direct actions that directly take on and expose the system of imperialism.

In the wake of the forum, youth, seeking out the most radical solutions around, were anxious to be in discussions about the RCP programme. Many viewed the teach-in as just the beginning of a very exciting process and demanded more of the same, especially including such diverse sections of people. Students who had come from a college campus 60 miles away asked to have the teach-in brought to their campus and were all figuring out who could sponsor it, how to build it, etc.

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New York, November 21 — Prompted by the situation in Lebanon and the U.S. invasion of Grenada, a teach-in "on recent events and implications for the world situation" under the slogan "U.S. Get Your Bloody Hands Off Grenada and Lebanon" was held in New York City. Brief presentations by long-time activist and civil rights lawyer Conrad Lynn; Queens College professor and author John Gerassi; a registered nurse who was in Beirut during the 1982 massacre of Palestinian refugees and again in Lebanon in spring of 1983; and a representative of the RCP, USA were followed by pointed questions and lively discussion. The teach-in was held the night after the ABC-TV film *The Day After*, and people in the audience as well as the panel addressed themselves to questions it raised, beginning with Conrad Lynn's statement that "not one of the speakers (on the *Viewpoint* panel following the film — RW) gave a way out." What in fact is the "real way out" became the evening's focus as questions and discussion centered on the nature of the anti-nuke movement, the role of the Soviet Union in the world today, and the topic of elections.

To a criticism of the anti-nuke movement as being in the hands of white, middle-class pacifists who would like the world to continue as it is if only they weren't threatened by nuclear war, the RCP speaker commented that "It's mainly white, but it's on target dealing with one of the big contradictions of our

time, maybe the most explosive, not just the bombs but politically the most explosive for the bourgeoisie and we should be glad that people from various classes are out there. I think it's incumbent for people in that movement to try to broaden it, to go beyond the question of I don't want to be nuked, I want to preserve my existence or I want to preserve the status quo, that's very important. On the other hand, I think it's also incumbent on the proletariat to relate to it and speak to an actual resolution to the contradiction."

An older man in the audience asked, "If we're not going to resort to any revolutionary activity right now because the people aren't ready, we don't have a revolutionary army now, a handful of us can't make a revolution... If you can't make a revolution now, we do have the ballot box — are we going to boycott the ballot box or are we going to vote for different candidates who represent different things and get certain people out we know are no good?" This triggered a sharp exchange between members of the audience and panel and among the panelists. To the view expressed by one panelist that "Basically this movement of the Black people to participate in the electoral process at this stage is historically a revolutionary action and this will help vitalize again the struggle of the American masses against the ruling class," a Black woman in the audience countered, "Given what time this is and where we should be focusing our attention, for you to say that to me, it plays right into the imperialists' hands." Many entered into this struggle, including grappling with what Lenin said about elections and whether and/or how it applies to today's situation.

Interest in the teach-in was generated beforehand when Conrad Lynn appeared on a call-in talk show hosted by Pablo Guzman on WLIB which drew many callers, including a number of Grenadans with different views on what went down there; in addition, WLIB taped the teach-in for possible broadcast in the future.

All of this was taken up in the spirit of "We've got to get the imperialists," and the fact that these diverse forces came together to grapple with such crucial questions is quite significant. □

On the Question of So-Called "National Nihilism"

## YOU CAN'T BEAT THE ENEMY WHILE RAISING HIS FLAG

Reprinted  
From  
Revolution  
Magazine  
Available in  
pamphlet  
form

Send to:  
RCP Publications  
P.O. Box 3486  
Merchandise Mart  
Chicago IL 60654

50¢  
(plus 50¢  
postage)



Special to the RW **The Free and Democratic  
Prosecution of radikal**



**CENSORED**

From our RW correspondent in West Germany.

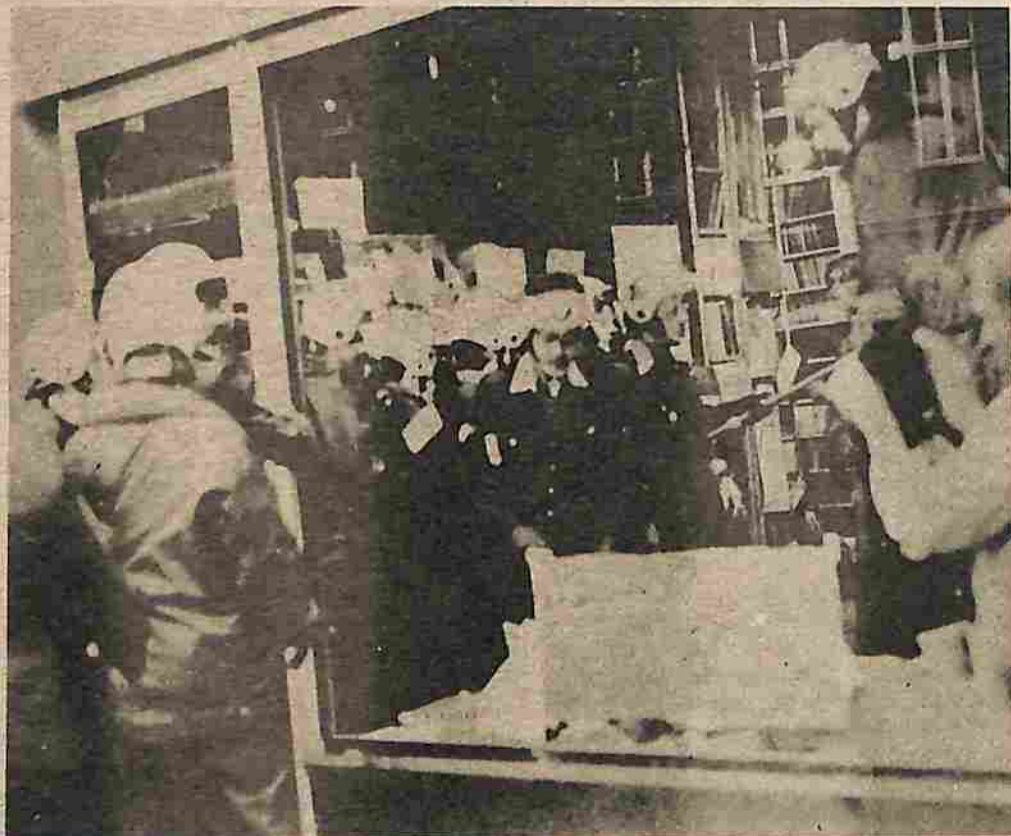
Traveling by train between Berlin and West Germany, one cannot help but be struck by the intense militarization of the area along the political faultline running through Germany. In Magdeburg a platoon of Russian soldiers stands impassively on the train platform; rows of tanks and armored personnel carriers stand ominously in motorpools near the rail line. On the Western side, poles with electronic gadgetry grow at regular intervals through the pine forests, while flights of U.S. Army helicopters heavily laden with rocket-pods skim across fields of grazing cows. Here at least six armies (U.S., Soviet, British, French, East and West German) stand poised. The border itself, besides the often publicized fences and watch towers, consists of row upon row of steel anti-tank barriers.

On the "free" side of the border, the political representatives of the West German bourgeoisie never tire of talking about how great it is to be "free." Indeed, something worth fighting for! The grim reality, however, is that West Germany today is a country whose jails bulge with hundreds of political prisoners. The concentration of global contradictions along the German front has found as one expression the massive extension of repressive legislation and police supervision over an increasingly restive undercurrent of society. It would take literally pages to list the police raids, confiscations and arrests that have come down in just the last year. But one particularly illustrative example is the West German

government's attempt to suppress the magazine *radikal*, which has now become something of a cause célèbre throughout the country.

On October 25, the trial of Micha Klöckner (28) and Benny Härlin (26) opened in West Berlin's Supreme Court. Micha and Benny are both charged with violating Section 129a of the West German Criminal Code which makes it a crime to form a "terrorist organization" or to be a member of, support, or make propaganda for such a group. Micha and Benny's real "crime" is their alleged association (past or present) with the magazine *radikal*. In his formal indictment, the federal attorney didn't mince words: "At least since 1982 the accused Härlin as publisher of the periodical *radikal* and the accused Klöckner as signatory for both special accounts of the periodical *radikal* were concerned with the publication, production and distribution of the monthly publication *radikal*, in whose ensuing issues propaganda was made for the 'movement,' especially for the deeds and goals of the terrorist organization 'Revolutionary Cells' (known as the 'RZ' in West Germany — *RW*) through publishing strategy papers and letters claiming credit for arson and attacks with explosives against industry and the state, in order to undermine remaining inhibitions in the public against this terrorist organization, to arouse sympathy for their criminal actions, to call for actions of the same type and other

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Police raid a West Berlin bookstore with connections to revolutionary youth.

# Prosecution of radikal

Continued from page 13

criminal actions, and thereby to bring about a strengthening of this organization in the struggle of the 'movement' for the violent prosecution of their goals against the existing legal and social order of the Federal Republic of Germany."

Right away, one is drawn to the defense of *radikal*. Not because the prosecutor has invoked the specter of terrorism — the rejection of the strategy of terrorism by Marxist-Leninists is well known. But because *radikal* has arisen from a whole milieu of young revolutionaries, existing right in the middle of the German morass of bourgeois-democratic illusions and Euro-chauvinist pacifism, who reject bourgeois society and are currently in a great deal of turmoil — confronted with a complex political situation in West Germany and internationally. Naturally such a development is seen through quite different eyes by the West German state, which is aiming a broadside at these young people by attacking *radikal*, and the penalty is stiff: five years in prison and large fines if the two defendants are convicted.

Even for "free" West Germany, which is rife with press censorship laws, the attempted suppression of *radikal* has been something of a quantum leap in the crackdown, setting off a national debate in the bourgeois press and a storm of protest. Every major paper in West Germany has written on the case, and *radikal's* latest issue lists 300 new publishers on its masthead! The fact that *radikal* is based in the explosive political scene of West Berlin makes the case an even more important political test of strength for both sides.

## Roots in '70s

Founded in June of 1976, *radikal* first appeared amidst the breakup of the movement of the late '60s and early '70s, a movement which as in the U.S. took much of its orientation from national liberation struggles against U.S. imperialism and from the Cultural Revolution in China. The proliferation of "Maoist" parties in West Germany was proportionally larger than in the U.S., and their demise into chauvinist economism (both of the Deng and Hoxha varieties) was spectacular — and unfortunately unanimous in West Germany.

Young revolutionaries viewed this crisis as the failure of *Marxism* and turned to other trends in droves, especially anarchism. *Radikal* originally appeared in this scene, subtitled "Socialist Newspaper for West Berlin," and styled itself a discussion journal for all the left factions for the purposes of thrashing out differences and forging unity. But "this concept proved to be scarcely realizable," *radikal* notes today. Now a decidedly anarchist publication, it describes the mid-seventies period this way: "the M-L estimations lost significance in the course of time (thank Bakunin!). Grassroots movements overran the ruins of the K groups (the "Maoist" parties — RW). This development was reflected in *radikal* with reports from and about undogmatic autonomous and anarchistic groups more and more determining the character of the newspaper. . . ."

We of course have our political differences with this description, the substance of which we have spoken to elsewhere. But one can certainly welcome the spirit of sweeping away the political rot which had settled in on the official movement as well as the official opposition.

*Radikal* continues: "Since the first German army vehicles in Bremen and the first barricades in Berlin were set ablaze, the newspaper has seen itself as a political-cultural expression of autonomy as we live it, of the radical existence in Berlin and West Germany.

"Every month the group of men and women which produces the paper tussles over statements of militants and other resistance, over forms of political and other identity, over the question of *for what and how to live* — pasting together scraps of paper, hitting themselves on the head with typesetters, or making love under and on the light table.

"It is the attempt to connect the necessity of such a publication with the fun of making such a paper. It is the attempt to balance the horror of living here and now

with the wonder of living here and now.

"The problem of groups being able to function continuously in this dance on the volcano, the tight-rope walking act between legality and illegality, between isolation and being co-opted into more less-moving movements seems universal."

*Radikal* has become a forum for the discussion of revolutionary resistance, with lengthy articles examining different trends and perspectives in the "autonomous left." It is marked by a willingness to publish otherwise *verboten* political statements and reports by illegal organizations and by its mocking irreverence for established bourgeois order. This form has inevitably (and willingly) given rise to contradiction and tension within the magazine's own columns. An article on the case of proletarian internationalist Darnell Summers has been published. Its central and ubiquitous slogan, "every heart is a revolutionary cell," is a reference to the grouping of illegal "Revolutionary Cells," whose initials "RZ" abound in *radikal's* graphics. Reports of the actions of RZ and other direct-action groups appear in a special section of each issue entitled "heartbeats." There are also pieces on the pro-Soviet Red Army Faction.

*Radikal* has also developed a flair for staying one step ahead of the West German press laws. Articles are invariably signed with colorful pseudonyms. In compliance with West German laws, the name of a responsible editor appears in each issue, but when the cops go to track this person down it turns out to be anyone from a senile old revisionist to an imprisoned revolutionary. The subtitle of the magazine also changes each issue, ranging from "Paper for freedom and adventure" to "Paper for aesthetics and masturbation" to "Central Organ of Divine Will." *Radikal* advertises an office, but police raids there have produced no palpable connection between the people there and the actual production of the publication. The paper is published by a corporation set up in the '70s which also publishes other publications and disclaims responsibility for *radikal's* contents. Finally, the magazine lists scores of co-publishers, including many established left and liberal individuals and publications.

Summing up *radikal*, *Die Zeit* — "central organ of the West German bourgeoisie" — grudgingly admits: "*Radikal* is a product of the Berlin Anarcho, Sponti and Alternative scene; co-publishers are 33 different groups from the Alternative List (similar to the Green Party — RW) to the *Tageszeitung* (a national leftist daily — RW) to the 'Tavern-collective Zillie' to the 'Kreuzberg Prison Group.' It is in places a witty and imaginatively put together paper with original layouts of almost professional quality, with occasional brilliantly written, intelligent contributions about all the movements that come out of this country — but also with original statements of diverse violent groups. That which the established media deals with marginally, if at all, is at the center here — unedited, uncensored, mostly very informative and occasionally also scandalous: statements of the RZ and other militant groups, reports from squatters, women's groups, citizens' initiatives and liberation struggles from the Third World."

## Aimed at Broader Scene

By the late '70s, the concentration of the contradictions of imperialism in West Berlin had created a situation that was not completely in hand. West Berlin became something of a base area for radicals where a whole section of the city was filled with immigrant workers and rebel youth who would just as soon use the German flag for toilet paper as look at it. A place where people often didn't pay rent, where no one bothered to register their residence with the police as required by law, where people weren't counted in the census, didn't pay taxes, created alternative institutions, and in general consciously opted out of bourgeois society. *Radikal*, being a rebellious voice of the radical West German youth in this scene, in a location of critical political importance and in a world moving toward inter-imperialist war, it was only a matter of time until the ruling class struck.

*Radikal* itself sees the attack as aimed

at the broader scene: "The attempts of the state to differentiate this spectrum, to dissect it into legal and illegal components in order — through the integration of the one and the criminalization of the other — to secure its own rule, are as old as this rule itself. The magical line of legality, which is supposed to divide the rebellious spirits into good and evil, is thus shifted according to political strategy and the balance of forces in society. . . ."

"German narrow-mindedness coupled with reawakened nationalism and dull conservatism now believes it has the opportunity — and, with the almost perfected 'model Germany,' also the necessary instruments — to 'liberate' this society from disruptive factors. Squatters, punks and foreigners are so far just the best known examples. The 'ideology of purity' and the state's legality neurosis must also see a publication like *radikal* as a thorn in their gloomy eye."

This is certainly all true as far as it goes. But being anarchists, the people at *radikal* tend to look at issues by starting with the individual and working out from there, or, at best, starting with the conscious forces collectively and working out, with a kind of "us against them" framework. The problem here is that this underrates analysis of the objective forces (in fact, *radikal* won't even use the word "analysis" without making a face verbally), and ruptures the dialectical relation between objective developments and the conscious forces. And here is meant both those objective forces which lie behind the clampdown, and the objective forces which are now bringing millions into political life in West Germany. For example, the prosecution of *radikal* itself is a stark example of the role of the state.

Now, suggesting to revolutionary anarchists that more attention be paid to the question of the state may sound a little like carrying coal to Newcastle. But there is actually a great deal to be exposed in the attack of the ruling class on *radikal* which in fact goes far deeper, and broader, than Kohl and the CDU. The history of Section 129 of the Criminal Code, under which *radikal* is being attacked, demonstrates the basic functioning of the bourgeois dictatorship and also, more important still, the intimate relationship between "domestic law" and the international situation in the era of imperialism.

## Section 129

Section 129 has existed since the adoption of the Criminal Code upon the unification of the modern German state in 1871. At the time of its adoption, every assurance was made by the bourgeois politicians that Section 129 was directed solely at criminal, mafia-type organizations. Yet the lie was given to this only a few years later with the passage of the Socialist Laws in 1878, *criminalizing* the Social-Democratic Party. Now everything done in support of socialism became punishable in the sense of Section 129 which forbids organizing, supporting and publicizing of *criminal* organizations. The German Supreme Court upheld convictions of socialists for handing out leaflets and even for attending international socialist conferences at which promotion of the socialist press in Germany was discussed.

The "democratic" Weimar Republic after the First World War continued the use of S. 129, only now in the aftermath of the Bolshevik revolution the target was changed. Having abandoned fundamental opposition to the capitalist system, the Social-Democratic Party had been legalized in 1890 and now in the revolutionary turmoil following the war was the ruling bourgeois party. S. 129 was now turned against the KPD (Communist Party of Germany), which was outlawed completely from November of 1923 to March of 1924. Section 7 of the State Protection Articles which criminalized "he who participates in a secret or anti-state organization according to Sections 128-129 of the Criminal Code, which attempts to undermine the constitutional form of government of the state. . . ." was unleashed on a wide scale. Publishers, editors, authors, printers, typesetters, and bookstores were prosecuted for producing and distributing communist literature. The "socialist" Weimar government also pioneered the criminalization of groups of relatives and organizations formed to assist political prisoners. Such were deemed to be attempts at promoting the

criminal goals of those incarcerated. A prominent actor was prosecuted for reading revolutionary poems at the 7th anniversary celebration of the Russian revolution. In general, it was these Weimar Republic trials which established the pattern of prosecuting acts which in themselves were legal but which were deemed criminal based on the *motivation* of those committing them.

The period of the open, terroristic dictatorship of the German imperialists under Hitler dispensed with the legal niceties, carrying out the same policy on a grander scale, but retaining S. 129 on the books. Arising like a Phoenix from the ashes, S. 129 again became a part of the post-war West German Criminal Code (directed solely at common criminals, of course!). But with the onset of the Cold War, S. 129 was amended and beefed up in 1951. Now fully legal acts of practical solidarity with members of an illegal organization could be prosecuted as being the same as criminal acts by members of the organization. In 1956 the KPD was again outlawed, and the German Supreme Court extended retroactively the KPD's criminal character back to 1951.

The restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and Khrushchev's propagation of the "three peacefuls" resulted in yet another swing in West German law. The CP was once again legalized (changing its name to the DKP), political prisoners were amnestied, and the anti-demonstration laws relaxed. An all-party coalition government was formed in the parliament, and then with an SPD election victory Willy Brandt's "Ostpolitik," the political opening to East Germany, was launched.

The fact that the DKP was now a thoroughly bourgeois, revisionist party did not, however, mean that German society would be insulated from the contradictions of imperialism. Amidst the West German "economic miracle" of the 1960s there arose a mass student movement as in the other major imperialist powers in response to the Vietnam war and the Cultural Revolution in China. Certain special laws against this movement were enacted at the movement's peak in 1968 but were relaxed in 1970 as this upsurge trailed off into groups like the pro-Soviet Red Army Faction (called the "Baader-Meinhof Gang" in the bourgeois press).

## The Anti-Terrorism Laws

Here it is important to analyze when and why the particular anti-terrorist law under which *radikal* is being prosecuted came into existence. Section 129a, which is essentially an amendment to S. 129, was passed in 1976 as part of a broad package of so-called "anti-terrorist laws." S. 129a makes it a crime to organize, join, support, or make propaganda for a *terrorist* (as opposed to "criminal") organization. The new "anti-terrorist" statutes of 1976 and 1978 also included West Germany's political internment law (called "investigative detention") and a draconian abolition of the rights of legal defense for persons arrested as terrorists. For example, the courts were given the power to bar defense lawyers deemed too sympathetic to the defendants, all correspondence between defendants and their lawyers became subject to government inspection and censorship, etc.

The spontaneous tendency in the West German left is to identify these laws and the ensuing clampdown with the Christian Democratic "conservative" party (CDU). "Stop Strauss" (the leader of the CDU's right wing) is a common slogan, analogous to "Stop Reagan" in the U.S. The current clampdown is also seen as something of a direct continuation of the attacks on the movement of the late sixties and early seventies, and by implication essentially a German phenomenon.

Interestingly, however, it was the CDU when they were in power in the 1960s who actually relaxed many of W. Germany's repressive laws. *But*, this was the period of West Germany's "economic miracle," of the Berlin Wall, and of Soviet collusion with U.S. imperialism. In this situation, and to lay a basis of strength for initiating the Ostpolitik, the West German bourgeoisie cultivated an image as the freest of democratic states. This trend continued through the relaxation of the demonstration laws in 1970.

It was not until 1976 — four years after the shootings at the Munich Olympics and the capture of the leadership of the

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## Three Documents

## On the "Reformed" Police and the Political Function of "Distancing"

From an RW correspondent in West Germany:

One major component of the West German bourgeoisie's strategy to contain and defuse the current tide of actions against the stationing of U.S. Pershing II and cruise missiles in West Germany has been to obfuscate the essential nature of the state. Since the state's central coercive function has manifested itself in the current struggle primarily through the police (as opposed to the army), a big campaign has been unleashed to promote bourgeois-democratic illusions about peaceful change and to promote the view that "the police are citizens too," sort of like the old canard of imperialist armies being simply "citizens in uniform."

In line with this approach has been a conscious tactic of the authorities to allow what are technically illegal actions, provided these actions are thoroughly worked out in advance between the cops and the "responsible leaders" of the peace movement, provided they are strictly passive and of limited duration, and provided they do not encumber or target any militarily or politically sensitive target. Then, in turn, praise is heaped upon the police for their restraint

and good nature, proving once again their socially beneficent role and the fact that any violence from police must of necessity be the result of wanton provocation by antisocial elements.

A good example of this campaign is *Der Spiegel's* summation of the culmination of the Peace Action Week, Oct. 15-22, entitled "What's Up With the Cops?" Surrounded by photos of smiling pigs holding flowers or holding hands with demonstrators, the *Spiegel* article reveals the "secret" of the new police attitude: the police themselves are sympathetic to the antiwar movement! "These officers are a mirror image of their society," opined one police official for *Spiegel*. "You think we are for the missiles?" another is quoted as saying, who is then identified as guarding the U.S. Air Force headquarters at Ramstein where massed cops with clubs beat back an attempted blockade on October 15. Yet another is quoted as saying, "We have colleagues who have asked for extra leave this fall in order to participate in the demonstrations." Jo Leinen, an SPD hack and chief honcho in the Action Committee planning the demos (together with the police), hailed the "open sympathy" of the police. Still others

speculated on an "identity crisis" among the police as explaining their miraculously good behavior. After all, they face the threat of nuclear annihilation too, right? In one city it was reported that cops even participated in a local "die-in" by falling to the ground on cue.

The vicious police attack on the blockade of the Springer publishing plant was, of course, an exception. Here in spite of the efforts of the Greens and Alternative List types, alas, "Chaoten threw stones, set cars on fire or built barricades with them. The police then appeared as expected by the other side. Water cannon and riot sticks were turned on the violent and nonviolent alike. Riot police thrashed away, and through the night as if *Bild* (the sensationalist Springer tabloid) had ordered it, cries for help rang out."

From this *Spiegel* concludes: "So it ended like countless other conflicts of the past year, and the way it went down shows rather simple mechanisms: That the police actions are not only determined by external legal norms and their internal state of affairs, but above all by those who are on the other side." That is, the police have no objective role in this struggle. They, like all Germans today, are

concerned with the threat of war. And any swinishness on their part is the result of provocations against democratic norms.

Hand in hand with this mythology of reformed, citizen-police, there has arisen within the established peace organizations (dominated by the SPD, DKP and Greens) a demand that the peace movement "distance" itself from the "violence prone" sections of the resistance movement against war preparations. While for many within the broader social base of the German peace movement, the issues of war, peace, violence and nonviolence are important issues of conscience, analysis, and class stand that are being thrashed out, the motivations of both the cops and the "peace police" of the bourgeois leadership of the antimissile movement are ones of consciously manipulating the "violence issue" so as to isolate and destroy all those who are directing their fire at the system of imperialism and are looking for the revolutionary means to bring it down.

The terms and tactics of this struggle are laid bare for readers of the *Revolutionary Worker* in the following documents:

The first is a leaflet circulated by the police in Neu-Ulm on October 22. The original is printed on green paper and is typewritten with hand lettering, looking for all the world like a movement leaflet:

## POLICE-INFO

As opponents of the armaments decision, you want to express your opinion by publicly demonstrating against it. This is your perfect right and we want to guarantee it as much as possible.

Unfortunately in the past there have also been sharp confrontations. We note this with great sorrow, since these seem mostly to have been avoidable. Thus with this Info we want to try to clear away misunderstandings which could lead to further conflicts. We also add the hope that the open presentation of our point of view will meet with an attempt at unprejudiced judgement on your part.

Opponents of the stationing are for us, as police officers, fellow citizens who for the most varied reasons distance themselves from the armament decision. It is not for us to evaluate this point of view which is at odds with the decision of a majority of parliament. *We do not see our function as arbitrators between proponents and opponents.* The difference over armaments is a political conflict which must be resolved politically. *We ask you here in all seriousness not to shift your demands to the police level, because they cannot be resolved there.* For this there are both rules and many realistic possibilities. Be true to your commitment and demonstrate your public democratic way of thought by your behavior. *For our part, we have done everything to prepare our officers for an encounter with you without stereotyped prejudices.* The protection of your demonstration actions is for us an obvious task, but how successfully it can be fulfilled depends not least on your assistance.

Unfortunately a section of the opponents of the armaments have announced from the beginning their intention to demonstrate "unpeacefully." We use the term "unpeacefully" consciously, because the intended violation of valid law cannot be termed peaceful. *As police we cannot and may not remain inactive when lawful order is disturbed.* We are bound by legal regulations. If we were to tolerate breaking of the law, we would ourselves be liable.

Aside from the legal argument which forces us to act, there are in our eyes arguments for the fulfillment of our police duties:

DO YOU WANT A POLICE FORCE which doesn't respect the laws? Wouldn't we then have to fear that party allegiance and personal views and interests would determine police actions. That would be a police state.

How would you react if you personally were treated illegally in your daily life? You certainly wouldn't want to rescind the adherence of your police to the law simply because today it is inconvenient to the prosecution of your present demands!

DO YOU WANT A POLICE FORCE whose acts can't be supervised? Supervision is only possible where actions can be measured against previously set criteria. As a rule these are regulations. The ability to verify the actions of state institutions is at the core of democratic demands. It serves to protect you and enables you to be protected from arbitrary acts on the part of the state.

DO YOU WANT A POLICE FORCE which influences the outcome of political conflicts by taking sides? Those whom we might favor in particular cases would probably not object to this; but what about the others? A police force which seeks the trust of the entire population must act with neutrality. Only through an orientation of standing above politics can it become a reliable and predictable force for order.

We are aware that we, the police, are seen to be more a force for preserving the established order. But it cannot be our task to take it upon ourselves to change the laws rather than those who are meant to do so, namely the political representatives.

So that the character of our interaction with your event will be just, we ask for your support. We trust that you have to a considerable extent recognized the senselessness of a confrontation with the police. Don't give up on those friends of yours who still hesitate to take the road of reason.

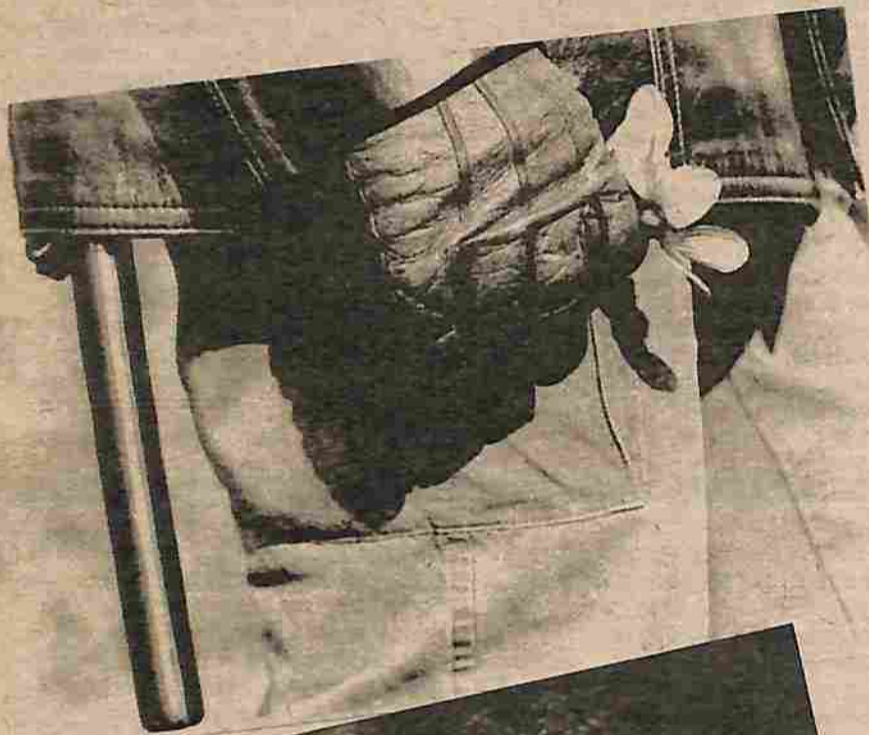
But above all:

*Don't allow violent people to misuse you as protection! Distance yourselves from them not only in words but also physically, putting space between them and you that is recognizable from without! Resist the temptation to stand in solidarity with them; these people aren't serious about securing peace, only about streetfighting!*

We promise to do all in our power so that you can demonstrate and articulate your views unhindered.

LET US WORK TOGETHER SO THAT WE CAN MEET AGAIN TOMORROW WITHOUT HOSTILITIES!

Your Police



Photos from Der Spiegel

# Scenes from the Big Apple, The Week After

The Day After promoted wide discussion. Some of it managed to escape the boundaries of the "legitimate" poles of debate, as can be seen from the following brief report by New York correspondents who were around and about the city following the movie.

At Riverside Church in New York City an overflow crowd of 1,000 people viewed the film. Ted Koppel's panel discussion was not aired. Instead people were encouraged after viewing the film to write letters to the president. White stationery was passed out and the letters were linked together in a long chain. However, there were people who were very perturbed by this. A discussion was supposed to take place after viewing the film but when the letterwriting got underway a number of people started to leave. Outside the church some people were quite angry with the film. Two women in particular spoke out against it. One of them denounced the movie as a "prewar film" because it had downplayed the actual effects of nuclear war in terms of lives spent and destruction showing that it is "survivable" and that society was portrayed in the film as essentially remaining intact. She said, "Order was maintained. The president was still the president. The police were still the police. Basically things still continued."

The promised discussion never quite materialized. A handful of people got up to speak at an open mike. But the lack of seriously taking on and debating the issues angered and frustrated a number of people. We spoke with one woman who was a student and a peace activist in the '60s. She had just returned to the states after being in Venezuela and the Caribbean for five years. She began to

sum up her reactions this way, "A lot of people my age have gone into whatever the numbers they've gone into — we've all seen *The Big Chill* — but I mean there are enough people that are thinking about maybe it's time to do something again. I think most of them will cop out because they've got their commitments, their kids and their jobs and all that. But I don't think that I'm that unique that I'm being troubled by it again. I don't know what I'm going to do with that impulse but that impulse is there and it's real. I think maybe this is like a point maybe not 15 maybe 20 years ago when there were some people who didn't know what to do with the impulse. That's what I'm feeling. This was a pretty radical hotbed around 1970, this building. And yet I don't feel that at all today... some people are writing letters and ABC is sucking it up on their cameras and everybody is going home. It's bizarre... to me, it's really obviously time to re-radicalize myself."

And of course there has been the furor in the schools. New York City's Board of Education and the United Federation of Teachers (UFT) had "no position" on whether class discussion should take place about the film. UFT head Albert Shanker's political position on this issue is however quite clear — "nuclear weapons are the best deterrence." In his November 20th column in the *New York Times* he wrote, "(The film) could have started with the success of anti-nuclear protests in Europe, preventing the deployment of the Pershing missiles... leading to Soviet overconfidence, aggressiveness... and the same nuclear holocaust. The audience could look back and think if only we'd been

strong enough not to back down... we'd be alive and free today." On the other hand, a number of liberal and progressive teachers who oppose nuclear war have held class discussions. And we ran into one teacher who took a definite position on what gives rise to war. This teacher brought out in class that, "War is started by nationalism" and that "Russia is an ally of Syria. The U.S. is an ally of Israel. Russia has the Warsaw Pact. The U.S. has NATO." Previously the class had taken up the causes of World War I. The word "imperialism" was chalked on the blackboard.

We got to sit in on a number of classroom discussions held in the city's public high schools with mainly Black and Puerto Rican youth. Interesting exchanges among the youth took place, a hashing out of their own perceptions and ideas as to what's going on in the world and what must be done about it. For instance in one class a student said that to stop war, "The U.S. should stop shipping arms to other countries." Another youth responded, "The U.S. doesn't work that way" and that countries get arms, "if a country can do something for the U.S." Another said, "I have something against the government here. I don't have anything against the Russian people. Maybe Russian students will revolt against their government." This comment was particularly significant because there were two Russian youth in the class. One student had turned in a class paper advocating a peace through strength position. Only one youth in the classroom agreed with this. Another youth pointed out that, "Both (Americans and Russians) are oppressed by our governments who tell us we need

nuclear weapons."

At another school a Black youth who is in the Reserves stated "I don't think there's anybody who's really for missiles." One youth raised three times in response, "Then why were they built" (others replied "for power"). Afterwards we talked to this same Black youth who took a copy of the *RW* to pass around to others in the Reserves. One Puerto Rican youth objected to the discussion being set in terms of "we" and "them." When the teacher asked him if he was disassociating himself from American policy he was ribbed by others who teased him about being a Russian or a spy. But he responded, "I'm saying that every time you say 'we and them' by 'them' you mean the Russians and by 'we' you mean Americans... I feel uncomfortable when you say 'we' 'cause you mean all of us." His friend interjected, "He means he doesn't have anything to do with making the bombs." And the teacher repeated, "He doesn't have anything to do with making the bombs" and a couple of the youth replied "we don't."

Some youth felt that nuclear war could be prevented if enough people protested. Others were more cynical about this approach even arguing that the government would react by arresting people and that things would then lead to a "civil war." They weren't advocating "civil war," but that this came up shows what's "in the wind" and indicates some recognition of the stakes involved here. □

## Prosecution

Continued from page 14

Red Army Faction — that the Social-Democratic government of Helmut Schmidt proposed the anti-terrorist laws. While sporadic bombings and kidnappings certainly continued, the greatest impact on the strategy of the West German bourgeoisie was by far the shift in the principal contradiction in the world. The focus was no longer on a pretended disinterest in U.S. counterrevolutionary wars in the Third World (to be sure these were making the world safe for Siemens, Volkswagen, and Deutschebank as well), but the fact that global politics were now oriented around the sharpening U.S.-Soviet contention — with West Germany located on the fault line. The next year, 1977, SPD Chancellor of Germany Helmut Schmidt signalled the collapse of Ostpolitik by calling for deployment of new U.S. medium-range missiles in West Germany, a decision reached by NATO as a whole in 1979. Similarly groups like the Red Army Faction, which in their early days drew inspiration from the

struggle against revisionism and quoted Mao in their statements, now began to slide headlong into pro-Soviet, U.S.-main-danger politics. The triumph of revisionism in China, the U.S. defeat in Vietnam, and the emergence of Soviet-backed armed struggle and military groups all put their stamp on the turning point of the mid-seventies. The West German bourgeoisie in turn drew new conclusions about the balance between order and the mythology of freedom for the coming decade.

The point is that the development of West Germany's repressive apparatus does not find its roots in the particularities of the German political scene, and is certainly not determined by whether the "conservative" Christian Democrats or the "liberal" Social Democrats are managing the state apparatus at the moment. In 1976 it was the SPD government which introduced the anti-terrorist laws, and these laws were adopted by the W. German parliament by a unanimous vote (402 to zip). Its impetus is to be found in the developing crisis of the world imperialist system and the motion toward a new world war of global redivision between the two gangster blocs. It is within this context that "anti-social forces,"

whose disruptive actions could be tolerated in the 1960s as "the price of freedom," could not now be tolerated in the 1980s on the approach to world war.

### Suppressions

The West German government's campaign against *radikal* is indicative of the seriousness with which the ruling class now takes the suppression of any extra-parliamentary dissent. Nor is *radikal* alone — in 1982 there were approximately two hundred prosecutions under S. 129a alone. Already in 1978 the Berlin newspaper *Info-Bug* had been suppressed and a national furor occurred over the prosecution of a commercial printing firm. Although the balance of forces in Berlin afforded some protection to *radikal*, its issues had been periodically confiscated from bookstores in West Germany. Then in December 1982 the Newspaper Cooperative which formally publishes *radikal* was the target of sweeping police raids. Fourteen private homes, 2 buildings occupied by squatters, 3 printing plants, 1 publisher, and 1 bookstore as well as the offices of the Cooperative were searched.

Foiled in their attempt to actually locate the *radikal* production group, in January 1983 the federal prosecutor called in Benny Härlin, Micha Klöckner and Dirk Schneider (a leader of the Berlin Alternative List). These three were told that because of their formal legal connection with the Newspaper Collective, they were going to be prosecuted under S. 129a as being responsible for *radikal's* published support of terrorist organizations. Then in June Micha learned that his parents' home in West Germany had been thoroughly searched by police who waived about a warrant for Micha's arrest. Since the cops obviously knew where he was living in West Berlin, this was apparently an attempt to spook him into trying to flee or go underground. But Micha, as soon as he heard about the search of his parents' house, went directly to the police and was arrested. The next day Benny received an invitation to come

into the police headquarters for a chat, and when he did was also arrested. Schneider, however, presented the cops with a new difficulty. He had been elected from Berlin as one of Berlin's non-voting delegates to the West German Parliament, thus giving him parliamentary immunity from arrest.

Being a federal security case, the trial of Benny and Micha took place in Berlin's highest court from the beginning. Here the judge ruled that they had to be held without bail since there was "danger of flight." This after the two had known for five months that the government was going to prosecute them and had turned themselves in voluntarily! Thus Benny and Micha spent two months in jail before being released on the equivalent of \$12,000 bail each.

### Trial

The trial itself (which will probably last into January) has featured a grand battle over lawyers, with the judge refusing the customary court payment of the lawyers chosen by the defendants. Thus Benny and Micha now have six lawyers: three chosen by the court that they don't want, and three that they have to pay out of their pockets. The trial is further complicated by the fact that the two defendants don't exactly see eye-to-eye on the issues involved. Härlin is disclaiming any connection with *radikal*, saying that his only involvement was his being an officer of the Newspaper Cooperative which was set up some years before when *radikal* had a different character. Micha, against whom the government indictment lists police observation of him delivering copies of *radikal* to the post office, is maintaining a stance of denouncing all attacks on the leftist press.

Amplifying on the difference, the bourgeois press has gone out of its way to base its "criticism" of the prosecution on the inclusion of Härlin. For example, *Die Zeit* describes him in the following terms: "In the (Berlin) scene Benedict Härlin is in fact not just anybody, he was the local

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Revolution

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## "Reformed" Police

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Krefeld, June 25, 1983

## Prosecution

Continued from page 16

editor of the *Tageszeitung* for two and a half years and in 1981 and 1982 was one of the most important liaisons between the squatters on the one hand and the home construction firms and the city authorities on the other. He has written numerous articles against violence on the streets and in favor of hard work at the negotiating table, and because of this he enjoys a high esteem from the liberal councilmembers of the CDU, church officials and building owners willing to negotiate. Peter Buschmann, head of the *Berliner Neuen Heimat*: "He was always very constructive in negotiations, treated confidential information confidentially, and was very fair — I couldn't say a single bad word about him."

"Among militants on the other hand, Benedict Härlin has as one might think a bad reputation, was vilified and occasionally even threatened. Benedict Härlin has devoted himself to the internal peace of Berlin to an extent which the Interior Counselor Heinrich Lummer would do well to emulate." (Lummer is a reactionary dog who has spearheaded the drive to evict squatters — *RW*.)

Why is Benny being prosecuted, then? Here it is also important to make some analysis. Härlin made one big mistake, and his very attachment to working within the system makes him the perfect candidate to make an example out of. Benny's mistake is that he *did not* take his name off the *legal* papers of the Newspaper Cooperative, and thus in some small way contributed to the maintenance of *radikal's* legal cover. The bourgeoisie's message to Benny is like the message of the cops on the street to peace demonstrators: "Distance yourself from anti-imperialist militants, or the clubs will fall on you too. Do not allow them to stand in your midst and use you for protection." This is the message being sent by the inclusion of Härlin in the prosecu-

tion. The bourgeois press, while unanimous in its praise of Härlin, is conspicuously silent about the "student" Klöckner. In the meantime, though, it is hoped by the prosecution that beads of sweat will form on certain foreheads.

To keep the heat on, cops in Münster in late October busted into the local Environmental Protection Center. Ransacking the place, they confiscated 4 copies of a newsletter called *Venceremos* from the lit table. It seems that *Venceremos* had reprinted from *radikal* a letter signed by the RZ claiming credit for an attack on an IBM plant. Because RZ sent a letter to *radikal*, which was reprinted in *Venceremos*, which wound up on the lit table of an Environmental Center in Münster, the four members of the Center's steering committee are now being officially investigated for possible violation of S. 129a!

### Resistance

This is not to imply, however, that everyone in West Germany is being cowed by the current police onslaught. For one thing, the publicity around the case has caused the circulation of *radikal* (normally around 3,000) to soar, with the current issue going into a second printing. Particularly impressive was the turnout for a *Radikal & Zornig* (radical and angry) conference, October 28-30 in West Berlin. The first night was devoted to a program on the attack on *radikal*. The large *Kneipe* (combination coffee-house, tavern and hangout) was packed solid with punks, anarchists and rebel youth of every description. The crowd of hundreds pressed so hard to get in that people were forced to climb in and out the windows. Small knots of people who did not speak German pressed together for simultaneous translation, while the cigarette smoke was so dense you could scarcely see across the room. In addition there has been a big response to *radikal's* appeal for people to become "publishers" of the magazine. The current issue lists 300 publishers, and it has been learned that over 1,000 publishers have now been enlisted! □

The second document is a statement by Rudolf Bahro, a member of the national committee of the Green Party. On June 25, a massive demonstration turned out to confront U.S. Vice President (and former CIA chief) George Bush on his visit to Krefeld, W. Germany, to attend a festival celebrating 300 years of German-American friendship (leaving out, of course, a few years in the twentieth century). During the course of the demo Bush's motorcade was stoned and W.

German cops viciously attacked the various contingents of Autonom groups carrying anti-imperialist and anti-NATO banners. In the ensuing struggle over summation of the event, the hacks at the head of the "official peace movement" charged that the Autonom groups were paid police provocateurs, and raised the demand that the peace movement "distance" itself from the anti-imperialist forces. The following is Bahro's position:

### DO THE STREETFIGHTERS BELONG TO THE PEACE MOVEMENT?

The nonviolent demonstrators ARE distanced from the rest, so that they — in my opinion — can spare themselves the ritual which the manipulated public expects. The determining conditions, which find their ultimate expression in nuclear weapons, produce similarly a counter-aggressive potential, and it is objectively unavoidable that this also erupts upon occasion. We must at least remain in a position to speak with the "Autonom," so that the street fights remain marginal occurrences.

Whatever the "Autonom" may think, it cannot be primarily the fruit of reflection if it is expressed in strategies which still train people in Exterminism.\*

This kind of hatred in the militant minorities arises out of their dependent

position together with their tendency toward the totalitarian military or police state. Their beloved "direct disruption actions" are suited only to strengthening the dragon.

I continue to hope that most of the "Autonom" will yet grasp that our task lies in achieving a decision of the majority against the power elite on the armaments question, and therefore all our steps must be taken from the standpoint of how we can bring the people to be not against us, but against the apparatus of extermination. Do the streetfighters really belong to the peace movement? They look desperately similar to the dominant culture of self-destruction. They are no alternative. Exterminism can only be conquered by a culture of peace.

The final document, which appeared in the magazine *Radikal*, is by "some Hamburg Autonom" and responds to those who would "distance" themselves from the movement against imperialist war, and goes on to expose those making the demand. Printed here is a brief excerpt:

### ON DISTANCING

Representatives of the official peace movement have hurriedly lined up in baiting us. "The task of the peace movement is to find out who paid the provocateurs from the morning" (Jungk, 6/25, quoted from *Tageszeitung* 6/27). We hope Mr. Jungk will apply to the *Bildzeitung*, we've left our bank account number there. "He who says no more war, must also say no more civil war" (Jungk, 6/27, *Tageszeitung*) and "Those who throw stones don't belong to us — we won't let ourselves be pushed into the terrorist corner" (Jungk, quoted from *Westfälische Rundschau*, 6/27) reveal something about the point of view of the speaker. Terrorists are in our understanding the rulers from Schmidt and Kohl to Bush (whose stance and vocabulary are here taken over), but never people who fight against the NATO war policies (from determined peace fighters to the guerrilla). Now one could think that such statements were hastily made. But it is striking that Bastian (a former German general and member of the Green Party — *RW*) has made similar statements, while Petra Kelly (another Green Party spokesperson — *RW*) actually took part in the dinner in Bush's honor — seated next to Hupka (an ultrareactionary Christian Democratic politician — *RW*)... The attempt to base (the struggle) on nonviolence entails a distancing from those whose resistance is fundamentally directed against the existing system and is intended to prevent more people from developing a revolutionary resistance.

This politics of distancing has the function of isolating us within the peace movement in order to enable the rulers to clear us out (precisely with an eye toward the fall), without having to reckon with a radicalization of the majority of the peace movement. It's a question of

eliminating us as a political force within the peace movement...

We don't want to engage in the power politics and tactical maneuvers of the heads of the SPD, DGB, DfG/VK, DKP, KB, Friko and Greens (respectively — the social democrats, the trade union federations, the counseling organization of COs, the pro-Soviet revisionists, economist former "Maoists," the Peace Committee and the Green Party — *RW*) and other bureaucratic organizations since we fundamentally reject traitorous forms and proxy politics.

In the same groove with the big-unity politics and the distancing is the closed-door discussion which was hosted by the Evangelical Loccum Academy with the personal support of U.S. Ambassador Arthur Burns on Sept. 24/25. There, while the U.S. Army already had its soldiers practicing the handling and firing of Pershing II and cruise missiles, the dialogue with carefully selected sections of the peace movement began. The participants, who were to look into how the danger of a battle around the stationing could be lessened, were: Leister and Heidemann (interior ministry officials from two states), Stumper and Saer (police chiefs for two states), Peitz (head of the Hiltrup Police Academy), Schröder (chair of the police union), Hirsch (FDP Bundestag member), Gruber and Rudolph (major TV journalists), Rohrmann (government press spokesman), Simon (constitutional lawyer), Jo Leinen (SPD honcho in the main peace movement organization), Karbach (Federation of Nonviolent Action Groups), Koschel (Pax Christi), Buro (Socialist Bureau), Dehle (Hamburg Peace Committee), Greune (from the counseling group for conscientious objectors). □

\*"Exterminism" is a term coined by the British historian and activist E.P. Thompson. By Exterminism, Thompson (and Bahro) mean a supposed tendency inherent in modern industrial society which transcends considerations of class and social systems and which, if left unchecked, will result in the total ecological destruction of mankind (with nuclear war seen as a possible part of this) — *RW*.

# "The Day After"

Continued from page 11

McNamara did attempt to retain his dove image by referring positively to the nuclear freeze at one point, as having performed a service in calling attention to the issues. The nuclear freeze has been for some time one standard pole in the nuclear debate within the bourgeoisie; it holds that the U.S. *already has* enough nukes, and calls for greater emphasis on arms talks. It has been promoted widely among the middle classes as a means of building a loyal opposition, and to surround and channel the growing outrage against nuclear war. In the "Week After" debates, this pole has been a major influence: clearly the outlook of most organizers of official discussion groups, and possibly the motivation of the scriptwriters, director, and so on. For the bourgeoisie, the building up of such a loyal opposition, with McNamara-types as their standard-bearers, is of crucial importance, as necessary an aspect of war preparation as the deployment of the MX.

The national debate has also set out on the job of politically educating the American public in the cold realities of imperialist power politics. This does not end with basic education in the thinkability of nuclear war, although this is one part of it and is chillingly similar to the layman's manuals on warfare and weaponry that flooded the corner newsstands when World War 2 broke out. (*TV Guide's* preview of the film urged: "We do need to understand the subtle and complex elements of the nuclear puzzle, such as deterrence, verifiable arms control and a strategic nuclear policy that shows the Soviets we mean business but are always willing to compromise so long as they are, too.") No, there is a larger question also of "understanding" — mobilizing people around — the global interests and imperatives of U.S. imperialism. As the *Viewers Guide*, issued by ABC and distributed in a volume of 500,000, coaxed, "How much attention do you pay to military conflicts overseas? When was the last time you followed the details of an international crisis out of concern for your own safety and the well-being of your loved ones?"

But the most striking instance of this crash course in imperialist political studies is the "Crisis Game" to which ABC devoted four full programs of its *Nightline* show immediately following *The Day After*. Although this series deserves analysis in its own right, it must be

said here that the degree to which imperialist power politics is here displayed, with ex-governmental figures (such as Edmund Muskie as the President) role-playing their way through an armed confrontation with the Soviets, shows something about the timetable for what the actual showdown is — this is plainly a pre-war period and world war is not some foggy far-away prospect. Plainly, the U.S. has set out as an urgent task an effort to draw the public into the deadly logic of its global confrontation with the rival imperialist bloc; it is a concerted effort to create a broad base for the murderous maneuverings which are already going down, a public with an "informed" stake in what's going on. They are compelled to drag millions into political life; letting their class interests hang out so nakedly and with such candor is not due to any passion for self-exposure.

### Survivalism

A major thrust of *The Day After* and its attendant debate has been the question of actually surviving a nuclear war. That is, after forcing people to confront the reality of nuclear war, to build into the public consciousness the will to survive any horror, both individually and more fundamentally as a nation. That this is one conscious objective is inescapable after reading ABC's companion viewers guide to the program. It is evident from reading through this brochure that it is a carefully planned exercise in bourgeois sociology to both channel the thinking and questioning about the film in certain directions, as well as to help the bourgeoisie investigate and sum up just what people's thinking on these questions is, and what obstacles confront them in their efforts to preserve bourgeois society in the midst of war. As the brochure notes, "By moving from 'looking at' these scenes to 'being part of them' through discussion we can gain a larger understanding of what the nuclear age signifies to us all."

While a number of the brochure's questions focus on people's political perceptions leading up to, during, or in the wake of nuclear conflict, fully 20 of the 30 questions in the main section deal directly or indirectly with the question of surviving a nuclear war. For example, question number 11 asks: "What are EMP (Electromagnetic Pulse Effect)...? What steps are now being taken to prevent a disruption of power in the event of a nuclear explosion in the atmosphere?" Number 12: "...As the family waits in their shelter Jolene asks, 'What's radia-

tion?' Could you answer her question? Do you think it's important for people today to be informed about the effects of radiation?" Number 14: "What practical talents and knowledge do you possess that would make you an asset in the time of crisis? What survival skills have you developed?" Number 19: "Cite incidents in the story that demonstrate the 'will to survive.'" As the brochure ever so poetically sums up, "By confronting the perils of nuclear war, individuals can come to terms with their fears, devise ways to transcend them. As psychologist Robert Jay Lifton has written: 'The vision of death gives life. The vision of total annihilation makes it possible to imagine life here and beyond that curse.'"

(These lessons drawn by ABC in its pamphlet may very well be different from the message intended by those instrumental in making the film — the scriptwriter and director, for example. Norman Meyer, the film's director, wrote, "If this film could sober the world and slow the pace with which we seem to be determined to turn our planet into a nuclear porcupine, then I guess I'm signing up (to direct the film) no matter what lists my name appears on." This is no doubt also the outlook of many of those who took part in or led the discussion groups during the "Week After" debates.)

### Risky Business

The business of jolting the masses into awareness is a decidedly risky one. This has provoked some, like Kissinger, and the *New York Times*, to criticize the film (though the *Times* has done more than its share in promoting the project). In this view the "Week After" debate will not achieve its goal of a thoughtful nuclear awareness (mobilized ultimately around the imperialists' program of war preparations) but only create more "hysteria" — a feeling, in other words, that things are out of hand — or worse, in the wrong hands. There has also been some empty-headed criticism from people like William Buckley who, on the *Viewpoint* show, said that the film convinced the German SPD to vote against the Euro-missiles.

But mostly the debate has been welcomed in official circles. As for the Euro-missiles, the showing does obviously come at a time when the U.S. is under fire from large sections of the masses in Europe; but then again, doesn't that make it a favorable time for the U.S. to show that people in high places are "concerned" about nuclear war? Besides, the specter of large-scale destruction of U.S. territory could be seen as a sign that the U.S. is serious about "sharing risks" with its European allies. It was for this

reason, no doubt, that the film was screened for the West German Bundestag on November 19, before the vote on the Euro-missiles. (Buckley was referring to this incident.)

And there was sufficient praise on high levels in the bourgeoisie for the film. Reagan was quoted as "welcoming the dialogue," for example. Said Ted Koppel after the *Viewpoint* show, "If the film sheds something of a national tendency towards complacency then that is good." The *Christian Science Monitor* noted approvingly that "seen against the portrayal of nuclear destruction, getting caught up in the minutiae of job and house and social demands makes little sense."

Indeed the imperialists have little choice but to try and shape and even further awake the "nuclear consciousness" of the masses. These are no longer the days when, as in the early 1950s, you could release a few propaganda films about "duck and cover," give some instructions about how that nasty radiation will just wash right off, and that was that. In those days the war that was seemingly on the agenda was directed against a Soviet Union still socialist, and overwhelmingly out-gunned by the Western bloc. Nuclear weapons there were, but the U.S. could look with some confidence to only a handful of nukes coming through. That conflict was only resolved by the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, and the resulting period of collusion and capitulation (as well as contention) with the U.S. Today the West faces a rival imperialist bloc with a military capacity fully as strong as its own. This engenders an entirely different set of circumstances.

On the one hand it has required puffing up the most patriotic social base with John Wayne-style blind cowboyism. Only a short time ago during the Grenada invasion, the same "thoughtful" imperialists, this week debating *The Day After*, were riding high with chauvinism and war-fever. But this isn't all that's necessary; the masses must also be tempered for the coming horror, shown the spectacle full force and be prepared to die if necessary, survive if possible. The duck and cover of the '50s has given way to the puff and temper of the '80s.

The bourgeoisie, by necessity, has brought some of the horror of nuclear war into the livingrooms of middle America. But the worst horror of all would be if the imperialist system survived after such a criminal war. □

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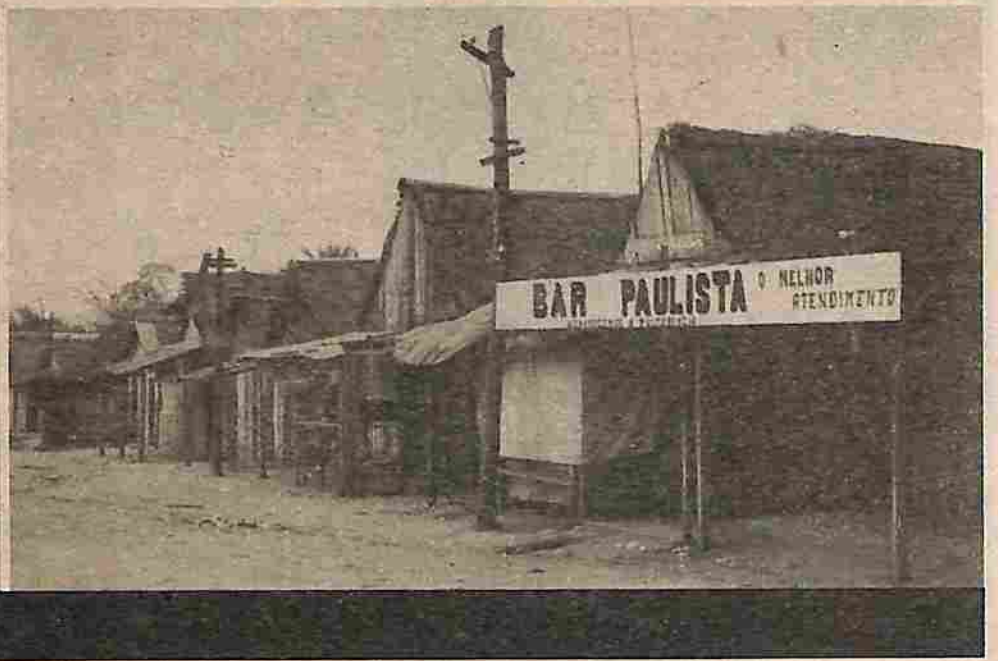
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# Civilized Savagery



Continued from page 9

Largas were holding a tribal ceremony in one of the large villages; the plane flew overhead and dropped packets of sugar among the Indians. The sugar was laced with arsenic. Later, the plane returned and the hired killers dropped dynamite on the village to finish off any survivors. No one knows how many Indians died in that single attack. Some did escape however; another expedition was organized to finish them off, this time with machine guns. It was afterward that it came out that the rubber company which organized the attack may have been fronting for more powerful concerns. A journalist for the *London Times* reported that "At that very time, deposits of rare metals were being found in the area. What these metals were, it was not clear. Some sort of security blackout has been imposed, only fitfully penetrated by vague news reports of the... smuggling of the said rare metals back to the USA."

Modern scientific knowledge has also been put to telling use in the Amazon. Volkswagen recently purchased 56,000 acres of virgin land which it promptly doused with 2, 4-D and 2, 4-T (Agent Orange) to speed the transition from forest to pasture land. So, too, did Swift Armour, heedless of the fact that the streams on its land were used by the Kaapor Indians. Old and tested techniques were also employed. There are even several cases documented by an investigation in the late '60s, where agents of the Indian Protective Service (the pre-1970s Brazilian equivalent of the BIA) presented Indians with blankets impregnated with smallpox virus. In similar incidents, men with flu, malaria, venereal disease and the like were simply hired to go among the Indians, who generally lack the antibodies to fight what for them are unknown and previously unexperienced illnesses. In one year, a single such measles epidemic killed one-fifth of several tribes. Tribes weakened by such measures are prey for all. The late '60s investigation turned up IPS agents who prostituted Indian women to the miners or outright enslaved them — one agent recently presented a friend with 24 Indians as a wedding gift. As the governor of the Brazilian state of Raraima put it, "I am of the opinion that an area as rich as this — with gold, diamonds, and

uranium — can not afford the luxury of conserving a half a dozen Indian tribes who are holding back development."

In response to the ravages of these supposedly "uncontrollable" prospecting companies and their henchmen, the Indian agency, now called FUNAI, has supervised the rounding up of the Indians and their emplacement on reservations — for their own good of course. While the FUNAI/reservation system is formally similar to the U.S. system, there are differences: for one, in Brazil the Indians, in the formal legal sense, don't even exist. They are wards of the state, with no legal status in judicial or other governmental arenas. The land they reside on is theirs solely and directly at the discretion of the state.

The fate of the Nambiquara Indians gives a taste of how the system works. Early in the twentieth century telegraph lines were run through their land; their traditional game dwindled, disease swept their numbers. As for their land, it was fair spoils for any settler who could find an Indian willing to say it was his and that he would sell it, usually for next to nothing. In World War 2, the Nambiquara were placed in what the *New York Times's* Brazilian correspondent admits was "virtual enslavement" to tap rubber supplies for the Allied cause. Today, the remaining traditional land lies on top of mineral preserves and prime cattle ranchland. A reservation was carved out, consisting of only one-fifth of their original holdings, the most arid at that. Complementing this outright expropriation is the use in the last few decades of the "indigenous income" system on the reservation. The state sells mineral rights to the reservation land, and it then allocates the income from these sales to pay for the cost of FUNAI. Thus the Nambiquara, like the rest of Brazil's Indians, maintained their own jailers.

Though formally the Indians may not exist, Brazilian authorities have repeatedly found them quite capable of drawing blood from their henchmen. More than once in the past few decades Brazilian society has followed breathlessly — and been rent by controversy over — the exploits of Indian tribes as they are tracked by FUNAI agents or have fought the military or the pistoleros. There have been "pacifications" (i.e., the Indians

lost), and "massacres" (i.e., the Indians won) — the most recent when a tribe killed 20 people shortly after one of the leading Indian chiefs promised to the national press that "Anyone who trespasses on Indian territory will die."

Today the atmosphere throughout the region is tense, due in particular to the implementation this year of the International Monetary Fund-supervised austerity measures and the consequent squeeze on the Brazilian economy. At the same time, Indian land is a prime target for further exploitation — the supply of minerals and raw materials on this land is huge and of strategic significance. As one observer has noted, "It is easier to protect lines of supply from the Amazon Basin

than from across the wide Pacific."

Given the stakes, there are frequent calls for a quick and "final solution" to the "Indian problem." One large cattle rancher was quoted recently: "The United States solved this problem with its army. They killed a lot of Indians. Today everything is quiet there and the country is respected around the world." America: once again inspiration — and prime mover — for genocide. □

Top: Cattle being herded into an area of jungle that Volkswagen recently defoliated with Agent Orange to speed its transition to pasture land.

Below: Supply stores and a bar in Rondonia, a Brazilian frontier town.

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

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