



REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

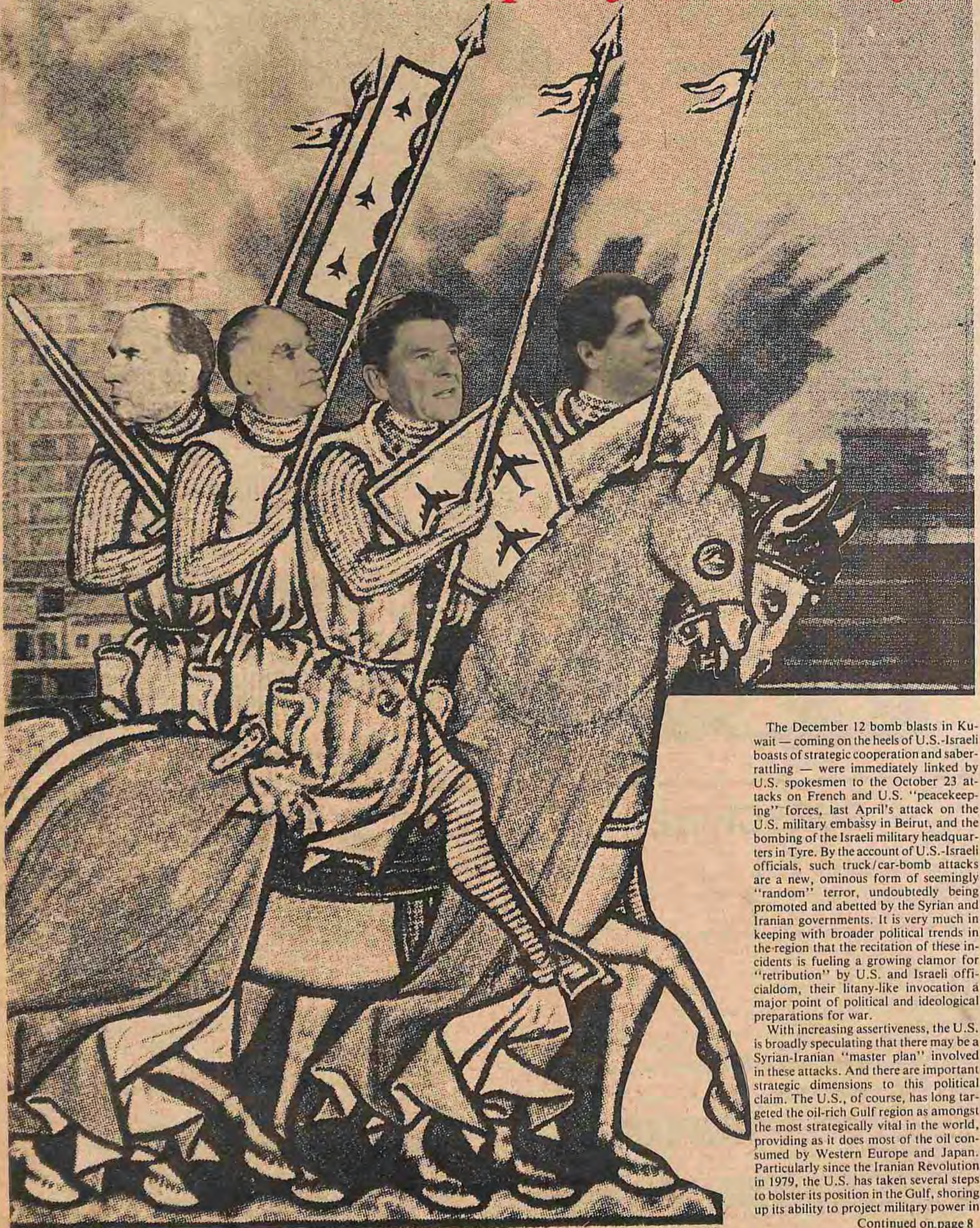
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The Precepts of Civilized Life



The December 12 bomb blasts in Kuwait — coming on the heels of U.S.-Israeli boasts of strategic cooperation and saberrattling — were immediately linked by U.S. spokesmen to the October 23 attacks on French and U.S. "peacekeeping" forces, last April's attack on the U.S. military embassy in Beirut, and the bombing of the Israeli military headquarters in Tyre. By the account of U.S.-Israeli officials, such truck/car-bomb attacks are a new, ominous form of seemingly "random" terror, undoubtedly being promoted and abetted by the Syrian and Iranian governments. It is very much in keeping with broader political trends in the region that the recitation of these incidents is fueling a growing clamor for "retribution" by U.S. and Israeli officials, their litany-like invocation a major point of political and ideological preparations for war.

With increasing assertiveness, the U.S. is broadly speculating that there may be a Syrian-Iranian "master plan" involved in these attacks. And there are important strategic dimensions to this political claim. The U.S., of course, has long targeted the oil-rich Gulf region as amongst the most strategically vital in the world, providing as it does most of the oil consumed by Western Europe and Japan. Particularly since the Iranian Revolution in 1979, the U.S. has taken several steps to bolster its position in the Gulf, shoring up its ability to project military power in

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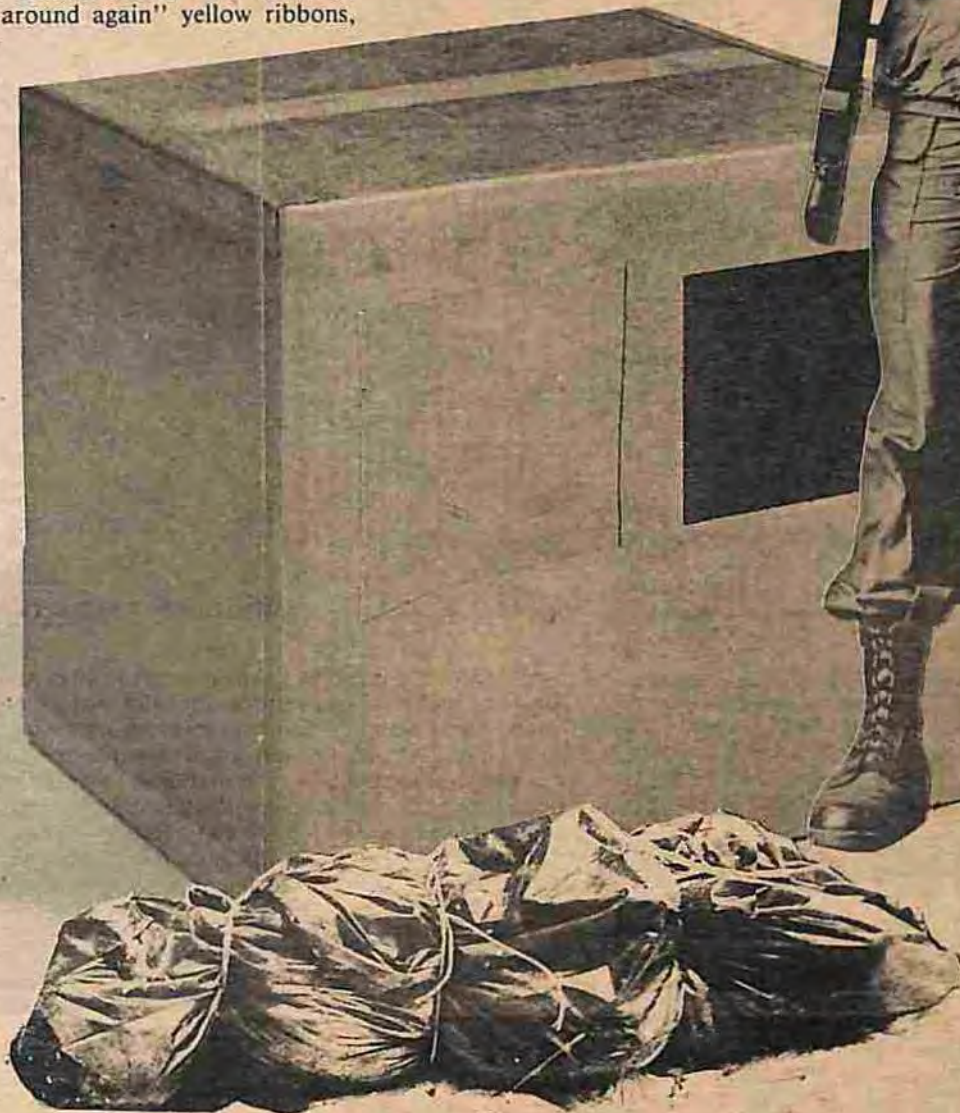
'Tis the Season...

Once again the holidays are upon us and good old American holiday cheer is being meted out by the barrelfull. On December 12th, just in time for Christmas, the U.S. Department of Defense began the withdrawal of U.S. combat troops from America's newest acquisition in the Caribbean, Grenada. (The date coincided with another anniversary devoted to peace on earth: that of the decision to deploy Pershing and cruise missiles in Europe.) So far 1,000 U.S. troops have left Grenada and still another thousand are scheduled to depart in a few days. And thus the groundwork has been laid for America's gift to the world this holiday season, the newest addition to the GI Joe family of real American heroes "fighting for freedom wherever there is trouble."

This newest toy, the "standing tall" doll — described by some as destined to outsell the Cabbage Patch dolls in certain circles — was formally unveiled when the "conquering heroes" of Grenada returned to their home base at Fort Bragg, North Carolina. Landing at an airport properly decked out in "we won't be pushed around again" yellow ribbons,

the brave little boys of the 82nd Airborne Division emerged from their transport planes in full combat gear, including jungle fatigues and camouflage netting. Ready for action. Then these robots somberly lined up in a driving rainfall to salute the flag and patriotically blushed at a rousing rendition of this year's holiday hit, the *Star Spangled Banner*. Their main point of attraction was made clear to one and all. No more will real Americans have to be tortured by the likes of the "Iranian hostage crisis." Yes, Mr. and Mrs. America, a new day is upon us this holiday season and these "standing tall" dolls — fully equipped for, and anxiously awaiting, bigger and better

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The Standing Tall Doll

Comes with a complete line of life-like (and death-like) accessories, including packing crate interrogation cells, plastic Americans waiting to be rescued, body bags (one size fits all) and assorted prosthetic devices. Will soon be equipped with radiation suit.

Notice to RW Readers

In accordance with our publication schedule, the *RW* will not appear next week. Our next issue (No. 236) will be dated December 30.

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**OVERRULE THIS,
MOTHERFUCKER**

Rhetoric . . . And Reality

By Bob Avakian

I was on one of the television programs here in Cleveland a couple of days ago and I said, "They don't want the people to unite and make revolution." The woman there, this television announcer asked me, "Who is they?" And I said, "Come on, you know who they are! You know very well who they are! They are Rockefeller, DuPont, Mellon. They are the heads of U.S. Steel, Jones & Laughlin, Ford Motor Company, General Motors. You know very well who they are." But they don't like us to talk about things scientifically.

They say if you use the word *imperialism*, if you use the word *capitalism*, they say that is just rhetoric. I did interviews with some of these writers and they would tell me, "Oh come on, you know and I know that is all rhetoric. Cut out the rhetoric and let's talk seriously." Now see, if I said, "This is a microphone," they wouldn't say that's rhetoric. They would say everybody knows that. That's basic truth, it's scientific fact. This is a podium, that is a floor, you are sitting on chairs, and damn it, it is *imperialism* we are living under. It is just a scientific fact. It's not rhetoric, it's reality.

We Call It Imperialism — That's What It Is

Why do we call them imperialists? Because they exploit and oppress people all over the world. They have developed an empire and they will do anything to try and preserve it. If you don't think so, just watch the television they try to push on you every day. Look at their own channels, their own networks. (I'm going to get back to the situation in Cleveland, but let's look at the world first, then come back and we will understand Cleveland better and how it fits into the whole world.) Watch their television. You turn on one network and what does it tell you? "Today there was another civil war raging in Lebanon. The Moslem fanatics are holed up in the Holiday Inn." Now what the hell is the *Holiday Inn* doing in *Lebanon*? — you tell me that!

Then you switch the channel: "Today we are following a United Nations observer team in southern Africa to the country of Rhodesia (which they call Rhodesia because they named it after Cecil Rhodes, a big British imperialist. The African people actually call it Zimbabwe because that's what it is). We are here in Rhodesia to inspect the conditions of factory workers in the plants here. They have been separated from their families who live thousands of miles away in the bush country, the countryside. These workers live in barracks here and make two dollars a day working for Chrysler Corporation." What the hell is *Chrysler Corporation* doing in *southern Africa*? The same thing they are doing in this country and worse. They are ripping off the people, driving them down, breaking up families, crushing and mangling people's lives, all for the cause of the profit of a handful of bloodsuckers.

Then you switch the TV channel once again: "Today in Iran another group of Moslem fanatics is making trouble in the streets. In the latest and worst development in this situation, they have been joined by the workers in Tehran who marched out of the General Motors plant." Now you tell me what *General Motors* is doing in *Iran* — the same thing they are doing everywhere else.

Now you want to tell me this is not imperialism — I'll tell you, you are either a fool or a liar and probably both. This is an international system of capitalism. It is the same people robbing and exploiting, degrading and humiliating us every day that are doing that same thing, and want to do more of it, to people all around the world. That's why we call it *imperialism*, because that's what it is. . . .

I was talking to a woman on a television program and she asked me, "Why do you say it takes a revolution? Why do you talk about all this violence?" (By the way, I'm going to talk about it some more before we're through here tonight.) So I said, "Well, you tell me. Do you think that the Rockefellers, the Mellons (who own these banks in Pittsburgh), the DuPonts, the Fords, all these other people, and all their politicians are going to just wake up one day and say 'Geez, we didn't know! We didn't understand what we were doing. We didn't know we were killing people on the job every day. We didn't know our police were out here shooting people down in cold blood and then reloading their guns, shooting them again, and laughing about it. We didn't know we were dropping napalm on people in Vietnam and Cambodia. We didn't understand what we were doing in southern Africa, dragging people off, literally kidnapping them and sticking them in the mines for 16 hours a day until they fell dead, then throwing their carcass out and bringing another one in. We didn't know what we were doing, discriminating, making billions of dollars by keeping people segregated. We didn't know all that and we are glad you told us, because now we can rectify it, now we can make everything right, now we can help you. We will just step aside and let the working class of people get united, take over the society, eliminate all this, and put something better in its place.'" I turned to this woman and I asked her, "Do you think they are going to do that?" And of course, she changed the subject.

How can you answer that? Of course they're not going to do that! They are never going to do that. They are going to fight and they are going to desperately

do everything they can to hang on to this system. There is nothing they won't do to keep this system going — from killing us in the streets to incinerating tens or hundreds of millions of people in world war. Their outlook is that this hell that millions of people are groaning under every day, this hell is the best of all possible societies. They really believe that we are not concerned about nor capable of anything higher or better than this, and that they are doing us a favor by killing us and brutalizing us and exploiting us and using us up every day, because without them we would be nothing. That's the way they see the world because they are parasites who do nothing productive, who sit up on top of the people and look at the world upside down.

Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*

You can see their outlook and why they will never step aside peacefully and let the people come to power, transform this society, and build a new society in our interests. You can see it in what happened in 1929. You had the big depression, as they call it, in this country. The whole economy collapsed. One out of four people was out of work. All these big businesses — not just Chrysler here or Penn Central there, but all these businesses — were going bankrupt, one after the other. You saw many, many capitalists and their high-paid flunkies go and jump out the window and commit suicide. And why? Because for them, the thought of not being a capitalist, the thought of not piling up fortunes by exploiting and oppressing other people, the thought of maybe having to work, really *work* alongside the "rabble" and the "mob" they had herded around and treated like cattle, the thought of that was worse than death. So they went and jumped out the window. Now this is the reality for them; this is the way they look at the world.

Their outlook is also clearly expressed in the literature they have kids reading today (if they are lucky enough, so-called, to be put into the high track and sent off toward college), the literature which is a fountain of all the things they teach us and the ideas they propagate. For example, most of you have heard of William Shakespeare. He is taught in the schools. He is held up as the premier writer of the Western world in modern times. He is a very talented writer (and he is deep, too, in many ways) but the plays he wrote clearly put forward the outlook and ideas of these rich people who live and rule society off the blood and bones of millions of working people. This comes out sharply in one passage that I'm going to read to you. This is from a section in one of Shakespeare's better known plays called *The Merchant of Venice*. A merchant is about to be forced to give up a pound of flesh and be killed because he cannot repay a debt. He is explaining to his friends, "Don't feel too badly for me, that I'm being killed here" and you will hear why. This merchant says:

Herein fortune shows herself more kind than is her custom.
It is still her use to let the wretched man outlive his wealth,
To view with hallow eye and wrinkled brow,
An age of poverty.

Now let's translate that.

What that means is: "I'm lucky that I'm dying now because I'm losing my fortune anyway, and it's better to be dead than to be without a fortune!" And this is the very same outlook that had those capitalists jumping out windows in the 1930s.

When the word "poverty" is used here, when he says that it is "wretched" to be in "poverty," he's not talking about what we are going through. This is a rich merchant who owns slaves as well as house servants, and he's about to lose them all. What he's talking about when he says "poverty" is not what we go through: trying to keep food on the table or shoes on the kids' feet, trying to send them off to school and hoping they can have something to wear to keep them warm in the winter, trying to keep your family together, trying to keep them having a productive life, trying to keep them from being crushed down, their lives basically ruined and over before they are eighteen years old, at which time they have the glorious opportunity to go into the army and be shot. That is what we know about. That is what we mean when we hear or talk about the word "poverty." The grinding hell out here of living amidst all this wealth that is accumulated off our backs and then being barely able to survive in the midst of all this. But what they are talking about, the outlook of the rich who rule, plunder, and pile up the wealth off us, what they are talking about when they use the word "poverty" is not being able to have any more slaves, not being able to have any more house servants to clean up after them, not being able to have fortunes to travel all over the world and trade riches from one end of the earth to the other — that's what they're talking about — and they would rather be dead than not have that! If you read it correctly, that is the outlook that comes through in this play by Shakespeare. And that is the outlook of these capitalists, and they proved it dramatically by jumping right out the windows in the 1930s.

We have to understand this because it shows just how serious all this is to them. They are not going to allow this society to be changed in any kind of fundamental way. They are not even going to allow people to seriously rise up and challenge them without meeting this with the most vicious force and brutal repression. We have to understand that this is their nature, and they are not

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This article is the seventh 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.

12 Aralık'ta yeni orta-menzilli roketlerin kullanılmasına hazır olduğu nu ilan edecekleri haftanın başında, Nato savaş bloğu emperyalistleri, "1 kili anlaşma"nın da dördüncü yıldönümünü kutluyorlar. Şampanyalar patla tıp, "diğer taraf"ın baskı ve tehdit leri karşısında savaş paktlarını bir lik içinde tutabilmelerini, ve büyük kamu muhalefeti karşısında, her biri milyonlarca ölüme neden olacak güçte ki silahlarını yerleştirebilmeleri nin şerefine kadeh kaldıracaklar. Fa kat tüm bu gerici kutlama merasimle rine ve kuvvet gösterme çabalarına rağmen, bu olayların gösterdiği asıl gerçek, emperyalistlerin giderek bü yülen zayıflığı ve korkusudur. Ha zırlanmakta olduğu savaşın yıkıcı gü cü konusunda belirli bir kavrayışla rı olmasına rağmen, sistemin kendi kanunları, onları bu savaşa doğru a mansızca itmektedir. Onlar da, aynı Doğu'daki rakipleri gibi, gerilebile cekleri yere kadar gerilmiş, bunalm larından dolayı yaralar alıp zorlan mış durumdadırlar. Ve eşi görülme miş çapta bir kan dökümünden başka çıkış yolu olmayan, öldürücü bir re kabetin içine kilitlemiş kalmışlar dır. Bu durumda imparatorluklarını sağlam tutabilme ve kitleleri kont rol edebilme yetenekleri daha şimdi den bir takım sınavlardan geçmekte dir. Britanya'da iki yaz önceki gençlik isyanları, Polonya'daki işçi ayaklanmaları, Brezilya ve Şili'deki kitlesel başkaldırıları, Orta Akerika ve Filipinler'deki devrimci mücadele ler, hatta kendi emperyalist vatanla rında ortaya çıkan, savaşa-karşı kit le hareketleri —tüm bunlar, kriz ve savaşa sürükleniş nedeniyle giderek yükselcek olan, başkaldırıları ve mücadele fırtınalarının habercisidir.

Kendi çarpık anlayışları içinde de olsa, hakim sınıflar, planlarındaki tehlikelerin farkındadırlar. Ga yet iyi biliyorlar ki, tarih, sistemlerinin tüm çelişkilerinin tek bir düğümde yoğunlaşmasını temsil eden dünya savaşlarının, beklenmedik, hesapta olmayan olayların ortamını yarattığı göstermiştir. Böyle zamanlarda, çok kuvvetli olan ve ne yapacağı kestirilemedikleri güçler harekete geçer —emperyalist yağma sisteminin iç işleyişi ve sınıf çıkarları tüm çıplaklığıyla ve normal günlerdeki maskesinden arınmış olarak ortaya serilir; ve yönetenler köleleştirildikleri sınıfların ta kendilerinin ellerine silah vermek zorunda kalırlar. Emperyalistler korku içinde yaşamaktadırlar: tüm siyasi ve askeri hazırlıklarına rağmen, savaşın, onu başlatan su veya öteki akbalar takımının zaferiyle değil, kendilerinin devrimle alaşağı edilmeleriyle bitebileceğinin korkusu içinde.

Normal günler —ki bu, emperyalist ülkelerde, iki dünya savaşa arasındaki dönem anlamına gelir— "normal günler", hızla "normal" sonlarına yaklaşmaktadır. Birinin başını ABD, diğerinin ise Sovyetler Birliği'nin çektiği iki emperyalist blok, birbirleriyle karşı karşıya durmaktadır ve artık "normal günler"e devam edecek durumları yoktur, çünkü dünyanın bundan bir önceki caniyane paylaşımı sayesinde mümkün olan yayılmanın sınırına erişmişlerdir. Bir zamanlar sosyalist olan Sovyetler Birliği'nin başlıbaşına bir emperyalist güç olarak ortaya çıkması, dünya hakimiyeti konusunda Batı bloğuna meydan okumaya muktedir olan bir bloğun başını çekmesi, bu karşılaşmanın hangi koşullar çerçevesinde sürdürüleceğini ortaya koymaktadır: Köleleri yeniden paylaşmak için köle sahiplerinin arasındaki bir savaştır bu.

Süratle hızlanan dünya olaylarını ve uluslararası Krizi, ancak bu çerçevede kavrayabiliriz. ABD'nin mimarlığı yaptığı Kore uçağı olayı; Grenada'nın haydutça işgal edilmesi ve Latin Amerika'da geniş bir müdahaleye yönelik hazırlıklar; Çad'daki Fransız "istikrar" güçleri; Lübnan'ın Nato tarafından işga li; B. Alman hükümetinin, bir yandan Türkiye'deki faşist rejimin desteklenmesinde kilit rolü oynarken, aynı zamanda da BRD'deki Türkiye'li devrimcilere uyguladığı baskı; ve yeni roketlerin yerleştirilmesi; hepsi de, blokların sıklıkla birbirinin ve savaş için mümkün olan en iyi stratejik noktaları kendi kontrolle ri altına almanın parçasıdır.

Sovyetler tarafından ise, eylemler "sosyalizm" ve kurtuluş mücadelesine "yardım" tabelası taşıyor olsalar da, içerik esasta aynıdır: Afganistan'ın işgali, Kamboçya'nın, Sovyet desteği ve ödemeleriyle Vi etnam tarafından istilası ve işgali, Polonya'daki kitlelerin bastırılması, Sovyetler'in Etyopya'da açtıkları açığa gerici bir rejimin kurulmasındaki ve bunun Eritre ve Tigray'a karşı açtığı karşı-devrimci savaşları nı desteklemedeki rolü, Filistin halkının iki kesimi arasında (her iki emperyalist bloğun kendi çıkarları doğrultusunda yönlendirmeye çalıştıkları) ve bugün Sovyetler'in Suriye'ye sağladığı silahlarla sürdürü len kanlı çatışmaları. Nato bloğunun manevraları gibi, bunlar da tüm dünya temelinde ve bloklar-arası rekabetle ilişkisi içinde ele alınmaksızın kavranamaz. Her iki taraf da, esas olarak karşı bloğun "nüfuz alanı"ni hedef alan müdahalelere "yardım" sunmaya hazırdır. Peru'daki kurtuluş hareketine tavırları bu açıdan oldukça aydınlatıcı bir örnektir. Hem ABD, hem de Sovyetler Birliği, (basında Sendero Luminoso/İşikli Yol olarak tanınan) Peru Komünist Partisi önderliğindeki gerilla ordusu tarafından ka zanılmış olan kurtarılmış bölgeleri ezme çabalarına yardım için hükümete silah tedarik etmektedir. Bu mücadele, "Mao'cu" Peru Komünist Partisi'nin ne kendisini ne de devrimi her iki bloğa da satmayı reddetmelerine, özellikle ilham vericidir.

Herşeye rağmen, tüm bu işgaller, darbeler ve karşı-darbeler, sahte "yardımlar" ve hatta kurtuluş hareketlerinin ortak olarak bastırılması —belki taraflardan birinin şurda veya burda kazançlı çıkmasını mümkün kılarsa da— bunların hiçbirini, emperyalist sermayenin temelindeki yayılma dürtüsünü, ve tabiiati icabı, dünya çapında yeniden örgütlenme ihtiyacını çözüme ulaştıramaz. Emperyalistler açısından, tüm dünyadaki güç ve paylaşım dengesi zorla ve esassız bir şekilde yeniden kurulmalıdır. İşte bu yüzden dir ki, bir dünya savaşının daha gerçekleşip gerçekleşmeyeceği, hakim sınıfların bu savaşı *isteyip isteme diklerine* bağlıdır. Burada en önemli nokta, onların rakiplerinin emperyalist pislik yığınında üstünlük kazanmalarını görmektense, ya da daha da kötüsü, devrimci kitleler tarafından alaşağı edilmekte nse, savaşı tercih etmekte olduklarıdır.

Soru berrak ve acil olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır: Dünya savaşı önlenbilir mi? Bu soru; III. Dünya savaşının başlamasını ancak ve ancak dünya çapında temel güçler dengesini değiştirecek olan devrim önleyebilir şeklinde cevaplandırılmalıdır. Bu, hiçbir iradi istemin değiştiremeyeceği bir gerçektir. Fa kat ümitsiz bir hülya da *değildir* bu. Yeni roketlerin yerleştirilmesi etrafından gelişen güncel siyasi kriz de, emperyalistlerin şiddetli sonu yaklaştıkça ve dolayısıyla "normal günler" tekrar tekrar sarsılıp sallandıkça, nasıl milyonlarca kişinin siyasi hayata itildiğinin bir göstergesini vermektedir. Dünyanın şişkin metropollerinde yıllarca yaşamının verdiği köklü inançlar ve yerleşmiş hayaller sarsılmaktadır. "Yumuşama" ve "silahlanma yerine müzakere" gibi güzel kelimelerin, eskiden de olduğu gibi, esasında boş sloganlar ve anlamsız sözler olduğu, her geçen gün ortaya çıkmaktadır. Bu sadece B. Almanya için değil, genel olarak tüm emperyalist ülkeler için geçerlidir. Böylesi savaşları yaratan sosyal ilişkileri de ğiştirmeyi amaçlayan herkes, emperyalist savaş hazırlıklarına karşı gelişen hareketi memnuniyetle karşılamalıdır. Aynı zamanda, eğer bu ülkelerde bir devrim fırsatı oluşacaksa, bu, bilinçli devrimcilerin bu siyasi uyanışı devrimci bir güce dönüştürme çabalarını yoğunlaştırmalarını gerektirecektir.

Biz, tam da bunu yapmaya kararlıyız, ve nihai amacımızı, bir an için dahi olsa, saklamayı reddediyoruz: KOMUNİZM. Tüm sosyal sınıflar, ve aynı zamanda onların yarattığı sömürü ve baskının tüm bi çimlerini yeryüzünden silmekten daha az birşey değildir bu.

"Gelişmiş" ülkelerde, nüfusun nispeten geniş kesimlerinin, emperyalizmin talanından kısa-dönem yarar görmüş oldukları ve bunun da, nüfusun oldukça geniş kesimlerinin, hakim sınıfların bugünün dü zenini savunma çağlarından şu veya bu ölçüde etkilenmelerine maddi temel teşkil ettiği doğrudur. Fakat dünya çapında ele alındığında, bir avuç ülkenin işçi sınıfı içinde imtiyazlı kesimlerin oluşması, ancak, bir bütün olarak enternasyonal proletaryanın çok daha geniş kesimlerinin yoksullaştırılması yo luyla gerçekleştirilmiştir. Bazıların emperyalistlerce satın alınmasını mümkün kılan süreç, aynı za manda, kapitalizmin mezarını kazacak olan mülksüz proleterler ordusunu da yaratmıştır.

Ayrıca, emperyalist imtiyazlar, sadece ve sadece emperyalist bir dünya savaşı verip muzaffer çık makla korunabilir. Böylesi bir savaş, emperyalist ülkelerde de dahil, tüm dünya halklarının büyük bir çoğunluğunun çıkarları doğrultusunda değildir. Bu gerçek, durum kızıştıkça büyük miktarda kitle yi, hatta işçi sınıfı ve orta sınıfların imtiyazlı kesimleri içinden bir miktar kitleyi dahi kazanabilmenin maddi temelini oluşturmaktadır. Son olarak, büyük sayıda kitleler devrimi destek yönünde kazanıla

Emperyalistler dünya savaşına hazırlanıyorlar:

Biz de enginleri fethetme cesaretiyle devrime hazırlanmalıyız!

bile, emperyalist ülkelerde, hakim sınıflar korumak üzere savaşıp ölmeye hazır büyük bir kesim hala va rolacaktır. Fakat bu da, Lenin'in I. Dünya Savaşından önce vurguladığı, özellikle emperyalist ülkeler de, devrimin, halkın iki kesimi arasındaki bir iç savaş anlamına geldiği tesbitinin onaylanmasından baş ka birşey değildir.

Öte yandan, gariptir ki, aralarında kendilerini anti-emperyalist ve devrimci olarak adlandıranların da bulunduğu milyonlarca kişinin, emperyalistlerin ufukta beliren muazzam yangınına önleme arzuları, benimsedikleri siyasi tavrıardan bazılarıyla çelişki içindedir. Bu siyasi tavırlar, bunlardan vazgeçilme diği takdirde, eğer savaş gerçekten çıkarsa emperyalistlerin, bu halkı, savaşı *destekleme* yönüne çekme lerine izin verecektir. Burada açık konuşalım:

—Bugünkü hükümet, Federal Emperyalist Almanya Cumhuriyetinin meşru hükümetidir. Roketlerin yerleştirilmesine karar vererek "demokrasi"lerini "ihlal" etmiş değillerdir. Siyasi temsilciliğini yaptık ları sınıfın ve ulusun çıkarlarıyla mükemmel bir uyum içinde hareket etmişlerdir.

—ABD yöneticileri, Batı Almanya'yı, roketleri yerleştirmeye zorla mecbur etmemişlerdir. "İkili An laşma" kararı, yani bir yandan ikiyüzlük bir yandan roketlerin yerleştirilmesine devam kararı, genelde Nato Paktı'nın, diğer emperyalist paktla savaşa gitmenin koşulları konusunda kendi aralarındaki bir an laşma idi. B. Alman yöneticileri, bu yeni roketlerin, kendilerinin ABD "stratejik nükleer şemsiye"siyle sıkı sıkıya birleşiklerinin teminatı olacağını ve ABD'nin, sık sık sözettiği gibi, nükleer alış-veriş kendi lerinin dışındaki alanlara özellikle Avrupa'ya tahsis etme amacına erişme çabalarının, kaçınılmaz olarak Sovyetlerin silahlarını kendilerine geçilme, kendi başları üzerinden geçip ABD'ye çevirmesiyle sonuç lanmasını ümid ediyorlar.

—Dünyadaki başka emperyalist güçlerden biri olarak, Batı Alman hakim sınıfları, üyesi bulunduğu kları savaş bloğunun başını çekmemelerine rağmen, yarışı kazanmaya ve dünyayı savaş yoluyla yeniden bölmeye herhangi bir diğer emperyalist hakim sınıf kadar ihtiyaçları vardır.

—Sorun, "iki devletli Alman halkı"nın tehdit edilmekte olduğu veya, bazılarının adlandırdığı gibi, i ki "süpergüç" tarafından çıkarlarına ters düşen bir savaşa sürüklendiği sorunu değildir. Sorun, tüm dün yayı korkunç bir katliamla tehdit eden bir emperyalist dünya sisteminin varlığıdır. Birçokları, dikkati mizin, bir "Euroşima"yı önleyebilmek için "Avrupa'da Atomdan Arındırılmış Bölge" yaratma mesele sinde yoğunlaşması gerektiğini söylüyor. Peki, ya dünyanın geri kalan kısmı? Yeryüzünün her parças ında etkileri görülecek olan atom bombası patlamalarına veya bombanın çeşitli derecelerdeki tesirleri nin kurbanlarına ve kaçınılmaz olarak tabiata gelecek olan zararlara hedef olmak, *Avrupa hariç* her yer için kabul müdür? Bu savaşa karşı mücadele, onun nedenlerini ortadan kaldırma yönündeki uluslara sı mücadelesinin bir parçası olarak verilmelidir.

—Dünya savaşı tehlikesine, sadece böyle bir savaş belirli bir emperyalist ülkenin ya da bir grup em peryalist ülkenin harabolmasına yolaçacağı için karşı çıkmak, kaçınılmaz olarak, o ülkenin "savunma" sını destekleme konumuna veya savaşın kendisini savunmaya götürecektir, çünkü her gerici hakim sınıf, savaşı, gerici çıkarlarını "savunmak" ve ilerletmek için kullanır, ve her zaman da kendisini saldırganlık kurbanı olarak tanıtır.

Yukarıda anlatılan emperyalist şovenizmin, emperyalist savaş hazırlıklarına karşı hareket üzerinde geniş etkisi vardır. Bu yüzden dir ki, Falkland işgal edildiğinde İngiltere'deki "Nükleer Silahsızlanma Kampanyası" hiç görünürde yoktu ve ABD, dışlarını Grenada'ya batırıldığında da ABD'deki "Don durma" hareketi açtıkları açığa sokakları doldurmuyordu. Emperyalist bir ülkede, o ülkenin devrimcile ri "kendini" burjuvazilerinin çıkarlarının ne olduğunu görmeyi ve bunlardan kopmayı öğrenmedikleri takdirde, devrim hiçbir zaman gerçekleşemez.

Yeni roketlerin yerleştirilmesi, "Avrupa güvenlik çıkarları"nın ABD'nin emperyalist amaçlarına tabi olduğunu yansıtmaz. Eğer hepsi emperyalist değilse, o zaman Fransa'nın Çad'daki, İngiltere'nin Falk land'daki, İtalya'nın Lübnan'daki, B. Almanya'nın Türkiye'deki güvenlik çıkarlarının ne olduğunu kim açıklayabilir?

Roketlere karşı olmaktan bahsedip, Nato'dan çıkmaktan bahsetmemek gerçekten saçmadır. Fakat Nato'dan çıkmaktan bahsedip B. Alman emperyalist burjuvazisini devirmekten söz etmek de, en i yimler yorumla, saçma bir hayal, daha da kötüsü, siyasi bir dolandırıcılıktır. Aynı şekilde, Almanya'n ın yeniden birleşmesi sorunu da, kesinlikle "Avrupa'da barış"ın kilit noktası değildir. Aksine, son tahhilde olsa olsa savaşa mermi olarak kullanmak üzere kitle toplanma ve milyonları "Batı Medeniye ti"ni koruyup muhafaza etme yolunda öldürmeye ve ölmeye göndermede, Bismark'ın varislerine yar dım edecek olan bir siyasi programdır.

Parlamentoda roketler lehine yapılan son oylama, birçokları tarafından savaşa-karşı hareket için bir "yenilgi" olarak nitelendirildi. Oysa alakası yok. Ancak sıra sıra polls, göz-yaşartıcı gaz ve su panzerle rinin korunması arkasında alınabilen bu karar, emperyalistlerin, savaşa hazırlanmaya devam etmede ve savaşı başlatmada kararlı olduklarının bir belirtisidir. Bu, onların yüksek bir siyasi fatura ödedikleri bir adım olmuştur. Kendileri de, savaşa doğru yönelmeye devam etme ihtiyaçlarının zorlamasıyla, milyon larca kişiye, burjuva demokrasininin esas anlamının sınıf diktatörlüğü olduğunu sergilemişlerdir. 21 Ka sım'da Bonn caddelerinde, protestoların kabul edilebilir sınırları ciddi ölçüde zorlanırken, tüm dünya ü zerindeki milyonlarca kişi de, orada karşı karşıya gelen güçlerin ve çıkarların ne olduğunu çok daha berrak bir şekilde gördüler. Tam da bu nedenle, savaş hazırlıklarına karşı mücadele böylesine büyük bir önem taşımakta ve sınıf-bilinçli proletaryanın ve devrimcilerin bu mücadeleler boyunca, bu ve bunun gibi olayların altındaki sınıf çıkarlarına işaret etmek üzere her fırsattan yararlanmaları bu denli acillik arz etmektedir.

12 Aralık'ta emperyalistler 3. Dünya Savaşı için yaptıkları kanlı paktın 4. yıldönümünü kutlayacak lar. Bu kutlamaları, tüm dünya çapında aktif bir muhalefet göstermek üzere sokaklara dökülen binler tarafından onlara zehir edilecektir. Belki bu kez sayıları bir kaç ay öncesine nazaran fazla olmayabilir. Fakat bunun en önemli nedeni, önceden geniş kitleleri harekete geçiren reformist hayaller, gerçeklere çarpıp parçalanmıştır. Dolayısıyla, derhal aynı miktarda yığınların sokaklara dökülmesini sağlamadığı halde, esas siyasi karışıklık ve sorular şimdi çok daha köklü ve derin bir niteliktedir. Bu ise, önümüzde ki dönemde çok daha büyük ve köklü kabanların temelini oluşturmaktadır. "Direniş" ve "Savaşa Kar şı Savaş" gibi sözlerle bakılırsa, daha şimdiden bunun belirtileri mevcuttur. Fakat bu potansiyelin ger-

Joint Statement from TKP/ML and RCP, USA on "2 Track" Anniversary

The imperialists are preparing for world war:

We must prepare to dare to scale the heights and make revolution!

The RW is reprinting here the English and Turkish text of a statement signed by the Communist Party of Turkey/Marxist-Leninist (TKP/ML) and the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA (RCP, USA). The statement was circulated in Turkish, German and English in West Germany on the occasion of the December 12th four-year anniversary of the NATO "two-track" missile deployment decision.

On Dec. 12th, the imperialists of the NATO war bloc will celebrate the 4th anniversary of the "2-Track" decision in the same week that they proclaim the first successful stationing of the new intermediate-range missiles. They will pop the champagne corks and toast their ability to hold their war pact together in the face of pressure and threats from the "other side" and to station their megadeath weapons in the face of massive public opposition. But for all their reactionary celebrating and attempts at showing strength, what is actually revealed by these events is their growing weakness and fear. Even though they have some grasp of the destructiveness of the war they are preparing, the very laws of their system inexorably drive them forward toward unleashing it. They, like their rivals in the East, are stretched as far as they can go, wracked and torn by crisis and locked in deadly competition from which there is no way out other than a bloodbath of unprecedented proportions. In this situation their ability to hold their empires intact and keep the masses in check is already being tested. The youth rebellions in Britain two summers ago, the workers' revolts in Poland, the mass uprisings in Brazil and Chile, the revolutionary struggles in Central America and in the Philippines and even the mass movements against war preparations that have sprung up in their imperialist homelands — all of these are but portents of the storms of upheaval and struggle that will be increasingly unleashed by crisis and continuing moves toward war.

In their own perverted way the ruling classes are aware of the dangers of what they have planned. They are all too aware that history has shown that world wars, which are concentrations of all the contradictions of their system, are very much like letting the genie out of the bottle. Overwhelming and unpredictable forces are called into motion — the actual workings and class interests of their system are stripped completely bare of all the camouflage of normal times, and the rulers are forced to put guns in the hands of millions of people from the very classes they hold in bondage. They live in mortal fear. Fear, that for all their political and military preparations, a war started by them will end not in the victory of one or the other set of vultures that started it, but in their revolutionary overthrow.

Normal times — by which in the imperialist countries is meant the period between world wars — "normal times" are rapidly coming to their "normal" end. The two imperialist blocs, one headed by the U.S. and the other by the Soviet Union, stand opposite each other and they can go no further in "normal times," as they have reached the limits of expansion that were possible based upon the last murderous division of the world. The emergence of the once socialist Soviet Union as an imperialist power in its own right, heading up a bloc that is capable of militarily challenging the Western bloc for world domination, has set the terms of this showdown! A war between the slavemasters for the division of the slaves.

It is only in this context that we can begin to understand the accelerating pace of world events and international crisis. The U.S.-engineered Korean airline incident, the gangsteristic invasion of Grenada and preparations for all-out intervention in Central America; the French "stabilizing" role in Chad; the combined NATO invasion and occupation of Lebanon; the key role the W. German government is playing in propping up the fascist regime in Turkey while simultaneously suppressing revolutionaries from Turkey in the BRD; and, not to be forgotten, the stationing of the new missiles themselves, are all part of their tightening up of their bloc and securing the best possible strategic positions for war.

On the Soviet side, although the actions carry the signboard of "socialism" and "aid" to the liberation struggles, the actual content is the same: the Soviet-sponsored and paid-for Vietnamese invasion and occupation of Cambodia, the suppression of the masses in Poland, the Soviets' role in propping up an openly reactionary regime in Ethiopia and supporting its counterrevolutionary wars against Eritrea and Tigray, the bloody fighting between sections of the Palestinian people (that both imperialist blocs are attempting to use to advance their interests) which is currently being fueled and carried out with Soviet-supplied weapons in Syrian hands. Like the maneuvering of the NATO bloc, none of this can really be understood except on a global basis and in relation to inter-bloc rivalry. Both sides are prepared to offer some "aid" to struggles which are mainly aimed at the other bloc's "sphere of influence." The example of their stance toward the liberation struggle in Peru is quite illuminating in this regard. Here both the U.S. and Soviet Union are providing the government arms to help its efforts to crush the liberated areas won by the guerrilla army led by the Communist Party of Peru (known as Sendero Luminoso in the bourgeois press). This struggle is particularly inspiring

because the "Maoists" of the Communist Party of Peru refuse to sell themselves and the revolution to either bloc.

Nevertheless, all the invasions, coups and countercoups, phoney "aid" and even the joint suppression of liberation movements — while perhaps allowing one side or the other to gain some advantage here or there — all of this cannot resolve the basic underlying drive of imperialist capital to expand and its inherent necessity to be restructured on a world scale. For the imperialists, the entire world balance of power and division must be forcibly and fundamentally recast. That is why whether or not there is another world war will not depend on whether the ruling classes want it or not. The point is that they prefer it to the other alternative: seeing their rivals gain the upperhand on the imperialist shit pile, or, what is worse, being overthrown by the revolutionary masses.

The question is sharply and urgently posed: Can world war be prevented? To this it must be answered that only revolution which alters the basic balance of forces on a world scale can prevent the launching of WWII. This is a fact which no amount of wishful thinking can change. It is however *not* a hopeless dream either. The present political crisis that has developed around the stationing of the new missiles gives a glimpse of how millions are and will be drawn into political life as "normal times" are repeatedly racked and jolted to a violent end. Long-held beliefs and deep-seated illusions bred of years of living in the world's bloated metropolises are being shattered. Fine words like "detente" and "negotiations not rearmament" are being shown by daily events to be the empty and meaningless phrases they always were. This is true not just in W. Germany, but in the imperialist countries generally. The movements which have developed in opposition to the imperialists' war preparations must be welcomed by all who seek to change the social relations that give rise to such wars. At the same time, if there is to be a chance for revolution in these countries, it will require that the conscious revolutionaries intensify their work to transform this political awakening into a revolutionary force.

We are dedicated to doing just that and disdain for a minute to conceal our goal: COMMUNISM. Nothing less than the complete elimination of all social classes from the face of the earth and along with them, all the forms of exploitation and oppression they give rise to.

It is true that in the "advanced" countries relatively large sections of the population have received some short-term benefit from imperialism's plunder, and that this forms the material basis for them to be influenced to one degree or another by the ruling classes' calls to defend the present order. But, taken on a world scale, the creation of privileged sections of the working class in a few countries has only been accomplished through the impoverishment of much larger sections of the international proletariat as a whole. The process that has made possible the imperialist bribery of some has at the same time created the army of propertyless proletarians that will dig capitalism's grave.

In addition, the preservation of imperialist privilege can only be obtained through fighting and winning an imperialist world war. Such a war is not in the interests of the vast majority of the world's people, including in the imperialist countries. This fact provides a powerful material basis for winning over large numbers of people, even from the more privileged sections of the working class and middle classes, as the situation intensifies. Finally, it is true that even if large numbers are won over to supporting revolution, there will still be many in the imperialist countries who will be prepared to fight and die to protect the ruling classes' position. This is however only a confirmation of what Lenin pointed out before the first world war: that especially in the imperialist countries, a revolution is a civil war between two sections of the people.

On the other hand, it is the greatest of ironies that there are millions, including many who consider themselves to be anti-imperialist and revolutionary, whose desire to stop the imperialists' looming conflagration stands in contradiction to some of the political positions they have adopted. Political positions, which, if they are not discarded, will in the end allow the imperialists to rope these people into supporting the war if it does break out. Let us speak clearly here:

—The present government is the legitimate government of the Federal Imperialist Republic of Germany. They did not "violate" their "mandate" by voting to station the missiles. They acted in perfect harmony with the interests of the class and nation for which they are political representatives.

—The U.S. rulers are not forcing the new missiles on W. Germany. The "2-Track" decision, double-talk and deployment, was an agreement of the NATO Pact as a whole over the terms on which they are going to war against the other imperialist Pact. The W. German rulers hope that these new missiles will assure that they are firmly "coupled" to the U.S. "strategic nuclear umbrella" and that any attempt by the U.S. to achieve its oft-stated goal of limiting any nuclear exchanges to others' territories, particularly Europe, through the use of these missiles, will result in the inevitable Soviet counterstrike being

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The Search



To the RW,

I am a cabbie who works somewhere in the Pacific region. One of my passengers one night was a sailor who had just gotten liberty off a ship that had come back from a WestPac cruise. We got talking and he told me that his ship had just come back from the cold waters off of Siberia. Right off I knew that his ship was involved with the KAL 007 black box search. I asked him if they ever found the black box. He said no, they didn't find it, and without hesitation, he continued by saying that that wasn't the purpose why they were up there searching the waters. "We were trying to find film that was on the plane," he said. He told me that cameras snapped pictures as the KAL flight flew over a nuke missile site and a nuke submarine base even while the Tokyo controller was warning the pilots about entering Soviet airspace. He mentioned that he wouldn't doubt it if the KCIA and the CIA were "in on it," that the newspaper accounts were a bunch of lies and that he would never believe anything the media said.

The RW hypothesis that the KAL 007 flight might have been on a spy mission hits right on target, once again. After all, with a scientific understanding of the nature of imperialism and its drive to world war, I guess it isn't hard to see that these asshole imperialists are the world's worst liars.

A reader

Livermore Defendants Convicted, Sentenced

On December 8, 11 defendants in the trial involving blockaders of the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory last June were found guilty of "willfully and maliciously blocking the street," and hit with some contempt charges to boot. It was a trial which drew some sharp lines and provoked wide outrage among anti-nuke activists in the San Francisco Bay Area. The defendants were the representatives of over 200 others who had refused to plead guilty after the June blockade. In the "representative trial," the decision on the 11 would be binding on the other 200.

The events that led to the trial had been the subject of nationwide, and even international, publicity. In June the Livermore Action Group (LAG) had initiated an "International Day of Disarmament," which included direct actions against nuclear weapons across the U.S. and some in Europe. It was the first of massive protests in this country against the Euromissiles. Over 1,000 people had been arrested blockading the Livermore labs, and many hundreds had been held in a makeshift jail for 11 days while the courts tried to get them to accept two years probation. Out of the 1,000, those who had not pleaded guilty in June were being tried in the "representative trial."

The defense had gone into the case expecting to present a case based on the principle that the demonstrators had committed a legal violation to further a higher good — the prevention of nuclear war. They had assembled a group of "expert witnesses," including Linus Pauling, Daniel Ellsberg, Berkeley physics professor Charles Schwartz, and a former California State Supreme Court Justice, all of whom they hoped would not only back their case, but serve to bring back the public spotlight on the controversial and widely-known antinuclear action. The judge in the case, Livermore Municipal Court Judge Bachand, had allowed a similar defense in a 1982 case involving a Livermore minister arrested for blockading the labs; the minister had been acquitted.

These expectations were quickly squashed by the judge. One defendant said, "A bomb has been dropped on our defense and the peace movement." Judge Bachand did not allow a single "expert witness." He stated that he did not want to put nuclear weapons on trial in municipal court and he did not allow any testimony about the necessity to oppose nuclear war or about the international law which the defense cited. He did not allow the defendants to testify about their

state of mind at the time of their arrest as they had asked. A more than 200-page brief filed by defense lawyers near the end of the trial was denied by the judge and summarily thrown aside.

When pressed by defense attorneys about the precedent he himself had set in the case of the Livermore minister in 1982, the judge said, "I had misread the law." The demonstrators had expected to inject a political defense on the grounds that this would prove their actions not "malicious." Now, it appears, the judge had discovered a precedent which made it irrelevant whether or not a law was broken "maliciously." Presto — no political defense! Undoubtedly, the judge was carrying out some strict instructions — especially now with the U.S. crowing about its "successful deployments" of Euromissiles, a highly visible trial spotlighting the mass Livermore arrests must be ruled decidedly out of order. In this way, the government was able on the following day to wangle a guilty verdict by a jury — not an easy thing to do in this area of widespread anti-nuke sentiment — and a sentence of one to two weeks in jail for those with prior arrests. (Those with no prior convictions — about half — were given time served.) But that was not the end of it. On the day of the verdict,

the defendants and some of their supporters appeared in court wearing black armbands in protest of the judge's ruling and in honor of John Lennon on the third anniversary of his assassination. Bachand ordered everyone to remove the armbands or face contempt charges. Ten of the 11 defendants refused and were given up to 16 hours community work. Five supporters who refused to remove the armbands were arrested and immediately incarcerated until early the following morning. The judge then proceeded to lecture to the defendants; he called the defendants "poor sports"; breaking the law and then refusing to accept the rubber-stamp "guilty" verdict of the court by wearing black armbands was going too far. Worse still, the demonstrators had intended to put the imperialists' nuclear war plans themselves on trial. And this — richly deserved — exposure could not be allowed. It has been a stern warning about the kind of opposition which will — and will not be tolerated. And to those who have held out the possibility of "working within the system," the trial has been a real eye-opener. □

Rhetoric . . . And Reality

Continued from page 3

going to change that nature. They are not going to step out of the way and let this system be changed, even though it is the cause of tremendous suffering and heartbreak, agony and groaning misery for millions and millions and millions of people here and around the world. They will never step aside. They will work you until you can't work any more. Then they will throw you out the door — a year, a month, a week before you're supposed to retire, to get out of paying you a lousy two hundred dollar monthly pension. That's their nature. If someone falls dead on the job — you've seen this happen — what does the foreman do? The first thing he does is run up and punch them off the time clock — the man who has had a heart attack, or the woman who has fallen dead on the line — so the company doesn't have to pay them fifty cents more. Then he calls the ambulance and it comes four hours later. No, they are not going to change that nature. That's the way they live. You might as well beg a vampire to change its nature. It can't. It may want to, it might even like to. It might be nice to its little vampires on Sundays and so on, but it is going to keep on being a bloodsucker or else it doesn't exist. That's the nature of this system and they are not going to

give it up. They are not going to stop trying to find new ways to keep the people broken down, ignorant, divided, and at each other's throats, not knowing where to aim their anger and frustration, therefore exploding it on themselves and other people around them.

Many of you have had this experience. Anybody who has had to live out here in the heart of these cities as they are crumbling down around us knows that besides the landlord there is another force out here that a lot of times really owns your house or your apartment. That's the rats! You often have to do battle with them just to get in and out of your house. You know what it's like when you are dealing with rats, when you finally get up on them, you get organized, you get a baseball bat to bang 'em on the head. But they just look up at you and smile and say, "You might as well not have bothered to do that!", especially some of these big rats out here. So they keep running, and when you finally track 'em down and get 'em so they got nowhere to turn, nowhere to crawl, they are completely cornered, then — ARRRRRRRRG — out come the teeth! Now, that's the nature of a rat! It's going to fight, it's going to attack you. The more you beat it back and the more you corner it, the more vicious it's going to get. And that's the nature of this system and the people who rule over it.

From a Speech in Cleveland, Ohio

Letters from the "World Without Imperialism Contingent"

Scenes From Mutlangen, Greenham Commons

The following are recent reports from members of the "World Without Imperialism Contingent":

Dear folks,

About two months ago I left Berkeley and Barrington Hall to join an anti-imperialist group that was traveling to West Germany, to the front lines of the fight against the Pershing II missiles and the world war preparations of which they are a part. The call to form this contingent was put out in the newspaper of the Revolutionary Communist Party and was brought to my attention by supporters of the party. It was a "united front" call and attempted to get people from many trends (revolutionary communists, anarchists, pacifists, anti-nuclear, feminists) who could accept the slogans "A world without imperialism, not imperialist world war!" and "Down with all war preparations, both East and West!" and go to West Germany to join the struggle. It was a challenge to me to put my internationalist beliefs into practice and my friends soon convinced me. A fundraising committee formed in the Bay Area for those who had little money. I and others went to family, friends, professors, radio stations and people on the streets to raise money for plane tickets.

In mid-October, I was landing in West Germany and linking up with 27 other anti-imperialists from Hawaii to New York, Georgia, Chicago and North Carolina. It was a diverse group from a 15-year-old punk to an Hawaiian in her 50s. We arrived just before "Action Week" of the "Hot Autumn" and rarely had a restful day traveling back and forth all over Germany, going to demonstrations, actions, and political meetings. We never spent a penny on housing, staying with leftist Turkish workers, squatters, and other Germans who dug our contingent and opened their homes and breakfast tables to us.

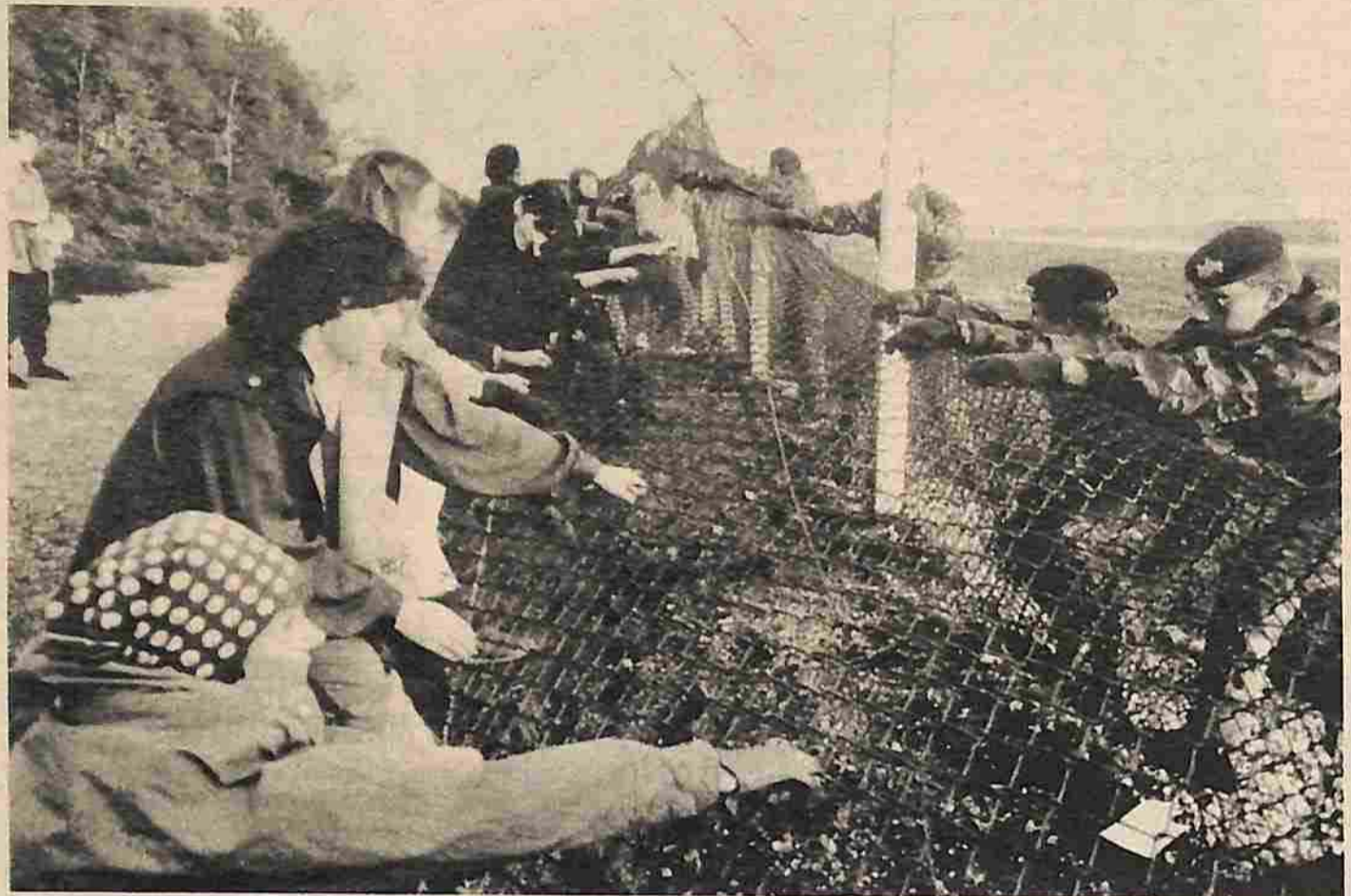
Breakfast in Germany is beautiful and the coffee is great — part of Deutschland's imperialist relations with Brazil. It was sweet internationalism to eat a gorgeous slow breakfast, communicating with smiles and "gut, gut" (that means "good, good" in German) to my hosts since I knew only a few phrases of Turkish and German. I had many incredible experiences, met many people and I will never forget what I learned about Germany and world politics. I learned more about Germany and world politics than I would have in a lifetime... It is now two days before most of us return home and I finally have written the short summary of how eight of our group spent a weekend at the site of the new Pershing II base in southern Germany. I'm sending it along to those interested in the struggle against the impending world war and the system of imperialism which is driving us towards it. I hope that other international trips like ours can happen, that the progressive forces of the world can have their own rapid deployment force that can combat imperialism whenever hotspots of resistance spring up.

With love from Germany,
M.C.

Following is M.C.'s report on a demonstration at the Mutlangen air base, one of several held at various U.S. bases in West Germany on the anniversary of the NATO "two track" deployment decision:

Eight of us from the contingent have just returned to our home base in Germany after an exciting trip to the south to the U.S. air base in Mutlangen. Mutlangen is a small town in the Little Alps which is the lucky recipient of the first Pershings in West Germany. The day after the West German parliament rubber-stamped the date of decision to deploy the Pershings, the missile parts began arriving at Mutlangen. The snowy Christmas scenery around the base made a mocking background for the mega-death base.

When we arrived on Friday the scene was thirty protestors standing in the snow at the entrance to the base, attempting to



Greenham Common



U.S. soldiers string barbed wire at a missile site in Germany.

cause as much shit for the missile and troop transport trucks as possible. There were of course a goodly number of "the guys in green," the West German *Polizei*, who were keeping the streets clean for the transport. We were a little down when we first got to Mutlangen. It was 10 a.m. and nothing was open in the snow-covered little town. Everything was quiet. We got to the gate and saw a small group of protestors. We asked ourselves, "Where is everyone?" A few months ago, over a million people were in the streets saying "Nein!" to the missiles and here was the base where the missile parts had been arriving for two weeks and the scene looked like a baby harp seal hunt: a hundred pigs with clubs facing 30 outraged protestors on a snow field. Our band of merry revolutionaries put a glow in the protestors to join the blockade in the streets behind our internationalist banner. The vivid banner showed arms of people of the world putting torches to the Soviet flag, the West German flag, and the dead, white and blue. A protestor from Japan gazed at it and said, "Beautiful, very revolutionary." The group we joined were the hard-core of the missile protestors. Some were local people from the town, others were from all over Germany, one was an inspiring anti-imperialist from Japan.

We made small action with them that day, causing shit for the police by making them run up and down the entrance road, throwing people out of the way and agitating to the GIs, while the other protestors walked away with linked arms.

Some of the hard-core were arrested by the pigs for refusing to make a clean path for the death machines and the slaves that guard and maintain them. My group avoided arrest because it is not our style to sit down and be arrested. We yearned to make our special anti-imperialist statement to a larger audience and were told that many people would be there tomorrow. Indeed, it was true. On the next day the field outside the base began filling with protestors.

The Green Party had called for a large protest and a couple more thousand protestors had arrived. Of course, the *Polizei* were not to be outdone. During the night they arrested 22 of the hard-core pacifist protestors who were maintaining a blockade. Then they had pushed the main protestors 100 yards out from the entrance to the base and the barbed wire which surrounded its perimeter and they erected a steel barricade to put a further distance between the reality of the people and nuclear war. This is known as distancing. So, as we stood around the barricades in the morning and watched the mainstream protestors filing in, I felt excited by their numbers but depressed about their political level, the new barricades and the new police.

One of the hard-core protestors came up to me, so angry that there were tears in her eyes, "Look at that shit!" she said pointing to the barricades. "We've got to make some action." About 15 minutes later, a group of about ten leaped over the barricades and ran whooping into the middle of the newly restricted area. A

mob of police came closing in on them but then another group of protestors reached the barricades and ran to link arms with them. All along the fence people were going over and the lines of police were desperately trying to maintain the barrier. People were ripping sections of the barrier away and the police were running after them, clubbing their hands and having tug-of-wars to carry the barriers back. But for every barrier the police got back they lost two more sections. For every person they caught and threw back over the barricade another two made it to the growing group in the middle of the field from which could clearly be seen the burning flag banner of our group members who had gone over with the initial wave of people.

After 20 minutes the police had lost the battle of the barricades and had retreated to the first line of defense of the barbed wire. And even this barrier was breached by a member of our group and the German youth who were quickly grabbed by the police. The police, trying to play nice guy image to the large mainstream group, simply returned the two over the barbed wire. More surprising were the actions of the few movement cops who actually tried to prevent people from going over the wire.

Soon the scene turned into one of a thousand demonstrators facing a wall of police over two rows of razor wire. Our group had been joined by Turkish revolutionaries and radical Germans at that point. We were attempting to get over the wire with the anti-imperialist banner and to burn an American and West German flag as a statement that everyone must desert their nation's bourgeoisie, if imperialist war is to be prevented. The West Germans came up with the idea of throwing the liberated metal barricades onto the barbed wire to smash it down and creating a ramp into the base. Much of the wire was smashed but people were not prepared in their tactics. The police caught on to the plan and most importantly the masses were being led off to a boring rally in the nearby town. Energy level was dissipating... Not to say that we didn't make a very strong impact. The workers and youth from Turkey hung the banner from the barbed wire with a large group of West Germans boldly chanting our anti-imperialist slogans in the pigs' faces.

We made the most of the march into town with our slogans, chanting and singing in German, Turkish and English and linked up with many West Germans. Our group was internationalism on the hoof. The march passed by a large apartment block on the main GI barracks and we

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Great Moments in Western Literature

RW:

Over the past months, as 1984 has loomed ever closer, so too have the ominous overtones and associations connected with George Orwell's famous anti-utopian novel. Written after WW2, and giving vivid expression to the pessimism of a section of Western intellectuals during the postwar period, Orwell's *1984* offers a relentlessly harsh and hopeless future, in which the world is carved into three great powers eternally at war, all of which enslave their populations through a combination of omnipotent surveillance, brutal repression, and massive political deception.

The starkness of Orwell's vision has provided sustenance, and a reference point, for a variety of trends over the years. For cold-war liberals, Orwell's book was a vigorous denunciation of "totalitarianism," a yardstick by which the imperialist West, with its modicum of

liberties and privileges, represented a last outpost against the twin evils of communism and fascism. But whatever Orwell's intentions, *1984* has also provided subsequent generations with a searing, if imperfect, picture of the essential underpinnings of the Western democracies as well. Certainly for youth awakening to political life in this country during the 1960s, *1984* served this purpose. The oppressiveness of *1984*'s social order, the government proclamation that "War is Peace," the Ministry of Truth specializing in the propagation of lies — all resonated strongly with the role of the U.S. government, for example, in its prosecution of the Vietnam War, in its domestic repression, in its own practice of "Newspeak" and "Doublethink" (and, of course, such resonances continue to this day, as any speech by President Reagan will readily demonstrate).

It is hardly surprising then that, as the

year itself draws near, Orwell's book should come under renewed scrutiny. The spate of articles, books, and symposiums that have appeared have hardly been dispassionate exercises in literary criticism; rather, it is the accuracy or relevancy of Orwell's social vision that has been debated and discussed. The bourgeoisie and its ideologists have played the major role in this, and for them the invocation of *1984* has largely been an opportunity to proclaim the virtues of the West, its vaunted "democratic traditions" apparently about to reach the new year intact and resilient. Yet even as such commentaries are designed to lay to rest any anxieties or doubts over the applicability of Orwell's prophecies to the "free world" (or at least the imperialist powers, whose relations with the underdeveloped world and the actual conditions there rarely figure in such "state of the world" evaluations), the

bourgeoisie is also granting that Orwell was at least half right. For, we are invariably reminded, in the Soviet bloc such prophecies have come chillingly to pass.

The intention here is not to undertake a more far reaching review of this literature, nor to delve more deeply into Orwell's own political views and legacy (worthwhile as these endeavors would be). I will simply note that — amongst the various Western apologists who have seized upon the coming of 1984 to congratulate themselves, excoriate the Evil Empire, and in other ways demarcate the battle lines for the coming period — there are to be found a number of Zionist spokesmen who have likewise entered the discussion (the rabid Norman Podhoretz, for one, has played a leading role in this country in appropriating Orwell's mantle for decidedly prewar purposes). It

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The King David Hotel in Jerusalem after a car bomb attack by the Zionist Irgun in 1946.

Precepts of Civilized Life

Continued from page 1

the area and to support the reactionary Gulf states (prominently, of course, the Saudi Arabian monarchy) from internal "subversion" and destabilization attempts.

In carrying this out, the U.S. has sought to an extent to "de-couple" the question of Gulf "security" from the issues of the "Arab-Israeli conflict," and has called upon the Gulf states to more openly embrace the U.S. as "protector" even as U.S. support for, and all-around collusion with, Israel has grown apace. Under the present circumstances — with U.S.-Israeli "strategic cooperation" hav-

ing assumed an even higher profile in setting political and military terms within the region — the U.S. has estimated that the growing threats of escalation in the Iran-Iraq war leave the Gulf states with no alternative but to continue embracing the U.S., even as they publicly express dismay and anguish over the new brazenness of the U.S.-Israeli regional profile. And rather than attempting to "de-couple" the question of the Gulf and the matter of Israel, the U.S. is now — through emphasizing the alliance between Iran and Syria — attempting to draw the connections more clearly. The Syrian-Soviet threat in Lebanon, combined with the specter of Iranian-backed Shi'ite Moslem "fanaticism" in the Gulf — these are the twin evils upon which the U.S. is attempting to reforge its Middle East "strategic consensus."

More generally, the U.S. is making much of the resurgence of "terrorism,"

in drawing a distinction between the "savagery of the bomb attacks" and "our own system of values," and is fomenting a certain siege mentality, both in the Middle East and at home. In a particularly despicable display of chauvinism, the *New York Times* "reported" on Dec. 14 that the very word "assassin" comes from the Crusaders (those civilized Europeans who attempted to conquer Arab lands in the 11th and 12th century) who derived it from "hashishi" — a reference to the use of hashish by some Moslem fighters before they entered battle. By this account, the term assassin assumes specifically Moslem, "fanatical" dimensions, whether in the year 1090 or today. Surely, by these standards, the word drunkard would more deservedly serve to connote the practices of murder, rape and pillage — longstanding staples of Western imperial conquest. But no — according to Secretary of State Shultz, the car/truck bombs that kill people "at random" are not consistent "with the precepts of civilized life and (are) wholly deplorable."

In fact, the use of car bombs has very different antecedents in the Middle East — and you don't have to go back to the 11th century to discover them. In Lebanon, they are a form of terror most widely practiced over the past few years by the right-wing Christian Phalange and the Israeli intelligence agency Mossad. The Phalange, self-styled "Crusaders" of the modern era, are of course the most pro-Western, anti-Arabist elements in Lebanon, a trait which has long endeared them to the Israelis, who likewise stand as the major outpost for "the precepts of civilized life" in the Middle East.

Since 1977, the shadowy "Front for the Liberation of Lebanon from Foreigners" (FLLF) has launched hundreds of car-bomb attacks, overwhelmingly directed against Palestinian and Lebanese political and civilian targets. The pattern of these attacks leaves no question that the FLLF is a "signature" for the joint efforts of the Phalange and Israeli intelligence. The worst outbreak of these attacks began during the fall of 1981, and continued up to the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in June 1982. In most respects, they were designed to further "destabilize" the internal Lebanese situation, seriously damage the functioning of Palestinian-Lebanese "Joint Forces" arrayed against the Phalange, instill terror among the Moslems of West Beirut and those living in areas under Syrian control, and otherwise "soften up" Lebanon for the "final solution" of the Israeli invasion itself.

As the magazine *MERIP Reports* observes, more than 1,000 people — overwhelmingly Palestinians and poor Lebanese — were killed or injured by these FLLF car-bomb attacks between September 1981 and August 1982. There were hundreds of these attacks during this period; the following facts give some picture of their range and purpose. A booby-trapped car loaded with TNT exploded in front of the Palestinian-Lebanese Joint Forces headquarters in Sidon in Sept.

1981, killing 21 people and wounding 96. On October 1 of that year, a huge car bomb exploded in the area of the Arab University neighborhood in which various Lebanese nationalist and "communist" organizations were headquartered, killing 80 people and injuring about 225. In the wave of car-bomb attacks that followed, the overwhelming number were likewise aimed at Moslem areas — including Mosques, movie houses in West Beirut, factories mainly employing Moslems, and heavily populated neighborhoods.

As *MERIP Reports* notes, when the Israeli invasion began, the main targets of these "internal bombs" became the main targets of the Israeli F-15's and artillery. And the car bombs that continued after the Israeli invasion began took on a new purpose. As displaced Palestinians and Lebanese, fleeing the Israeli invaders from the south, flocked to West Beirut, a new spate of car bombs occurred in those areas where they sought refuge. Among these was the car-bomb explosion in the old hotel district in Beirut, which killed 50 and wounded 120 — this was an area of largely abandoned buildings filled with refugees from the war. When the entire western sector of Beirut came under direct Israeli fire by late July, the number of car-bomb attacks lessened dramatically in the area, and the two major car-bomb attacks in the ensuing period occurred in northern Lebanon, one of them directed at the Palestinian refugee camp of Baddawi.

Over this past summer, as the Israelis and the Phalange have faced a mounting challenge from Syria in Lebanon, the "FLLF" has resumed some of its activities — the massive car-bomb explosion in the center of the town of Baalbak, located in the Bekaa Valley in an area under Syrian occupation, being one such example. And when Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Arens was in Washington in early December, for the "strategic cooperation" talks with the U.S., he called upon the Lebanese Army (although surely, in Arens' view, any surrogates would do) to undertake a "guerrilla war" against the Syrians, in the territories under their control. The meaning of this is clear enough.

It is clear, then, that car bombs, seemingly "random terror," the savage use of such against civilians — none of this is alien to "our system of values." Quite the opposite. And, as was revealed briefly at the time of the Sabra and Shatila massacres, where Phalange and Israeli intelligence relations are concerned the CIA cannot be far behind — certain key Phalangist operatives implicated at Sabra and Shatila were shown to be contact men both with Israeli intelligence and the CIA. Thus, when it comes to the long-standing use of car bombs in the Middle East, the U.S. stands not only as indirect patron, but most likely as active co-conspirator. Like the cluster bombs and phosphorus shells used by Israel against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples, the practice of car bombing is no less stamped as having been "made in the U.S.A." □

In the wake of a "Week of Witness and Resistance" to the cruise missile, November 22nd through December 3rd, which included blockades of plant gates at a cruise-producing plant, Williams International in suburban Detroit, Michigan, the state has launched a heavy legal attack. Over 50 people, in addition to being jailed immediately for 30 days for violating a permanent civil injunction against obstructing entrances to the plant gates, face \$5,000 bonds and up to seven additional criminal charges carrying a possible one-year sentence. In addition, in a significant new development, the government has introduced the sweeping use of conspiracy charges against all arrested, with the threat hanging of further indictments against those who attended nonviolence training workshops prior to the week of resistance.

Williams International is the designer and principal producer of engines for the air-, ground- and sea-launched cruise missiles, as well as for various other types of missiles and unmanned, remote-controlled aircraft. The plant has long maintained a veil of secrecy over the missile engine and other defense-related work it does; persons applying for work there were not told what was produced until after they were hired — the plant was a sensitive target indeed, thoroughly wrapped up in the cruise deployments.

Williams had been the object of demonstrations since last spring; when five members of Covenant for Peace were detained for cutting the plant fence and throwing ashes on the ground, Williams International obtained a permanent court injunction against future attempts to interfere with production. A key element in this injunction, Clause Three, prohibited "Encouraging, inducing, calling, pressuring and inciting others to engage in mass picketing so as to cause interruption of ingress and egress to Williams International... or to engage in trespass." After the demonstration in early June, Williams filed another injunction against organizers accusing them of not keeping people from putting ribbons and signs on the fence during the demonstration.

That much bigger forces are concerned with prohibiting any "encouraging or inciting" was revealed with the publication of a letter written November 1st by the Defense Logistics Agency at Williams International to the FBI and U.S. Department of Justice. It read in part: "Gentlemen: This will serve to advise you that this office has been officially notified by Williams International... of a planned demonstration the week of November 22nd to December 3rd, 1983, which could disrupt Cruise Missile Engine Production. This demonstration could also prevent delivery of Cruise Missile Engines to the government.

"...your assistance and advice is requested as to what action can or should be taken by this office or other federal agencies to assure continued production and delivery of Cruise Missile Engines to the government. . . ."

A week before the planned Week of Resistance the full uses to which this Clause Three could be put were made clearer. Oakland County prosecutor L. Brooks Patterson took up his task of defending the U.S.'s precious cruise missile with a vengeance. Patterson, a notorious right-winger, sent a letter to Covenant for Peace notifying them that anyone *planning or attending* any of the demonstrations, nonviolence training sessions or programs concerning the Week of Resistance could be in violation of this injunction and potentially face arrest. In response to this nearly 400 individuals, about one-half of these nuns, and more than 40 religious organizations signed the opening statement of the week as endorsers and planners.

This fall, Covenant for Peace then sent a call to peace groups in Canada and the U.S. to join them at Williams International for the week of resistance. Long-time pacifists from the midwest responded, as well as newer forces: feminists who had been to the Seneca Falls Women's Peace Camp, youth from the nearby University of Michigan Ann Arbor campus and other campuses, middle-aged church members for whom this was the first demonstration, several feminist-anarchists from Toronto and Australia, and a Jesuit priest on his way home to England after having spent several years with revolutionary groups in Latin America. Many expressed a sense of

Police Raid, Conspiracy Charges Hit Detroit Pacifists



Thursday, December 1st.

responsibility to act in solidarity with the people opposing the cruise in Europe.

More than 1,000 came to an "interfaith vigil" Sunday afternoon, and between 50 and 200 attended the blockade vigils each morning during the following week. People were arrested in groups of five as they sat down in front of the plant gate, threw toys in the road in front of cars, chained themselves to a model of the cruise missile, or danced in the road.

By the end of the week it was becoming clear that those arrested faced no ordinary "30-days and out." The heavy hand behind the "gentlemanly arrests" that had occurred all week began to be blatantly shown. Conspiracy charges were piled up, some facing up to seven separate counts of "conspiracy to trespass," "conspiracy to disturb the peace outdoors," "conspiracy to obstruct the entrance to the plant," and so on. Already at the demonstration numerous undercover agents were being identified.

Thursday night the church people were staying at was invaded by sheriff's deputies with a search warrant to seize the registration books for the nonviolence training sessions, the mailing list addresses, cameras and film, and notes belonging to one of the spokesmen, a minister. The "polite air" surrounding the week's arrests was dropped as people discussing whether to allow the search were abruptly told to turn over their belongings or face arrest of everyone present. This was to be evidence of having participated in "encouraging and inciting" others to violate the injunction.

Friday morning at court hearings the first witness called by the Williams attorney was a Michigan state trooper who testified that she and at least two other

troopers had attended meetings and demonstrations as undercover agents in order to obtain information. Her role was not to identify individuals as actually having made statements advocating violating the injunction — she simply "couldn't recall" any specific statements or acts — but to identify people who led the nonviolence training sessions or who were simply in the room where materials advocating civil disobedience were on a literature table. She also identified several people as being the ones who had signed various literature distributed by Covenant for Peace.

(The fact that the state police openly admitted doing undercover surveillance on the group is an exposure in itself. There is currently in effect a "consent decree" between the Michigan State Police and the initiators of the suit against the state for the use of the "Red Squad" against political organizations in the '60s and '70s. This consent decree supposedly "prohibits" state troopers from doing undercover political surveillance. The judge in this case simply stated that the decree didn't apply here since this was a civil injunction, not a criminal case!)

Particularly targeted by the end of the week were spokespeople and organizers. A woman from the Greenham Commons Women's Peace Camp in England, who had not participated in the blockade but who had given a presentation early in the week on the history of the struggle at Greenham Commons, was arrested Friday morning on a warrant issued for probable cause for "conspiring to incite protesters to trespass, damage property and resist arrest." A warrant issued against a minister whose belongings were seized Thursday night charged that he was

"training protesters in how to violate the law."

Given the largely professional nature of the people participating in the Week of Resistance (more than half of those arrested are ministers, priests and nuns, while many demonstrators had taken time off from teaching and legal jobs), the piling of charges and possible year-long sentences, the very open presence of undercover agents and the dangling of potential charges against the 130 who signed the registration lists for attending the meetings are all designed for some heavy intimidation. But there is a potentially larger utility to these charges: the use of conspiracy charges for "encouraging" and "inciting" others to disobey this very broad injunction, and the very broad use of "evidence" that includes those who sign any literature or who even sign a registration book, could lay a legal basis for quick roundups of those "advocating resistance" in future, even more serious, crises.

Such a message was clearly intended to hit the forces involved in the Williams actions with a shock effect. Their history is rather typical of a certain section of religious peace activists. For over a year members of the Lansing-based Covenant for Peace and the Detroit-based Groundwork for a Just World, both "faith-based, nonviolent" communities, have drawn attention to the engine production with a weekly prayer vigil outside the plant gates. Their purpose is to bear "personal witness" to the insanity of nuclear weapons and through that witness aim at stopping production of the cruise missiles and ending all nuclear weapons. Generally part of the religious left, individual organizers of the Week of Resistance have in recent years also been arrested trespassing to pray at a tank plant on the grounds of Bendix Corp., and last spring trespassed at a missile base at Oscoda, Michigan, walking to about 200 feet from launch sites for cruise missiles. Though not a few of the people involved say they draw inspiration from religious radicals such as the Berrigans, neither their experience nor all of their political views parallel those of forces like the Berrigans. Nonetheless, the bourgeoisie has once again made it crystal clear that resistance of this type to its war preparations, even if entirely nonviolent, will be hit at hard — in this case with a possibly precedent-setting attack.

As a result, more than a few who began the week hoping that the "witness of peace" would convince Williams to convert to peaceful engine production have indeed been shaken and shocked as well as outraged. At the end of the week a spokesperson for Covenant for Peace stated, "Williams International and the government hope to put this flame out by putting our people in cages. I would like to say that the flame will never be quenched." □

Theory Must Be Grasped If the World Is To Be Transformed

"There is no royal road to science, and only those who do not dread the fatiguing climb of its steep paths have a chance of gaining its luminous summits."

—Karl Marx, Preface to the French edition of *Capital*

Why did we not simply launch into an analysis of the current crisis? In a word, this would not be possible without expounding upon (and generating) the kind of abstractions adequate to apprehending the complex phenomena with which we are dealing — although these concepts derive from analysis of the world.

Think about the notion of a single world process. How could we seriously explain the drive towards and necessity of war without grasping this crucial concept? Yet at the same time, it clearly had to be extended and refined; thus, we find in the first chapter a formidable conceptualization of the material underpinnings of such a process. Or take finance capital. Here's a concept that is indiscriminately and loosely bandied about: sometimes as a term of derision, other times as a synonym for banking institutions, and not too infrequently in a revisionist guise. On the one hand, we had to make clear what the scientific status of this concept was (a task which was by no means simply a recitation of Lenin — although it is a Leninist view) in order to differentiate our understanding from alternative ones. On the other, only by correctly formulating and applying this concept could we begin to grasp such diverse phenomena as the "miracles of growth" in the Third World and the attempts at "crisis management" by the imperialists. How can crisis be understood without dealing with the tendential decline in the rate of profit? But there is hardly consensus among Marxist scholars as to Marx's thrust, not even, and especially, on what he meant by "tendency." These are not hair-splitting academic affairs; they have everything to do with what in fact is going on in the world, and how to conceptualize it. Similarly, chapter two takes a step back, this time historically, so as to provide an initial application and test of our theses and in order to identify key elements in the development of imperialism in general and U.S. imperialism in particular. Consider the stress laid on the mainly European framework of international politics out of which imperialism emerged and the centrality of Latin America to U.S. imperialism's fortunes. These historical factors must figure prominently in any accounting of the spirals of the 20th century.

There is a larger methodological issue involved here. What exactly is meant by a "proof" of our claim that things are "going up for grabs"? To be sure, there is empirical substantiation of our basic theses and of the origins and dimensions of the current crisis — and we will blow people's minds with all that as well in the coming volumes. But a "proof" is not a question of x amount of bankruptcies, x amount of brushfire wars, et al. Rather, this requires a theoretical synthesis — a model, if you will — that truly captures the dynamics of a law-governed process, and that can account for these laws.

—Raymond Lotta

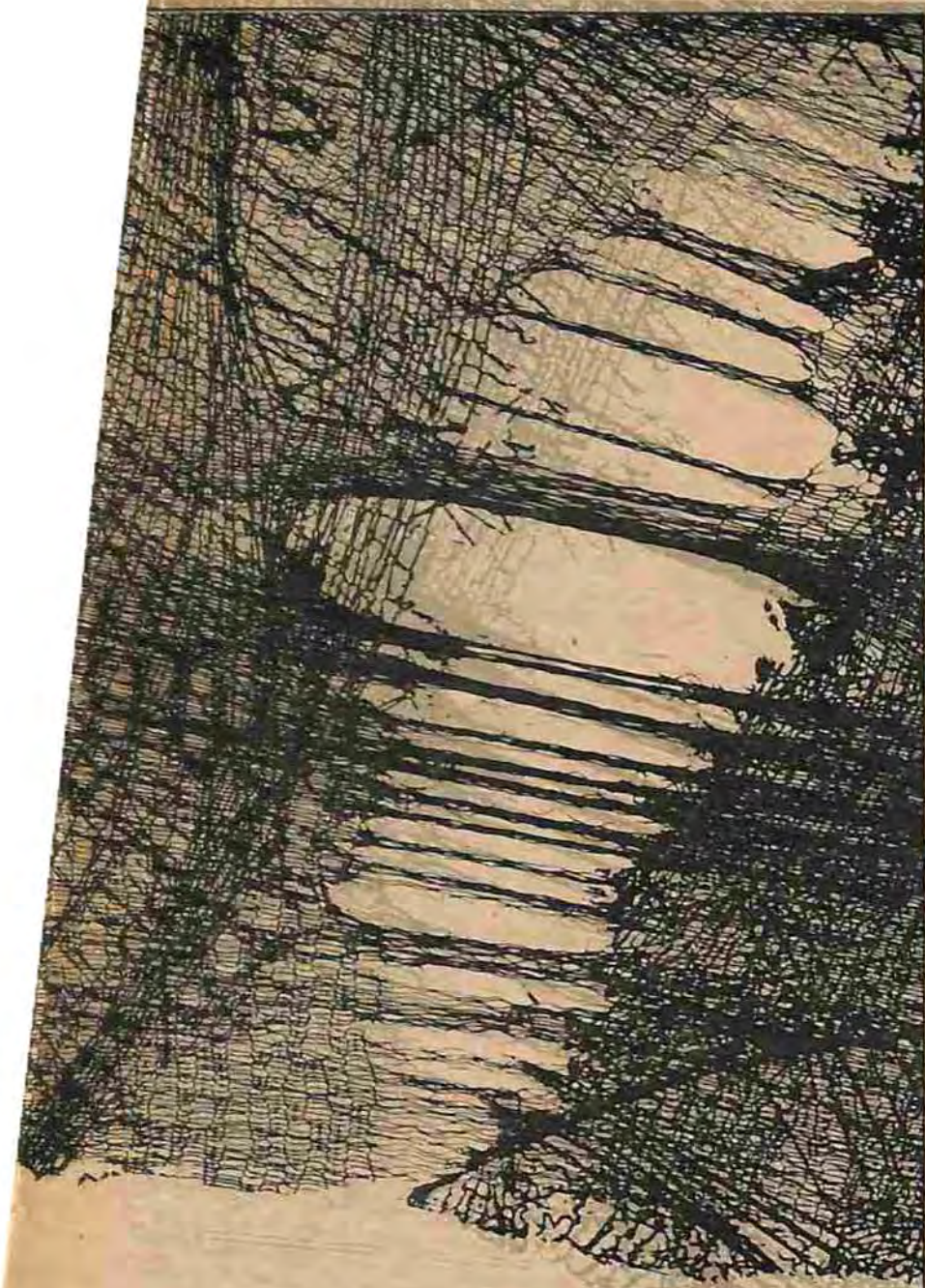
"Once the inner connection is grasped, all theoretical belief in the permanent necessity of existing conditions breaks down before their collapse in practice."

—Karl Marx



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America in Decline

Analysis
Arguments
Evolution,

Worldwide, in the 1980s.

Raymond Lotta with Frank Shannon

Vol. 1

ation of Marx and Lenin from a viewpoint opposed
d also opposed to what it calls the 'social-
It is therefore worth reading as an unusual point

Zinn, Professor of Political Science, Boston University
author of *A People's History of the United States*

"From a theoretical perspective, the chief significance of this book is the way it develops Marxist political economy in the light of Lenin's analysis of imperialism. It argues that the laws of capitalist accumulation now operate at the level of the world as a whole, including both East and West. The problems of individual countries must therefore be seen in the context of the world system. This is an important argument and it is developed here not only with scholarly care but also with an eye to the guidance it provides for political action."

—Edward Nell, Professor of Economics, Graduate Faculty at the New School for Social Research, author of *Growth, Profits and Property*

A Milestone in Marxist-Leninist Political Economy

America in Decline is a multivolume study of the origins and implications of the contemporary crisis of world capitalism. It shows that beneath the seeming madness of neutron bombs and space weapons, beneath an international debt crisis that almost defies quantification, beneath the great power interventions in various corners of the world, and beneath the obfuscation and triviality of mainstream economic and political thought can be found an objective logic — the logic of capital in the imperialist epoch.

This work breaks new ground and offers fresh insights into the nature and history of monopoly capitalism. Its theoretical point of departure is the integrating and determining role of the world imperialist economy. The structures and trends of particular national economies can only be understood in light of a world dynamic. Indeed, the contradictions, tensions, and conflicts to which imperialism gives rise must ultimately — and can only under this system — be resolved through the forcible recasting of international relations, that is, through world war. At the same time, revolutionary upheavals are inextricably bound up with and profoundly influence this world dynamic. **America in Decline** represents a remarkable defense and the first significant deepening of Lenin's theory of imperialism.

Volume 1 contains three introductory studies. The first chapter lays the theoretical foundation for the work as a whole and sets forth its principal theses. It presents a unique view of the relationship between the class struggle and the anarchic drive of capital; it conceptualizes the international determinants of advanced capitalism and the modus operandi of finance capital; it examines the structures of and the interactions between the imperialist and dependent countries; and it analyzes the necessary means through which capitalism reorganizes itself. The second chapter surveys the rise and ascendance of U.S. imperialism, emphasizing those factors which would play a crucial part in the bolstering and unraveling of its international position in the years after 1945. Set against the canvas of the first two world wars, this is a fascinating documentation of the depredations and intrigues of modern empire. The third chapter subjects the received tradition of Comintern crisis theory to blistering criticism. It argues that the Comintern theorists departed from both Marxism and Leninism in their formulation of a "general crisis" and that this view effectively blocked any real enrichment of Marxist economic theory.

America in Decline is an immensely important and timely work. Three decades of the greatest growth in the history of capitalism have now led to a crisis of massive proportions and brought the world to the precipice of the most destructive war in human history. **America in Decline** combines a mastery of material with a sense of urgency. Marxism here is presented and applied with rigor and with vision. No one wishing to understand the causes and dimensions of the world crisis of the 1980s and the potential that it holds for revolutionary transformation can afford to overlook this work.

Raymond Lotta has written extensively on international relations, the current world crisis, and problems of the socialist transition period. He edited and wrote the introductory essay to **And Mao Makes 5** (Banner, 1978), which chronicles the struggle within the Chinese Communist Party in the early and mid-1970s culminating in the defeat of the revolutionary forces. In 1983, he represented the viewpoint that the Soviet Union is imperialist at an international conference and debate on the nature of the Soviet Union held in New York City. His presentation and the text of the entire debate appear in **The Soviet Union: Socialist or Social-Imperialist? Part 2: The Question is Joined** (RCP Publications, 1983). Lotta has traveled widely, including to China. He has been a frequent lecturer at universities and has made numerous appearances on television and radio public affairs programs. At present, he is completing research on the concluding volumes of **America in Decline**.

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On December 10, in a state court in Mobile, Alabama, Ku Klux Klan murderer Henry Hayes was found guilty of the March 21, 1981 lynching of 19-year-old Black youth Michael Donald. According to press reports following this verdict, justice has been served, the Ku Klux Klan has been dealt a heavy blow, thanks especially to the U.S. Justice Department. But the events surrounding the brutal slaying of Michael Donald proved quite the opposite. In fact, Hayes was only one of those guilty of this lynch-murder. The scene at the Mobile courthouse was like a pack of caged rats going for each other's throats, with FBI agents, Mobile police, KKK leaders and members, ex-KKK members and the like squealing on each other. What got revealed was a vivid picture of the bloody interconnections between these federal and local police, and Klan groups, with the vicious oppression of Black people a knot that ties them all together.

To understand this relationship clearly, it is necessary to go back to the time of the lynching in Mobile. In the spring of 1981, the outrage and attention of the world was focused on the murders of Black youth in Atlanta, USA. Untold numbers of FBI agents and U.S. Justice Department officials were flying around the country frantically yapping about how there was no racial motivation for the Atlanta murders, while 6,000 marched in Harlem, 3,000 in Miami, along with numerous acts of protest against these murders happening all over. In March 1981, armed self-defense groups formed in the Black neighborhoods of Atlanta, like the Techwood Homes bat patrols. It was a time when slain Black youths' bodies were being pulled from the Chattahoochee River every week.

The week of March 21, 1981, was a turning point. The Atlanta police entrapped and arrested the leaders of the Techwood bat patrols, in another of the series of acts of police terror that went hand-in-hand with the more unofficial murderers. That same week the Atlanta murderers abducted and strangled a Black youth from Techwood Homes right under the noses of these occupying forces of the police.

In the early dawn hours of Saturday, March 21, the body of Michael Donald was found hanging by the neck from a tree on a busy street in a mostly Black suburb of Mobile. Two Klansmen had abducted the youth at gunpoint, driven to a rural county nearby and murdered him. As one of the Klansmen said at the trial, the Klansmen had taunted the Black youth before he was murdered, "Do you know about the Atlanta murders?" Ac-

According to Mobile chief detective Captain Sam McLarty, the FBI was called in to oversee the investigation of the Michael Donald case from the first day. Since it is common knowledge that the FBI has many "eyes" inside the KKK, it is reasonable to assume that the FBI knew exactly what had happened, even before it happened. All the various parties to this lynching openly admit now that the south Alabama Klan had a major meeting before the lynching.

In this situation, a twofold official reaction was immediately devised — a press blackout and a coverup. No one was arrested for the murder of Michael Donald until June 7, 1983 — two years and three months after the lynching and a long time after the political climate around the Atlanta murders has cooled.

It is interesting to note that these Justice Department maneuvers have come at the very time that so much national attention is being focused by the U.S. imperialists on how to drag the masses of Black people into bourgeois political life, particularly attempting to consolidate a base for Black American patriotism. (See RW No. 223 "Jesse Jackson, 'The Right Stuff' For Them") What with "historic Black firsts" accumulating — Miss America, Astro-pig, and most recently Mr. T, the "ALL-American Body Guard," playing Santa Claus at the White House with Nancy

Reagan sitting on his lap; not to mention the big play being given to the Presidential campaign of Jesse Jackson (who posed for pictures with the notorious racist reactionary Alabama Governor George Wallace last summer — a federally orchestrated trial of a Klansman in Mobile is certainly timely from a political standpoint.

Why just last week, the Mobile District Attorney commented, "It is the duty of the federal government to prosecute members of the Klan who go around and hang a Black." Yet somehow back in 1981, the combined forces of the FBI and the Mobile police department just couldn't come up with any clues. At that time and with the FBI right on the spot, KKK leaders and members just couldn't keep their mouths shut after the lynching, nor could these unleashed dogs refrain from further terrorist activity. A Klan cross was burned on a Mobile courthouse lawn the night after the lynching and for days nooses were hung on freeway overpasses before rush hour traffic. Other reactionaries carried nooses to dangle from their car windows. Their murderers, KKK member Henry Hayes and Tiger Knowles (who turned state's witness for the trial), openly bragged about their role in the lynching to family and friends and others.

Then last June, Dan Runzel, a U.S. Justice Department attorney with the

civil rights division announced to the press that Hayes and Knowles had been arrested in Mobile for "violating the civil rights of Michael Donald." In Runzel's press statement he bragged, "The arrests should serve notice on the Klan that the government will take whatever steps necessary to avert Klan violence." In other words, when it comes to leashing and unleashing the Klan, it is the U.S. government which has the ultimate word in utilizing such "unofficial" enforcers of national oppression — as the entire history of these bloodsuckers has demonstrated again and again.

By late June, Klansman Knowles had pled guilty to the federal charge and agreed to testify against Hayes in a state murder trial. Shortly after that, all manner of scum, other policemen and police agents, came forward to do these feds and Alabama state authorities proud. A central figure in all of this is none other than Bennie Hayes, the father of Henry Hayes, and the second-ranking Klansman in the state of Alabama.

The Henry Hayes trial in Mobile became a literal forum for Klan leader Bennie Hayes. And in a trial orchestrated by the federal authorities this is hardly a coincidence. Newspaper articles across the country recounted specific portions of Bennie Hayes' courtroom testimony. One in the *Atlanta Constitution* spewed out such idiocies as, "My son was not raised a racist. He was raised a Klansman."

The elder Hayes, a well-to-do slumlord, was not so widely touted in the press as the leader of the planning meeting the week before the murder. Prosecution witness Knowles claimed that Bennie Hayes had asked them to hold off on the lynching until after Friday, March 20, so that a business action could be completed. Later Bennie Hayes threatened to have Knowles murdered if he testified against his son. To top it all off, this Klan titan leveled a not-so-veiled threat at the jury before it began deliberation, "I hope each and every one of you can live with yourselves." This threat may partly account for the jury's recommendation of life without parole, since Alabama juries are not known to shy away from the death penalty.

A more subtle version of this threat was quoted widely in the press after the verdict, "Yes, the Klan was on trial, but you'll see a decent, human reaction. We're not out against nobody."

In other words, there has been a trial, and racist low-life reactionaries will continue to act in a fashion befitting their kind. As for the U.S. ruling class, they can and will continue to count on just that. □

Mobile Trial

Justice "Served" — Or Exposed?

On the Question of So-Called "National Nihilism"

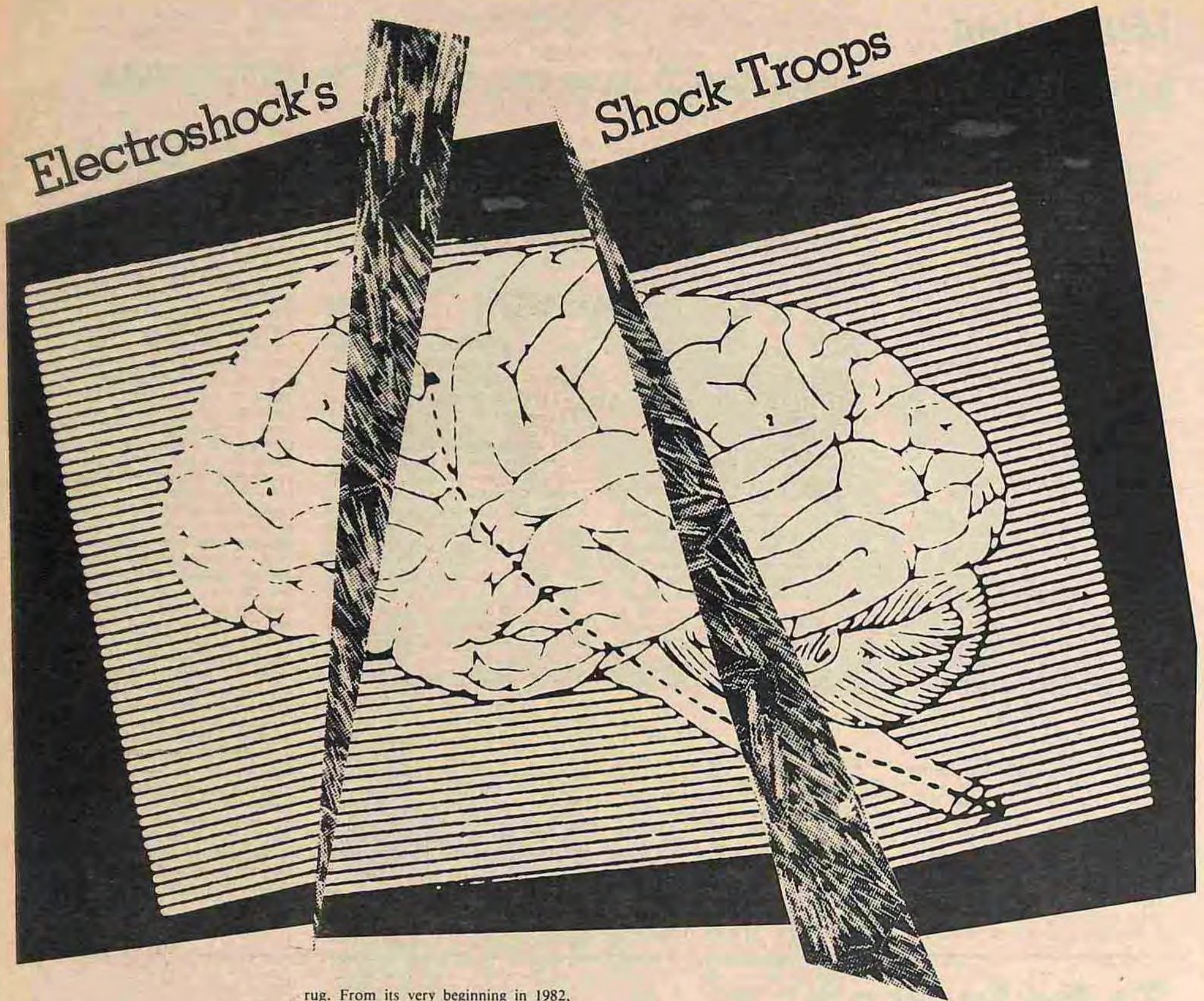
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On September 15th, Alameda County Superior Court Judge Winton McKibben ruled that the City of Berkeley law banning the use of electroconvulsive therapy (ECT) inside Berkeley city limits was unconstitutional. On the eve of a trial which the *San Francisco Chronicle* called "a massive courtroom showdown pitting the nation's psychiatric community against Berkeley's attempt to adopt a local ban on the widespread medical procedure (ECT)," McKibben had used his authority to simply slam the door on the whole attempt to ban electroshock. Even the pro-electroshock lawyers expressed surprise — they had filed a motion seeking a summary judgement without trial, a legal maneuver frequently attempted though rarely granted. And McKibben's ruling was only one sentence, with no explanation, in a case in which expert witnesses from across the country were lined up to testify, large numbers of patient records had been subpoenaed, and a case that was sure to capture the attention of the nationwide press.

But if McKibben's decision surprised some with its quick dispatch of legal niceties, politically it was quite consistent with the entire history of psychiatry in the U.S. — not only in the sense of the psychiatric profession's decades long use of such brain-shattering techniques as electroshock and lobotomy, but also in the sense of the consistent and systematic coverup and prettification of the repressive psychiatric apparatus by the whole system.

McKibben's ruling served the interests of the continuing coverup well. The *San Francisco Chronicle* editorialized that his honor's ruling was a "welcome and beneficial one," and concluded, "We hope that the judge has now had the final word." The ruling class would like nothing better than to sweep the whole episode of the electroshock ban under the

rug. From its very beginning in 1982, when a group of activists called NAPA (Network Against Psychiatric Assault) placed an initiative on the Berkeley ballot banning electroshock, the law has been the target of official hostility. Every major newspaper in the San Francisco Bay Area opposed the initiative and the psychiatric profession mobilized against it nationally. Despite all this, the initiative passed by over 61% of the votes. The day after the election, the shock troops of psychiatry stepped up their efforts further. Less than 24 hours after the returns were in, the East Bay Chapter of the Northern California Psychiatric Society convened an emergency meeting and got on the phone to their friends across the country. (Clearly the residents of Berkeley were insane to imagine that their little exercise in "grass roots democracy" could challenge the professional apparatus in the All-American nuthouse.) After consulting with "national and statewide decision makers, medical and psychiatric," including the powerful and reactionary American Medical Association (AMA), a strategy to reverse and contain the damage was developed. On the legal front, this resulted in a temporary injunction against the antishock law last January.

What was at stake in all this was not merely whether or not electroshock would continue to be given in Berkeley itself. In recent years only one hospital in Berkeley, Herrick Hospital, has administered electroshock, and they only do it to about 45 patients per year — out of 100,000 patients receiving electroshock annually nationwide. It is not so much losing the relatively few patients in Berkeley that concerns psychiatry's shock troops as it is reversing the political precedent set of "nonprofessionals" intervening in one of the bourgeoisie's sacred and secretive realms, and even more, stemming the exposure of one of imperialism's more covered up arenas of butchery and suppression.

The U.S. concern to limit exposure

helps explain some of the involvement of the Berkeley city government in the case. After the injunction against the law in January there was some struggle inside the city government over whether or not the city government, which had not been directly involved in the controversy up to that point, should enter the courts in support of the law and in opposition to the injunction. Some of the influential pro-Soviet types in the government wanted to back the shock ban, including the mayor, Gus Newport, no doubt in part because they saw an opportunity to hit the U.S. in an area in which the U.S. has constantly berated the Soviet Union — the use of psychiatry as a tool of repression. (The Berkeley city government did decide to back the law in the court, and filed papers that set up the lawsuit which was averted, at least temporarily, by McKibben's one-sentence ruling.)

The U.S. has gotten considerable mileage out of its attacks on the Soviet practice of throwing rebellious elements into mental hospitals. In reality, the U.S. can more than give the Soviets a run for the gold in this department. For one thing, in terms of sheer size of the population in mental hospitals, the U.S. apparently has the Soviet Union beat hands down. One article in the *American Journal of Psychiatry*, the most influential psychiatric journal, gave some interesting statistics: In 1964, the U.S. and the Soviet Union had approximately the same number of total hospital beds; but in the Soviet Union, about 11% of the beds were psychiatric, while in the U.S., 46.4% were psychiatric. The article went on to "explain" that this was because the Soviets used different methods — in the Soviet Union they make most of the mental patients work, while in the U.S. they give them treatment. Ah yes, "treatment," a word which, under scrutiny, might be a synonym for *torture*.

The battle over electroshock in Berkeley has shed some light on this

"treatment." One of the spokesmen for NAPA was incarcerated in a mental hospital in the early 1960s because he was living like a beatnik — and he was given electroshock until he agreed to shave his beard. As for the *kind* of treatment, that has varied somewhat with the times; but the history of the use of ECT in the U.S. and the various theories justifying its use, is quite revealing — and makes quite clear why the psychiatric and medical Mafia is so concerned with ending the shock ban in Berkeley.

Quiet In The Ward!

ECT was introduced into the U.S. in 1940 and quickly received widespread and enthusiastic support from psychiatrists. ECT machines started popping everywhere a shock doctor could be found — private and public hospitals and even private offices. Shock therapy developed into a kind of "cure-all." One psychiatrist quoted in the *American Journal of Psychiatry* marveled at its use in overcrowded and hard to manage mental hospitals: "Our goals were not curative; they were limited to the level of improved ward behavior... patients were selected for intensive maintenance of electroconvulsive shock treatment on the basis of ward behavior." In this way combative behavior and rebellion were "shocked," and chronic disturbed wards were transformed into "quiet" chronic wards.

However, almost as quickly as ECT fever took off, leading neurologists and some psychiatrists drew attention to the braindamaging effects of ECT. As early as 1942, studies proving brain damage in animals with serious implications for humans were published. These were either ignored, or, within the profession, promoted as quite fine and necessary. ECT was openly linked with lobotomy,

Continued on page 19

Mutlangen

Continued from page 7

sang drill field songs to them (with revolutionary lyrics of course). Many of the GIs opened their windows and came over to the fence to listen to us. One of the lyrics was, "In Vietnam we learned to frag and not to fight for the bloody rag."

The next day was our day, the anti-imperialist day, and it was sweet. In what was supposed to be the press tent (which the press conveniently boycotted that weekend) the radicals held their action meeting. Crowded into the tent were West Germans, rebels from Turkey and Americans. The talk went back and forth in three languages and it was clear to anyone passing by that this group was powerful and about to go into action.

At this moment, the police were dousing a fire which the blockaders had built in the road and were arresting people who were refusing to move for the police vans that were pouring into the base. In the next minute, a stream of West German and Turkish protestors were running across the snow fields towards the barbed wire. They attacked along the whole length of the fence, cutting at the thick rows of wire and pulling up the holding stakes while chanting anti-imperialist slogans. The effect was electrifying with teams of police racing out to stop them.

As the police were busy with the Turkish and German rebels, a gap opened in the police lines. . . . The protestors screamed with victory as five contingent members dodged the police who were trying to tackle them and two of them attempted to burn the American and West German flags. Sadly, the wind was strong and the lighters were pieces of shit so the flags really didn't get burnt. But a triumphant breakthrough had been made. However, one of the GIs guarding the base aimed his rifle as if to shoot one of the anti-imperialists. . . . Soon all five of the rebels had been tackled, armlocked by the police, beaten and dragged off to the paddy bus. But the jubilant crowd remained outside, chanting and pulling on the wire.

The Turkish youth were inspiring to everyone in their boldness, flipping off the pig photographers who were taking

their pictures for future persecution and taunting the cops who were facing them, billy clubs in hand. It was clear the police were especially afraid and especially hateful towards the people from Turkey who showed no fear of them and are supposed to be submissive in German society. Especially shocking to the police and inspiring to everyone else was the boldness of the women from Turkey who were standing on the frontlines against the police. In traditional Turkish society, women should be submissive and quiet and these women were going up in the face of that as well as the police.

The Mutlangen 5 were released six hours later along with two German youth who also passed the fence and the Japanese anti-imperialist who was arrested for digging a mock grave outside the base. Of course the real reason being that he was a real inspiration to the other protestors and the police hated him.

Our stay in Mutlangen was a wonderful ending for the eight of us who will soon be flying back after two months in West Germany. Our anti-imperialist politics and internationalism were put out boldly and successfully in the Mutlangen action. Workers from Turkey, German youth and revolutionaries, and anti-imperialists from the U.S. had been united together in action. We showed the strength of unity and helped to smash not only physical barriers but mental barriers that the ruling class tries to build between segments of the population who might oppose them. We showed the potential power of the internationalist line and made an example of daring to go up against the police and the U.S. Army. Hopefully the seeds we helped plant will grow.

This letter is from two members of the World Without Imperialism Contingent who visited Greenham Commons, England before the weekend of actions planned for the 11th and 12th of December.

Right as we got to Greenham Commons, we spotted a woman in rubber boots, blue sweater, jeans and wild hair. She definitely stood out in this bus full of sedate suburbanites. We thought she must be going to the camp. Talking with

her we began to get a picture of the situation there. About 200 women are permanently encamped at four gates heading into the huge air base. Living conditions are very rough, cold and primitive. We asked about local reaction in small, nearby towns. She told us there is a small group of warm supporters who bring out food, supplies, etc. Most are neutral, dependent on the base for their economic and social life. There is also a reactionary bunch of thugs who terrorized the camp all last summer, throwing pig shit and mud at the women. The press had given the camp a lot of local, national, international attention. It's been hard to ignore the actions which have been a great exposure of NATO war preparations and an inspiration to people all over the world. This woman described how the press tried to trivialize them by focusing on the lifestyle at the camp, describing the women as dirty, nit-ridden, lessies, etc.

About the forthcoming action on the 11th of December, she could only tell us that the call had gone out for women to show up with musical instruments, mirrors to reflect back the image of the base, candles and so on. From there, who knows? The looseness and total lack of organization in the camp has allowed for a lot of initiative on the part of the women. We heard of many instances of disruptions, women going into the base, into high-security areas, many incidents which don't make it into the press.

We arrived at the main gate, along both sides of the road, heading up to it our heads covered with plastic tarps, with people gathered around a small fire in the bitter cold. As we approached, we took in the scene, the rolling gate patrol by British soldiers on horseback. The tall fences topped with barbed wire and two rows of NATO wire reminiscent of the Berlin Wall. We walked up to the group gathered around the fire having breakfast and met women from Amsterdam, the U.S. and all over Britain. We introduced ourselves as the World Without Imperialism Contingent. The women were warmly interested and impressed. They asked about the situation in Germany and also the U.S.

The main gate is the roughest area since so many visitors, press, etc., roll through. We saw the press off to the side. Three

guys in dark suits looking uneasy. The women said they'd been asking about their toilet practices that morning. There is a wide range of ages and styles at the camp, from leopard-skin punks to elderly pacifists and just as many ideas of where to go politically — feminists, anarchists, pacifists. Of course, for everyone, the woman question is of great importance. The camp is separatist, although the women see that in many different ways. As women, they have broken through a lot of stereotype just to be here, much less kick ass the way they do. Because of their actions, the women at Greenham Commons have been facing a lot of heavy shit from the state. The British government has tried to evict them six or seven times with bulldozers even. Almost every woman in the camp has been arrested at least once. Most are violating parole to be there. One woman described conditions in the jail when she was busted for two weeks where they were drugged and harassed by prison officials who tried to create friction between them and the other prisoners. They were able to create warm ties and had lots of great political conversations while they were in prison.

As we visited the camp at the different gates, violet, red, blue, signifying colors of the rainbow, we talked about the inspiration Greenham Commons represents to those all over the world who are fighting against imperialist war preparations. We have sent a banner before from West Germany to the women of Greenham Commons saying, "Break the Chains, Unleash the Fury of Women Against World War and Worldwide Imperialism," signed by German and Turkish people and members of the Contingent to be used in the action on the 11th.

In spite of the state's attacks and the rough living conditions, the spirits of the women at Greenham Commons remain high. We wish that we could have stayed longer to get into some of the deeper political questions. In saying goodbye, we told the women that we would be fighting too in West Germany on the 11th in Stuttgart and Mutlangen, and we'd continue on in the U.S. "For a World Without Imperialism, Not An Imperialist World War!"

'Tis the Season . . .

Continued from page 2

calls for duty — embody America's revived holiday spirit.

However, it should also be pointed out that there are a few quirks yet to be ironed out as the "standing tall" go into mass production. For instance, there is the question about just how tall the U.S. military can stand based on the invasion of tiny little Grenada. After all, in Grenada the brave boys in green only had to fight a disintegrating and poorly equipped army with a core of 2,000 members and a few hundred Cuban construction workers. And even though U.S. troop strength represented a staggering superiority over Grenadan and Cuban resistance combined, it still took the U.S. combat troops a couple of weeks to fully secure the island. But this is just a minor quirk — the remedy will just have to await future adventures.

And in case the obvious symbolism of this "welcome home and thanks for a job well done" ceremony was missed by anyone, America's own apostle of peace spelled it out. Speaking before a luncheon of medal of honor recipients — older versions of the "standing tall" — Ronald Reagan waxed ecstatic over America's new soldiers. "With the best of intentions we have tried turning our swords into plowshares hoping others would follow." (Really, is it any wonder that various U.S. imperialist spokesmen comment aloud about an *image* problem?) "Well, our days of weakness are over. Our military forces are back on their feet and standing tall. . . . Once again it's an honor to wear the uniform and serve our country, and our service men and women feel that. I hope that makes you as proud as it does me." Actually, Reagan has always been more comfortable with Old Testament biblical images of the wrathful god sort, and it wasn't long before the speech turned to favorite holiday themes of smiting devils and threats of Armaged-

don. He made it clear that these updated GI Joes were destined for far more glorious tasks than simply a few more Grenadas in the future, and described the appropriate apocalyptic vision dancing in his head: "Freedom is never more than one generation away from extinction. Each generation must do whatever is necessary to preserve and then pass it on to the next. . . . Peace with freedom is the highest aspiration of the American people. We will negotiate for it, sacrifice for it but never surrender for it." Certainly this vision is guaranteed to get the bowels of America moving again and mass production of the "standing tall" is undoubtedly hoped for in the not-so-distant future. Already the U.S. media has cited numerous examples of the typical American yahoos whooping it up for the holidays by encouraging their children to join the Marines or mobilizing their neighborhoods to bake Christmas cookies for American troops occupying various countries around the world.

While the prototypes for these "standing tall" were the troops withdrawn from Grenada, no one should be lulled into thinking that the U.S. imperialists have actually withdrawn from Grenada. Grenada today remains totally occupied and run by the U.S. military. Three hundred U.S. troops were left behind and still another 100-member special training unit has been dispatched to the island. At least half of the 300 troops left behind are military police who are equipped for both a possible combat role and for training a new Grenadan police force. (It should also be pointed out here that these military policemen retain their sweeping powers of arrest and detention.) The remaining troops left behind consist of support troops and intelligence specialists. The newly arrived 100-man training unit has been assigned the task of welding together a new Grenadan army. Un-

doubtedly, the new "indigenous" Grenadan police force has already received invaluable training by assisting U.S. forces in their sweeping arrests during the first few weeks of the invasion. Since it is highly unlikely that the new army of police would be made up of many of the former regimes' army and police personnel, it would not be at all surprising to see a resurrection of personnel from the "Green Beast" and "Mongoose Gang" (police and paramilitary organizations that served the Western imperialists under the dictator Eric Gairy prior to 1979) to fill these posts. The U.S. training unit will also be working with the "multinational Caribbean peacekeeping force" (composed of policemen from other pro-U.S. Caribbean countries) in the proper policing policies for U.S.-dominated countries.

Beyond the outright U.S. military occupation, the rubber-stamp character of the new "government" is also outrageously clear. So far, the farcical Sir Paul Scoon has been unable to even pull together a functioning interim government. Not only did the person Scoon chose to head the government up refuse to participate in it, but the British attorney appointed as the new attorney general by Scoon ended up resigning his post since, according to the *New York Times*, he "decries the pace of progress toward restoring civilian rule. . . ." In addition to direct occupation, the U.S. has also bestowed another pile of Christmas gifts upon the island — guns, and other military supplies to the tune of \$15 million. (It should be remembered that the entire gross national product of Grenada never surpassed \$50 million even in the best of years.) The U.S. also has injected \$19 million in "economic" aid.

While there has been no real withdrawal of U.S. imperialism from Grenada, the use of the combat troops that have been withdrawn to launch the "standing tall" dolls is chock full of symbolic value for the U.S. imperialists. What better way to whip up more than

enough American yahoo-ism by storming into a country like Grenada, overthrowing the government, rampaging through the island and arresting more than 1,200 people, setting up U.S. military rule and then withdrawing all "nonessential" troops. How much more "civilized" than their "barbaric" counterparts in the Soviet Union! It was a nice clean and cheap victory that might go a ways to sate the appetite of voracious American patriots and wash away that nasty Vietnam syndrome.

And beyond these points, and most importantly, the withdrawal of these troops from Grenada today and their obvious readiness for further adventure around the world serves to underline the broader strategic message of the Grenadan invasion in the first place — a resurgent America is ready and willing to take on all comers, particularly their Soviet imperialist rivals in the big showdown. If the U.S. GI Joes are "standing tall" today atop the blood and rubble of Grenada and Lebanon, think how much "taller" they might stand in the not-so-distant future when they are called on to help the U.S. imperialists turn the whole world into a pile of rubble as they battle the Soviets to become king of the hill. □

Correction

In *RW* No. 232 (November 25, 1983) there are two corrections to be noted. In the article "The Talks, the Walks, the Stakes, the Slugfest," on page 6, column 1, the designation of the Soviet cruise missile should be SS-N-X-21. And in the article "The Day After" and *The Real Horror Show*," on page 18, column 3, the director of *The Day After* is Nicholas Meyer. □

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Hasbrouck Jailed

On November 22nd, draft resister Ed Hasbrouck was dragged off to prison by federal marshals to serve a six-month term for refusing to register for the draft. Hasbrouck was convicted as a nonregistrant in January 1983 and given a six-month suspended sentence, two years probation and 1,000 hours of community service. Ed's defiance to draft registration, along with a steadfast commitment to oppose nuclear weapons, has made him a clear target of government suppression. But the government's efforts to make him an example to those who oppose war preparations has not gone as smoothly as planned, in large part due to Ed's totally unrepentant attitude.

At a court hearing on October 11, 1983, Ed said the judge's definition of community work "is the same slavery as the draft. I can no more submit to it than I can submit to the draft." On November

22, acting as his own lawyer and remaining seated while he spoke to the judge, he added that the judge was in effect asking him to "make a symbolic political gesture of acquiescence" which he could not do. He said he "would jump at the chance to help dismantle nuclear weapons" if that would be accepted as community service. The judge made clear that he wanted Hasbrouck to begin serving his time immediately. As Ed tried to make a motion requesting postponement of sentencing pending the outcome of an appeal the judge rapidly denied it. As he did so federal marshals jumped Ed, pulling his hair and roughing him over before cuffing him and dragging him off.

Also arrested was anti-draft activist, Elizabeth Davidson. She was seized by federal marshals at a vigil supporting Ed outside the courthouse and jailed immediately on previous charges. □

Cruise Abused in Portland

In the early morning hours of Friday, December 2nd, 58 were arrested in Portland, Oregon, out of the 110-150 massed outside the gates of the production plant and corporate headquarters of Precision Cast Parts, a producer of titanium casting for cruise wing-housings. The action in Portland was one of over 100 civil disobedience actions which took place across the U.S. and Canada protesting the flight-testing of the cruise missile in Canada by the U.S. set to begin in January 1984. These tests are key in testing the cruise for "snow-blindness" — the ability of its guidance systems to work over vast stretches of snow, with northern Canada greatly resembling the terrain of the central Soviet Union. The Portland demonstration was called by "Refuse the Cruise" Coalition, which is made up of more mainstream anti-nuke forces, including Freeze advocates.

Precision and the authorities responded to the well-advertised protest with a major mobilization at the production plant. Knowing the blockade was planned for the 6 to 7 a.m. shift change, workers were scheduled to come in at 3 a.m. and were carefully instructed not to talk to the blockaders or take any literature. (Until leafleting the plant began, most men didn't have any idea they were producing cruise parts.) The company had built a special section of

fence for the action next to the existing titanium production site and the new site being built. Police from four districts set up a command post on the plant complete with a large bus to haul off protesters. Ten blocks of the major thoroughfare by the plant were blocked off by the police. The protesters linked arms and sat down to block the entrance of the open gates. The cops moved in finding it difficult to break them apart but were able to clear the driveway by dragging the protesters off and onto the command post. Hit by numerous waves of protesters, the police were finally forced to lock the plant gates themselves.

Simultaneously, three miles away, another group chained themselves to the door and in other ways blockaded the Cast Parts headquarters. Sixteen were arrested, one group arrested by a corporate executive making a "citizen's arrest." Accompanying the show of force, there was a well-orchestrated chorus upholding the right to "legitimate protest." For example, one of the first threatened busts at the plant was of a worker who threatened to run over the blockaders and was quickly halted by the cops. Generally the cops, company and the media reined in these more reactionary elements, certainly nurtured in such places, and instead gave more conscious play to the substantial numbers in the plant who were either friendly or at least neutral in "supporting

the right to be there." But it was especially the cops who were running their "We're really with you" routine. One even went so far as to describe how he had been a part of the civil rights movement in the South and it had been "great" until it had been "ruined" by violence.

But the best of the course on democracy came from the V.P. of the company who declared that the demonstrators "heighten our resolve that the actions we are taking are correct. It's only through adequate defense preparedness that we can guarantee the liberty to those people to do what they did today. They couldn't do that in Russia." American nukes for American protest!

Intent on continuing to make a political statement, the majority of those arrested refused to give their names except as John Doe, Emma Goldman, etc. The state responded by holding those busted at the plant in overcrowded holding tanks and cells in the basement of the Portland City Jail. When asked why they couldn't be moved into the regular dorm area, the Information Officer said, "Suppose one of these people turned out to have a violent history of attacks. There might be a danger to other prisoners." Anywhere from three to seven women were held for two days and a night in cells big enough for two and too small to lie down in with only a bench and no mattress. The cell floor was wet from the

leaking toilet. The jail denied all permission to reporters to visit the protesters to investigate.

On Saturday, the activists were taken to Claire Argow, the now-closed women's jail in a remote part of Portland. For the first day or so, they were all held in separate cells and allowed no phone calls. Both the men and women were told the other group had caved in, given their names and had been booked.

On Wednesday, December 7th, after being held for six days, everyone was released and charges were dropped on all but nine of those who had remained in jail the full time. (There are about 12 others who got out of jail earlier. It is not clear whether charges will be dropped against them at their arraignments over the next few weeks.) Most were released as Jane Doe's, etc. The nine charged pleaded no contest to two noncriminal trespass charges and got time-served, one-year probation and \$530 fine or 40 hours of community service.

The demonstration was the first of its kind in Portland. The action, along with the heavy-handed response of the authorities, became the focus of much discussion in the area, prompting debate on the cruise and its stationing in Europe and on the local production. □



SUMMING UP THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY by Bob Avakian

"... in the final analysis, the reason for the destruction of the Black Panther Party as a revolutionary organization did not lie outside of it but inside of it. It lay not in the policies and vicious acts of repression that the government carried out—murder, harassment, jailing, hounding people out of the country—not in all that, though that played a crucial role, a vicious, crippling role—but fundamentally in the ideology and philosophy of the Black Panther Party, which ultimately determined how they responded to not only that repression, but how they responded to events in society as a whole." (from the pamphlet)

(Excerpts from a speech given in Cleveland, 1979, as part of a nationwide speaking tour.)

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Great Moments in Western Literature

Continued from page 8

appears that no matter how many cluster bombs the Israeli state drops upon civilian populations, Israel and Zionism remain solidly within the Western bourgeois liberal mainstream, indeed occupy a venerated position. And, as that mainstream rests on an international system of plunder and bloody subjugation of "third world" peoples, amongst whom the Palestinians stand as a particular example, that is as it should be.

Thus we come across the views of one Amnon Rubinstein, an Israeli Knesset member whose own contribution to the subject appeared recently in the *New York Times*. To Rubinstein, any comparison of Orwell's 1984 to the Western democracies is "sheer nonsense." He bewails the tendency of those by whom "Grenada is equated with Afghanistan, My Lai with Auschwitz, and Chile with the Gulag." For Mr. Rubinstein, his truths are apparently self-evident, for he does not even bother to explain why these are "false analogies" other than to posit

the "growing dissimilarity between Western democracies, Soviet tyrannies, and the mixed bag of third world states."

All in all, Rubinstein concludes that "as a yardstick against which we measure the state of our planet, '1984' is, blissfully, becoming less and less relevant." But this blissful conclusion clashes violently with certain facts, of which Mr. Rubinstein must himself be aware. For you see, what gives the Israeli contribution to the 1984 "discussion" its unique dimension is a fact which will not be mentioned in too many bourgeois symposiums on the subject. For the Palestinians living in the Israeli-occupied West Bank, the Israelis apparently consider 1984 to be sufficiently "relevant" so as to be downright subversive. Among the hundreds of books the Israeli military authorities have banned on the West Bank, mainly books concerning Arab culture, history, and political affairs, 1984 too is forbidden.

—Yours for the New Year

FOR A HARVEST OF DRAGONS

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

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

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

By Bob Avakian

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

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

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

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

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Emperyalistler dünya savaşına hazırlanıyorlar: Biz de enginleri fethetme cesaretiyle devrime hazırlanmalıyız!

Continued from page 4

çeğe dönüştürülmesi için, emperyalistlerin gerici kutlamalarının temsil ettiği bu davetin cevabı verilmelidir. Bu durum, mevcut tüm geleneksel sosyal ve mülkiyet ilişkilerinden en köklü kopuşu yaratmak için gerekli olan siyasi çalışma ve mücadeleyi hızlandırıp yoğunlaştırmayı gerektiriyor. En köklü kopuş için, "direniş" yeterli olmayacaktır, çünkü "direniş" kendi içinde zafer kavramını içermemektedir. En köklü kopuş, "Savaş Karşı Savaş" yürütmenin de ötesine geçecektir, çünkü hedef, bir savaş politikası değil, savaş kaçınılmaz kulan sistemin ta kendisidir. En köklü kopuş, dünya savaşının devrimle önlenmesini, ya da eğer önlenemezse, emperyalist dünya savaşını, devrimci iç savaşa dönüştürme yönünde çalışmayı gerektirir.

Bir 3. Dünya Savaşı, eşi görülmemiş ölüm ve yıkım anlamına gelir ve zaten fazlasıyla uzun süren caniyane tarihinde, emperyalizmin bir defada gerçekleştireceği en büyük cinayeti olur. Fakat eğer böyle bir kıyımın tam ortasına değilse bile, eşğine sürüklenmemiz, kaçınılmaz olacak olursa da, bunun yaratacağı, dünyanın önemli parçalarını emperyalistlerin caniyane kontrollerinden söküp alma fırsatını memnuniyetle karşılayıp bundan yararlanmak üzere hazırlanmalıyız.

"Savaş-sonrası" dönem olarak bilinen 2. Dünya Savaşı sonrası dönemde, sonsuz "askeri müdahale-

ler", "polis eylemleri" ve "barışı koruma ziyaretleri" ne maruz kalan milyonlarca kişi için, ve günlük yaşamları bile tükenmeyen bir kavga olanlar için, bu, memnuniyetle karşılanacak bir fırsat olacaktır. "Endüstrilemiş ülkelerde", dünyanın ezilen alanlarından, ekonomik zorlamalar sonucu varlığını sürdürme çabasıyla yüksek-finansın vatanına gelen milyonlarca kişi vardır. Ayrıca, emperyalizmin bu kalelerinde, tarihteki "en muazzam refah dönemi"nden yararlanmasına hiçbir zaman izin verilmemiş olan milyonlarca "yerli" mevcuttur. Emperyalizmin kalbi niteliğindeki yerlerde bulunmaları dolayısıyla, bu kitleler, modern kölelik zincirinden öte hiçbir şey vermeyen bu toplumun dokusunu yırtma ve tamamen yeni temellerde yepyeni bir dünya kurmaya başlama fırsatını bekleyen, tayin edici bir sosyal güç oluşturmaktadırlar.

Proletaryanın tavrı ve görüşü budur. Onun bayrağında hiçbir ülkenin adı değil, aksine insanların arasındaki, —ülkeler de dahil— tüm sosyal sınıf ve ayrımları yoketme ve sadece kendisinin değil tüm insanlığın kurtuluşunu gerçekleştirme tarihsel amacı kazılıdır.

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ABD-Devrimci Komünist Partisi

TKP/ML

Türkiye Komünist Partisi/Marksist-Leninist

The imperialists are preparing for world war: We must prepare to dare to scale the heights and make revolution!

Continued from page 5

aimed over Europeans' heads at the U.S.!

As one of the major imperialist powers of the world, the W. German rulers, although they are not at this time heading up the war bloc to which they belong, have just as much necessity to beat the competition and redivide the world through war as any other imperialist ruling class.

—The problem is not that the "German people in their two states" are threatened or that Europe is being dragged into a war against its will and interests by what some people call the "two Superpowers." The problem is that there is a world system of imperialism that is threatening the entire globe with mass murder. Many say our attention is to be fixed on creating an "Atomic Free Zone Europe" to prevent a "Euroshima." And what of the rest of the world? Is it then perfectly alright for everywhere else *but Europe* to be the target of atomic blasts or the victims of fallout and the inevitable ecological damage that will touch every portion of the globe? This war must be fought against as part of the *international* struggle to do away with its source.

—To base one's opposition to world war solely on the destruction it will bring down on any particular imperialist country or group of imperialist countries will inevitably lead to the position of supporting the "defense" of that country — that is, supporting the war itself, because every reactionary ruling class uses war to "defend" and advance its reactionary interests and will always present itself as the victim of aggression.

The imperio-centric chauvinism described above has a broad influence in the present movements against imperialist war preparations. This is why the "Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament" was nowhere to be seen when the Falklands were invaded, and why the "Freeze" movement in the U.S. was conspicuously absent from the streets when the U.S. sunk its fangs into Grenada. A revolution in an imperialist country requires that the revolutionaries in that country learn to identify and break with the interests of their "own" bourgeoisie.

The stationing of the new missiles does not represent the subordination of "European security interests" to the imperial goals of the U.S. Could someone explain just exactly what the security interests of France are in Chad, or of England in the Falklands, or of Italy in Lebanon, or of the BRD in Turkey, or of all of them in the Persian Gulf, if they are not equally as imperial?!

It is true that to talk about being against the missiles and not talk about getting out of NATO is absurd. But to talk about getting out of NATO and not talk about overthrowing the imperialist ruling class of W. Germany is at best an absurd illusion and at worst a political swindle. Similarly, the question of the re-unification of Germany is anything but the key to "peace in Europe." Rather it is a political program that will in the final analysis *aid* Bismarck's heirs as they attempt to rally the cannon fodder and march millions off to murder and die for the protection and preservation of "Western Civilization."

The recent vote in Parliament in favor of the missiles has been described by many as a "defeat" for the antiwar movement. Far from it. This decision, which could only be made behind rows of club-wielding police backed up by tear gas and water cannons, is above all a confirmation of the imperialists' determination to continue to prepare for and launch their war. This was a step for which they paid a high political price. They themselves were forced by their own necessity to continue their moves toward war, to reveal to millions the class dictatorship that is the actual content of bourgeois democracy. As the respectable bounds of protest were severely strained in the streets of Bonn on the 21st, millions more around the world were able to much more clearly iden-

tify the contending forces and interests. This is exactly why the struggle against war preparations is so important, and why it is so crucial for class-conscious proletarians and revolutionaries to seize on every opportunity in the course of these struggles to point to and expose the class interests which lie behind these and all events. Such work will make important contributions to raising the political consciousness of as many as possible to the need for revolution.

On December 12, the imperialists will celebrate the fourth anniversary of their blood pact for WWII. Their celebration will be marred by thousands around the world who will be in the streets in active opposition. Perhaps at this time not in the same numbers as a few months ago. But this is due, more than anything else, to the fact that the reformist illusions which brought many into motion earlier have been dashed on the rocks. Thus, while not giving rise immediately to the same numbers in the streets, the actual political turmoil and questioning is now of a more profound and deeper nature. This lays the basis for even greater and more radical upsurges in the period ahead. Already there are signs of this in the talk of "resistance" and "war against war."

But in order for this potential to be realized, the challenge represented by the imperialists' festival of reaction must be met. The challenge to step up and intensify the political work and struggle necessary to bring about the most radical rupture with all existing traditional social and property relations. For the most radical rupture, "resistance" will not be enough, because "resistance" does not contain within it the concept of victory. The most radical rupture will go beyond making "war against war" because it is not some policy of war that is the target, but rather the very essence of the system itself which makes war inevitable. The most radical rupture requires that world war be prevented through revolution, or, if war cannot be prevented, working to turn imperialist world war into revolutionary civil war.

A third world war would mean untold death and destruction and would be imperialism's single greatest crime in its already too long and criminal history. But if it is inevitable that we will be dragged to at least the brink of, if not actually into, such a holocaust, then we should at least welcome and prepare for the opportunity it will present to rip significant portions of the globe from the imperialists' murderous control.

For the millions around the world for whom the "postwar" period has been an endless series of "interventions," "police actions" and "peace-keeping missions," and for whom daily survival is a ceaseless battle, this will be a welcome opportunity. In the "industrialized" countries, there are millions — driven by powerful economic compulsion from the oppressed areas of the world to seek an existence in the homelands of high finance. In addition there are millions of "native-born" in the citadels who were never "allowed" to benefit from the "greatest period of prosperity" in history. Located in imperialism's heartlands, they comprise a decisive social force that has longed for the chance to rip society's fabric, which has never been anything more than modern-day slave chains, from around their lives and begin building a new world on an entirely new basis.

This is the stance and outlook of the international proletariat. Its banner is inscribed with the name of no country, but rather with the historic goal of eliminating all social classes and all the divisions between people they give rise to — including countries themselves — and with that bringing about the emancipation of not only itself, but of all mankind.

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Shine the Light of Revolution Behind the Prison Walls



Contribute to the Prisoners Revolutionary Literature Fund

The Revolutionary Communist Party receives many letters and requests for literature from prisoners in the hell-hole torture chambers from Attica to San Quentin. There are thousands more brothers and sisters behind bars who have refused to be beaten down and corrupted in the dungeons of the capitalist class and who thirst for and need the *Revolutionary Worker* and other revolutionary literature. To help make possible getting the Voice of the Revolutionary Communist Party as well as other Party literature and books on Marxism-Leninism Mao Tsetung Thought behind the prison walls, the *Revolutionary Worker* has established a special fund. Contributions should be sent to:

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Dear Revolutionary Friends,

Would you please send me your book of *The Science of Revolution*, and any other material concerning same? I haven't the funds to pay for any of them.

I receive your paper, and have now for some time. I enjoy reading the truth, and hope to some day be able to walk together with you in our struggle for freedom, from the oppressors.

"Power to the People,"
Pittsburgh, PA

.....

Greetings Comrades,

I have decided to write and say thank you to all comrades who work hard to publish and mail out the *Revolutionary Worker* to all those of us who are currently incarcerated across this country called Amerikkka, and thank you for the boxed collection of pamphlets. Thank you very much!!

We would like for you all to know that this material is not being wasted and we study on individual basis and we are slowly building our group in numbers. We had a little meeting and we are wondering if the RCP, USA would donate more learning material to us here at XX.

We would appreciate a copy of the Report from the meeting of the Central Committee of the RCP, USA held in the latter part of 1982, *Accumulating Revolutionary Forces for the Coming Showdown*, and Mao's Little Red Book, and *For A Harvest of Dragons*, and *Conquer the World*, and *Basic Principles for the Unity of Marxist-Leninists and for the Line of the International Communist Movement*, and *The Science of Revolution: An Introduction*.

Thank you for your time and we hope you consider our request for more learning materials. Thank you.

Our blood-red flags fly in our hearts and minds always.

XX

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Compañeros,

May these few lines find you in strong revolutionary spirits. I am a prisoner in Solitary Confinement here in San Quentin, dropping these lines to request for *The Science of Revolution: An Introduction* by Lenny Wolff, a publication which I find very interesting — also any other material that you may send me. I am very interested in acquiring a copy of the *Constitution of the RCP*. I look forward to hearing from you compañeros.

In solidarity and struggle,

Tamal, CA

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Comrades,

Thank you so very much for your continued support of the political prisoners of this imperialistic society who are residents of the capitalist dungeons such as myself. A sort of discussion group has indeed formed on the living units of this prison. Because of the overwhelming demand of the Nicaraguan prisoners here (yes, there are many here in federal prison) for Marxist-communist literature, I would like to request two pieces of literature from your prison book service: (1) *A World To Win*, (2) *Charting the Uncharted Course* parts 1 and 2.

As you can no doubt guess, the illegal and insane invasion of a defenseless country by the yankee swine has really sparked the interest, and revulsion of a large group of persons here. Many are from South America and Cuba. They and indeed all of us, need and appreciate your support in the struggle ahead.

Now more than ever, revolution is the only answer....

Yours in Struggle,
Texas

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Dear Comrades,

Please be advised that as on 10-4-83, I was again transferred for my legal activities against the fascist imperials and their puppets. This will be three institutions in 90 days. A small price to pay in the cause to cease their miserable existence. The noble ruling class speaks. Their own tyranny will fuel the fire of Revolution.

If you can, please once again change the address of my newspapers to keep me abreast of what is really happening in the world and any other reading you may have available.

Revolution Now,
Daytona Beach, Florida

Electroshock's Shock Troops

Continued from page 13

and both were hailed. Walter Freeman, the leading force behind lobotomies in the U.S., was given space in the prestigious *Diseases of the Nervous System* journal to defend his brain-damaging effects on patients. In his article, "Brain-damaging Therapeutics," he defended sodium cyanide injections, ECT, and lobotomy, all of which cause brain damage. "It has been said," Freeman wrote, "that if we don't think correctly, it is because we haven't brains enough. Maybe it will be shown that a mentally ill patient can think more clearly and more constructively with less brain in actual operation." Freeman argued that, "society can accommodate itself to the most humble laborer, but justifiably distrusts the thinker.... Lobotomized patients make rather good citizens." Paul Hock, director of the New York Psychiatric Institute wrote in 1948, "Is a certain amount of brain damage not necessary in this type treatment?" (Here, he meant specifically ECT.) He continued, "Lobotomy, after all, has proved the value of brain damage."

There were some doubts about how valuable brain damage was. Even the U.S. Army banned shock treatments for

its troops in the late stages of World War 2 (though the procedure continued anyway). By 1947, studies were more and more conclusive that ECT did indeed cause brain damage. In that year the prestigious Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry, a committee of 150 establishment leaders, issued a report criticizing advocates of ECT. The report concluded by pointing to "abusive practices in the use of electroshock therapy" that are sufficiently widespread and dangerous to justify consideration of a campaign of "professional education in the limitations of this technique and perhaps even to justify instituting certain control measures."

While this report was mild, less than a slap, it was seen as a threat. Within three years powerful political forces in the profession, led by Dr. Lothar Kalinowsky — the Walter Freeman of ECT — had the report's recommendations reversed. ECT, far from being curbed, would be continued and expanded; only the truth about it would not even be allowed to appear in the journals of the profession. History was simply rewritten. Peter Breggin, a psychiatrist opposed to ECT, commented on this in his book *Electroshock — Its Brain Disabling Effects*. After 1947, he wrote, "ECT advocates began to present a wholly different viewpoint in both their professional and their public commentaries. The mountain of evidence indicating brain damage in human and animal studies was virtual-

ly eradicated from review articles and textbooks; the position was taken that no such evidence existed." This eradication has continued to the present time in the main textbooks that cover ECT. Evidence that points to its brain-damaging effects is simply omitted.

Not only was the evidence of brain damage eliminated from history — the theory of how ECT worked also had to be changed so it could no longer be simply said that it worked because it destroyed brains. In 1978, Kalinowsky celebrated 30 years of the new line by alluding to a 1948 statement he had made on how ECT worked: "At present we can only say that we are treating empirically disorders whose etiology is unknown, with methods whose action is also shrouded in mystery. Today in 1978, 30 years later, exactly the same is true."

One has to step back a bit and give credit where credit is due. When it comes to the rewriting of history to serve the ends of maintaining an oppressive order, when it comes to the mangling, suppression, and direct reversal of scientific truths to serve reactionary ends, when it comes to running a string of mental institutions the size of which the world has never seen, the U.S. has to take the cake. And to do all that and still hang the onus on the "other side" for its own barbarities in this field has to put the U.S. up there for the world record: Hypocrisy, Mental Health Division.

But some will say, and some are saying

in relation to the Berkeley ECT law, oh well, maybe so, but that was the past, and now everything has changed. Well, the 100,000 electroshock patients a year today is smaller than it used to be! What comforting progress! Today, instead of using repeated electroshock to pacify wards in public mental hospitals, there are powerful new drugs that work as well or better.

As for reform of the practice of psychiatrists, California has what is supposed to be one of the most restrictive laws in the U.S. for administering ECT. This law has even been used as one of the reasons that the Berkeley ECT ban should not be allowed to go into effect. One of the features of the California law is that consent of the patient is required before ECT can be given. Just how this actually works and is supposed to work was recently sharply exposed by the antishock forces in Berkeley. One administrator of ECT at Herrick Hospital in Berkeley was on probation at Herrick Hospital a few years back for repeatedly giving ECT without patient consent. At the very time he was on probation he was also a member of the statewide committee that was writing ECT "restrictions" for the California legislature. This doctor still administers ECT at Herrick — and he was the sole witness for the American Psychiatric Association when Judge McKibben held a hearing before making his one-sentence summary judgment that the ban on ECT could not stand. □

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