



REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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

No. 237 (Vol. 5, No. 35) Published weekly in two sections — English Section 1.

January 6, 1984

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

ACTS 9: 3: AND AS HE JOURNEYED, HE CAME NEAR DAMASCUS: AND SUDDENLY THERE SHINED ROUND ABOUT HIM A LIGHT FROM HEAVEN.



OR

JESSE BRINGS HOME THE BACON

In the euphoric aftermath of Lt. Robert Goodman's release from Syria, one White House official told the press, "Everybody got something out of this, and it doesn't cost anybody anything." Candidate Jesse Jackson, of course, scored important political points through the successful outcome of his Syrian "mission of mercy." The Syrian leadership scored as well; if it gained no tangible concessions from the U.S. in exchange for Goodman's release, it nonetheless was afforded a rare opportunity to "take the high road" (in Jackson's words) in the international (imperialist) community through its "humanitarian gesture." Ronald Reagan, who, along with Jackson and his entourage, was said to have spent a lot of time in prayer in order to secure Goodman's release, also basked in the glow of the lieutenant's return; at the very least he had been relieved of a political burden, and had really lost nothing in the process. And Lt. Goodman, a bombardier-navigator for the Naval air force, is now able to get back to his job, and perhaps may yet return to play a personal role in the further prosecution of U.S.-Israeli "cluster-bomb diplomacy" in Lebanon.

What the Palestinian and Lebanese masses "got out of this" was vividly demonstrated the day after Goodman's release, when Israel launched its most savage air strike in seventeen months over Lebanese territory. As shall be shown later, this air raid was very much wound up with the prospects of any "improved atmospherics" between Syria, Israel, and the United States — no less so than Jackson's "peace" mission.

For U.S. imperialism more broadly, Jackson's mission yielded a particular payoff on the home front. In the face of growing popular restiveness over Reagan administration policy in Lebanon, Goodman's release was the first "good news" from there in some time, and Jackson has jumped at the opportunity to play patriotic cheerleader. Among the many accolades he has accorded himself in the past few days is the claim that his mission helped restore "national unity." That this carries some truth in large part accounts for the gracious "magnanimity" with which his political opponents have received him (including, of course, Reagan himself). For even as Jackson has advanced criticisms of administration policy over Lebanon and the Middle East, he has been doing some aggressive consensus-building as to U.S. imperialism's essential and underlying na-

tional interests there, for which the nation's fathers can only be grateful.

And as regards policy, a major focus of Jackson's critique has been on the position of "our boys" in Lebanon, a chauvinist fixation which places him securely within the rearguard of the American political spectrum. That he is actively seeking to drag the Black and other oppressed masses to this position can be seen by his treatment of the Lt. Goodman issue. As can be seen from the Vietnam era, the POW issue has traditionally played an especially virulent role in enforcing and unleashing the worst kind of narrowness and national chauvinism. Jackson has milked this appeal for all it's worth, even as he added his own particular wrinkle to the theme. By suggesting in recent weeks that Goodman was the victim of a racist "oversight" by the Reagan administration, Jackson ac-

tively worked to obfuscate the actual role of Goodman and those who share his "job description." Regardless of race, creed, or national origin, an American bombardier plays a special role in today's world — to which the people of Indochina, and now Lebanon, can readily attest.

The return of Jackson with Lt. Goodman did produce some memorable nonsense in the nation's capital. Addressing a rally at the Shiloh Baptist Church, pastored by Congressman Walter Fauntleroy, the Rev. Robert Meyers told the faithful, "I believe Jesse is a prophet and that God is leading our nation." At the same affair, Syrian Ambassador Rafiq Jouejati introduced Jackson to the audience as "that humble man," in a fit of emotional abandonment. Certainly never one to sell himself short, Jackson com-

Continued on page 12

Part I: Peace In Galilee

Fort Apache: The Mideast

The "Errors" of Officer Alvarez and the "Best Prosecution in Miami"

Jury selection in the manslaughter trial of Miami cop Luis Alvarez is scheduled to begin January 10. On December 28, 1982, Cuban-born officer Alvarez murdered Nevell Johnson, a 20-year-old Black youth, during a police shakedown of a video arcade in Overtown. The incident sparked the second major rebellion of Black people in Miami in less than three years — the Overtown rebellion.

During pre-trial preliminary hearings, the authorities expended great efforts to affect an "impartial" — almost laid-back — atmosphere. No metal detectors or security guards blocked the doors to the courtroom, despite the presence of dozens of spectators, mainly from Overtown and Liberty City, and despite Alvarez's defense attorney's allegations that "a certain Black extremist group" had threatened violence against the trial judge and prosecutor if Alvarez is acquitted. The bailiff could be seen shaking hands with all the Black ministers and community figures who are monitoring the trial. And Judge David Gersten even joked at one hearing, "I'm just a good old country judge wanting to get this trial underway."

But even the preliminaries were no joke. Close by were stationed unknown numbers of Florida State Highway Patrol, brought to the courthouse for special guard duty. Small groups of Latino men — either undercover cops, Cuban and Nicaraguan paramilitary reactionaries, or both — hovered about, keeping a close eye on the proceedings and the people. The local newsmedia imposed a virtual blackout on any of the content of the hearings themselves and news of the trial. Yet hardly anyone in the county was unaware that the Alvarez trial was finally starting. It has commanded broad attention — from all sides — for months.

In September, the National Fraternal Order of Police announced it was sending \$50,000 to Alvarez's defense team and was monitoring the trial itself. The Miami Fraternal Organization of Police, an organization of mainly white cops, sent out 7,000 copies of a fundraising letter claiming, "while officer Alvarez has the full and active support of all his fellow officers, he nevertheless finds himself in a horrible predicament. The state attorney is using all the resources of her office to see that he is convicted, regardless of the evidence." (This, as we'll see, is hardly the case.) Meanwhile, Alvarez has become the cause célèbre in the politicized, reactionary section of the Cuban community, which is the largest nationality in Dade County, even outnumbering what is termed in south Florida, the "non-Latin whites."

At the same time, a number of Black ministers and family members of some of

the other Black victims of police murder in the past year have formed several organizations which have picketed and then packed the trials of three other Miami cops which have been held since the summer. In two of these cases, the two Cuban cops were acquitted. In the third case, the most recent, the white cop was convicted and sentenced to five years, but is still out on recognizance for the appeal. It was widely felt that this conviction was a sop in preparation for the Alvarez trial.

Meanwhile, in Overtown and Liberty City the mood of the youth is best described as fierce. The most widely held belief among them is that Alvarez will not be convicted and that somebody's going to pay. It is particularly in light of this that a few of the Black political "leaders," who have been widely promoted since the rebellions, are pleading with the authorities that the "justice so long denied" is now due. The SCLC spokesman in Miami, Ray Fauntroy, said that State's Attorney "Janet Reno gave us the best investigation, now give us the best prosecution."

Events surrounding the preliminary hearings give some indication of this "best investigation." Since October, when the Alvarez defense won a continuance, there have been a series of hear-

ings related to the issues of a major felony case. One of these issues is around who will possibly testify at the trial. Both the prosecution and defense have released their list of witnesses and both have focused much attention on a few of the "key witnesses." Two of these witnesses are especially interesting.

One expert witness for the prosecution, George Kirkham, is a Florida State University criminologist who has testified in cases involving police use of "deadly force" in trials in 38 states. Mr. Kirkham was hired by the Dade County State Attorney's office at a mere \$1400 a day to investigate and then analyze the "errors of Officer Alvarez" the night he shot Nevell Johnson. Kirkham's extensive and thorough investigation yielded a 7-point list of errors. Two of Alvarez's alleged errors had to do with how the cop failed to follow police procedure in dealing with Nevell Johnson's gun. But Nevell Johnson *did not have a gun*. (Of course, the truth is not what either side plans to rely on in this trial, which is largely why Professor Kirkham is one of the key witnesses. This experienced criminologist was also consulted in the investigation of the Atlanta Black youth murders and everyone knows how that was "solved!")

Mr. Kirkham's report is quite specific in its point on the question of Nevell

Johnson's "gun." Alvarez erred in: "Spotting the gun on Nevell Johnson but not notifying communications that they had a possible armed suspect and were going to check it out" and "leaving the game room without taking Johnson's handgun, a stolen 22-caliber Saturday night special." One has to wonder how then did the police get possession of this particular handgun, since they didn't make it back into the arcade for several days. A minor detail, no doubt, for the likes of Professor Kirkham, whose imagination is clearly up to the task at hand.

Another of Officer Alvarez's main errors, according to Kirkham's visionary report, was "placing the muzzle of his gun within Johnson's reach." Remember that Alvarez's gun was placed at the back of the base of Nevell Johnson's skull and was fired within seconds. But Mr. Kirkham did see a certain problem here and went on to elaborate. "In plain English, it has to do with cocking the gun, cocking a weapon and placing it in such close proximity of the suspect as to be bumped by the suspect..." In other words, according to this report, Nevell Johnson murdered himself. And anyway, Officer Alvarez was only acting in self-defense since Johnson was also armed.

Just in case you may have forgotten that Professor Kirkham is the key expert witness of the *prosecution* of Alvarez in this trial, let us look at how all that fits neatly in with who could turn out to be the key *defense* witness.

In some as yet unexplained way, Alvarez's defense attorney, Roy Black, recently got some information that a robbery victim has identified Nevell Johnson from a photo line-up as her attacker. This is as ridiculous a lie as the one about the gun. It seems that months after Nevell Johnson was dead and buried, a Miami cop who was investigating a robbery that happened in October 1982, when Nevell Johnson was alive and well, used Nevell Johnson's picture in his photo line-up. Nevell was "identified" and the Alvarez defense was miraculously supplied with a "witness." How so? As Roy Black argued in a court hearing, this is his "critical witness" since it explains why Nevell Johnson had the "gun" and why Nevell Johnson made the "sudden move" that caused Alvarez's gun to accidentally fire.

So, the prosecution has already laid solid groundwork with the "facts" of Nevell Johnson's "gun" and the "errors" of Alvarez. The defense has already taken it from there. What remains is the trial, where Alvarez will undoubtedly receive not only the best defense his reactionary supporters can bring to bear, but also the "best prosecution" Janet Reno can muster. □



Overtown, December 28, 1982. A cop car burns a few yards from the video arcade (lower right) where Nevell Johnson was murdered earlier that evening.

SUBSCRIBE!

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

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

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

Name _____
 Address _____
 City _____
 State _____ Zip _____

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

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

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

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

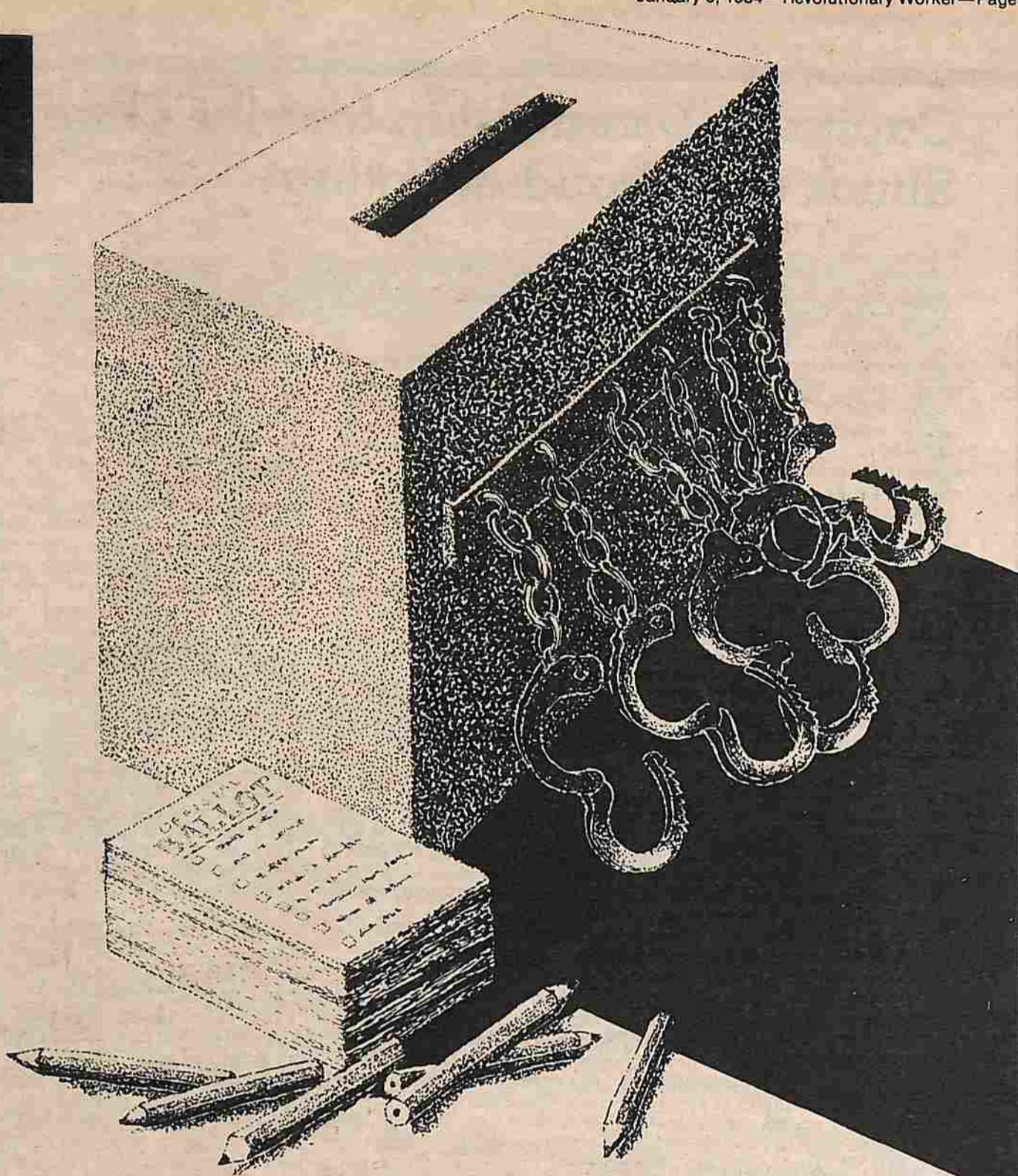
The *Revolutionary Worker* (ISSN 0193-3485) is published weekly except for the 4th week of December and the 4th week of July, by RCP Publications, 3449 N. Sheffield, Chicago, IL 60657. Controlled Circulation postage paid at Chicago, IL. Subscriptions and address changes should be sent to RCP Publications, POB 3486, Chicago, IL 60654. Subscriptions are \$20 a year, \$4.00 for 10 weeks in the U.S., Canada and Mexico. (\$30.00 for institutions. Foreign subscriptions are \$50.00/year airmail to Latin America, \$80.00/year airmail to Africa, Asia, Europe, and \$20.00/year by surface mail.)

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

- California:**
 Berkeley, 3126 Grove St., Berkeley, CA 94703 (415) 841-8314
 Los Angeles Area, P.O. Box 26A34, Los Angeles, Calif. 90026 (213) 484-2907
 San Diego, P.O. Box 16033, San Diego, CA 92116
- District of Columbia:** Revolution Books 2438 18th St. N.W., Washington, DC 20009 (202) 265-1969
- Georgia:** c/o Revolution Books, 859-1/2 M.L. King Dr., Atlanta, GA 30314 (404) 627-8311
- Hawaii:** Revolution Books 2648 South King St., Honolulu, HI 96826 (808) 944-3106
- Illinois:** Revolutionary Worker, 3449 N. Sheffield, Chicago, IL 60657 (312) 528-5353
- Kentucky:** P.O. Box 3005, Cincinnati, OH 45201 or call (513) 281-4275
- Maryland:** Revolutionary Worker P.O. Box 1992, Baltimore, MD 21203
- Massachusetts:** Revolution Books 90 River St., Cambridge, MA 02139 (617) 492-9016
- Michigan:** Revolution Books 5744 Woodward Ave., Detroit, MI 48202 (313) 872-2286
- Missouri:** P.O. Box 6013, St. Louis, MO 63139 (314) 773-6068
- New York:**
 Buffalo, Box 121, Ellicott Station, Buffalo, NY 14205
 NYC & New Jersey: Revolution Books, 138 West 10th St., NY, NY 10014 (212) 691-3345
- North Carolina:** P.O. Box 11712, Durham, NC 27703 (919) 688-2879
- Ohio:**
 Cincinnati, c/o Revolution Books Outlet, 110 W. McMillan St., Cincinnati, OH 45219 (513) 281-4275
 Cleveland, c/o Revolutionary Books Outlet, 2800 Mayfield Rd., Cleveland Heights, OH 44118 (216) 932-2543
 Dayton, P.O. Box 3005, Cincinnati, OH 45201 (513) 281-4275
- Oregon:**
 Portland, P.O. Box 3821, Portland, OR 97208 (503) 288-1374
 Eugene: c/o RCPB, P.O. Box 3723, Eugene, OR 97403
- Pennsylvania:** P.O. Box 11789, Philadelphia, PA 19104 (215) 625-8567
- Texas:** P.O. Box 18112, Houston, TX 77223 (713) 926-2080
- Washington State:** Revolution Books, 5232 University Way N.E., Seattle, WA 98105 (206) 527-8558
- West Virginia:** P.O. Box 1974, Charleston, WV 25327

**OVERRULE THIS,
MOTHERFUCKER**

Capitalist Dictatorship and the Great Shuck and Fraud of Voting



by Bob Avakian

Go around this country and talk to a lot of these journalists and these people who think they are very intelligent and know all about the real world. When I was talking with one of them about what the lives of people are like in this country, she accused me of using rhetoric. So I said, "Look, people are getting *killed* out here every day, just working under this system." And (get this, you're not going to believe this but it's true), she said to me, "That never happens in America, tell me the name of *one* person in the last fifty years who has been killed on the job in this country!" Now those are the people who are supposed to be the brainy people, the knowledgeable people, the people who are running or working in privileged positions for these radio stations, TVs, and newspapers. They have these people there for a reason — to brainwash us. Those type of people are not in those positions by accident; they don't know the real world. You know what it is, you know the reality of it. You live under it. You know it doesn't change anything that you might have a few things to keep you alive and to keep your mind maybe sane enough so that you can go back and run the machine again. You know it is still slavery, and you know that if you don't keep going back, you have nothing, you can't live. That's the nature of this system. It is slavery and it is backed up by a dictatorship. That's right, a dictatorship!

Now a dictatorship, they always teach us in school, is the rule of *one* man, *one* despot, *one* tyrant. Impossible! There is no country in the world which one person could rule all by himself and I've got a test of it. I've got a challenge for the capitalists: you try and run this country with one man for one day and we will overthrow you in the first hour! Go ahead and try it! Go ahead and try to run this country with one man or one woman, we don't care which. Impossible! — because they rule this country through a government, through the bureaucracy, through the police, and through the army. That's what a dictatorship is — when the guns, the courts, the administration, and the bureaucracy are in the hands of one class of people to rule over another class of people. That's what a dictatorship is, the rule of one class over another. And in this country — let's wake up and realize this — the capitalist class rules by force of arms, by a dictatorship that is lied about and hidden behind a tattered veil of democracy, but which comes out into the open and more and more shows its real nature as people rise up against it. The armed, enforced rule of the capitalists and their exploitation and oppression over the working class and the masses of people in this country — that's what it is. It's time we recognized it for what it is, because that's the only way we can deal with it, get rid of it, and move beyond it. Covering it up and trying to console ourselves that it is not as bad as it really is won't change it. That is only going to keep it here and make it worse, and we can't afford to do that any longer.

Think about the reality of this country. How in the world can this lie they put out all the time be true, that there is equality for everyone? How can there be

equality for Dracula and for his victims? If he is free to bite their necks, then they are not free to have their own blood. If they are free to drive a stake through his heart, then he is definitely not free to keep on existing and sucking their blood. It's one way or the other. Don't talk to me about freedom and democracy until you ask and answer the most basic question: freedom for whom to do what? Freedom for the exploited to rise up and get rid of exploitation — *or* — freedom for the exploiters to keep us down, dictate to us, keep us in our place, suck our blood, and literally murder us? It's one way or the other. That's the way it is going to be until we move society forward and get on to classless society where you don't have any more oppressors and oppressed, exploiters and exploited, and that is communism.

These capitalists out here, you know they are liars. You know something is wrong when they step out here and say, "Listen, we stand for everybody. We are for rich and poor alike, worker and capitalist alike, exploi..." they don't say "exploiters," they don't admit that, but they are for "everybody." They're damn liars; that's impossible! Our party never comes forward out here and says we are for everybody alike. We are the party of the class of people who are enslaved in this country, who need to be waked up to their enslaved condition so they can rise up, abolish it, and move once and for all beyond this period in history when any one class of people exploits and enslaves another. If we are going to change this we have to recognize it for what it is. It is capitalist enslavement. It is dictatorship by the capitalist class through force of arms covered up with lies about opportunity and equality for all, freedom and democracy, and all the rest of this bullshit.

Democracy

Now you think about it. Look at this election game they are getting ready to run. They tell us this is a free and a democratic society, and they point to these elections to prove this is a government "of, by, and for the people." But any time and in any form of society where a handful of people control all the means that are necessary to produce the things needed to live and, on that basis, the great majority of society has to work and slave and give up literally their sweat, blood, fingers, and bones to make money for those who own these things, any time and in any form you have that situation it is a form of slavery and nothing less. But since you are supposedly "free" and are today, in fact, in a position where you are not owned outright, where you can leave and go try and get some other capitalist to exploit and oppress you, then the political system they have corresponds to this particular form of slavery.

The political system they prefer is not an open dictatorship. They resort to that only in the situation where things have gotten so desperate and the struggle of the people has gotten so out of hand that they have nothing to lose and are forced to come down openly and viciously: shoot you down in the street for even protesting; break down your door at night, not just one night, or once a week or once a month, but *any* time you attempt to move against them; bring their dictatorship directly and nakedly out in the open. But they prefer not to do that. They prefer to maintain a mask, a democratic facade, over their dictatorship. They prefer to say that since you are free to go look for work

Continued on page 4

This article is the ninth 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.

Capitalist Dictatorship and the Great Shuck and Fraud of Voting

Continued from page 3

wherever you live — free to be driven desperately from one end of the country or even the world to another, seeking to eke out a bitter and meager existence under this imperialist system — therefore you are free all around and you have political freedom. In fact, they are just playing us for chumps and making fools out of us once again, and they will keep on doing this until we begin to look at the class nature of everything and everybody, make a class analysis of every question including these elections and their politicians. Until we begin to ask that question — what class interests does it serve? — and seek out, stand on, and act on the answer to that question on everything happening in society, they will always make fools and chumps out of us.

Watergate

They fooled a lot of people around Watergate. They turned reality upside down and said that Watergate proves our great democratic system works. What did they do? Now you remember Watergate, you remember when it broke out really big in the media, it was in 1973. But when was that hotel actually bugged? In 1973? Of course not. It occurred in 1972 even before the election took place. What happened to it then? Was it a big event in the media? Was it on the television with hearings every day? Was it on the front page of all the newspapers? Could you turn on the radio and hear all about Watergate in the summer of 1972, when Nixon was running against McGovern? No!!! At that time it was just a little item in the press and they said a little about it; then it made even less news than whoever the latest homecoming queen was at the local college football game. It wasn't news at all; they buried it because they had a very conscious purpose. Their purpose was to take in millions of people who had fought back against the Vietnam War, who had fought back against this system in various ways, who had come up against the fact that it was not yet possible to make revolution, who had tried going straight up against this system and did not yet see beyond the temporary strength and ability of the system to hem in that struggle, and who therefore looked for some way to work within the system. They hoped against hope that maybe by voting for yet another one of these clowns like McGovern they would be able to bring about an end to the war, an end to poverty and oppression, some betterment of the conditions. Especially people in the middle classes, millions of people who had fought against this system and particularly against the war, got sucked into this stand.

And what happened? The ruling class, the great majority of it, with very conscious purpose and design, sucked those millions of people in, got them working every day, pounding the pavement, ringing bells, knocking on doors for the great new and latest savior — McGovern. There was Rob Reiner out there saying, "Remember me from *All in the Family*? Well, here I am, the 'Meathead,' telling you to vote for McGovern." Maybe he really believed that voting for McGovern would make a real difference, a better society and a better world — and anyway they got a lot of people to believe it. Then they lowered the boom. They got all these people to vote for McGovern, but they set it up through the media and so on to make sure McGovern would look like a flake and the candidate of flakes. They smashed people's hopes (their illusions, but their hopes, too, in the short run) with Nixon's overwhelming victory in the election, saying, "See, you can't change anything. People are against you. The American people want things this way, they want a reactionary like Nixon. Give up and accept the fact that you are just an isolated minority and the great majority just loves this country and everything it is doing to you and people all over the world." They sucked millions of people in and then smashed them to the ground.

Then when the struggle within the ruling class itself over its international policies, over how to deal with Russia and China, how to handle the growing crisis in this economy, when all these things heated up and reached a very sharp point, instead of killing a president from their own ranks like they did with Kennedy back in 1963, they decided to revive Watergate and to ride Nixon out of office on the scandal they cooked up. After all, what was Watergate? — a bunch of dirty business among a bunch of monstrous criminals who carry out much more monstrous crimes all the time. That doesn't mean we should not have exposed Nixon. That doesn't mean we should not have taken advantage of what they were doing around Watergate to reveal more about the nature of their system, the sham and hypocrisy of their so-called elections and democracy and the rest of it. But fundamentally it meant that in the pursuit of their own interests and because of the conflicts within their own class, they cooked up the whole thing to suck in the masses of people in this country.

All of a sudden they told you and millions of other people that Watergate was the most outrageous thing that had ever happened in the history of this country. It was the greatest scandal that had ever taken place. All of a sudden they created new heroes out of nowhere. Some racist reactionary hog-bellied idiot like Sam Ervin was a new hero. Some clown (and dog) like Howard Baker was a new defender and champion of the people's rights. And Richard Nixon, who had been the "overwhelming favorite of the American people" and the darling of the whole ruling class, was all of a sudden the worst criminal that had ever come along. He does rank up there, not because of Watergate, but because of all the other crimes that he and his class have carried out from the beginning of this country: the treatment of the Indians, the Mexican people, the Africans, the Irish, the Chinese, and the millions of other people in this country and throughout the world whom they have plundered and sucked the blood out of to accumulate their wealth and power. Yet suddenly, Watergate was the biggest thing that had ever happened. It was the biggest political question on the scene. But more than that, after they used Watergate as the basis upon which to drive Nixon out of office in order to resolve conflicts within their own ranks, then they turned around and said, "See what a great democratic society we have. Even a great criminal like Nixon, who tape recorded some of the rest of us and then erased the tapes, even a great crime like that doesn't go — well, it may go unpunished, but it doesn't go ignored in this society. We will not allow Nixon to be president any longer."

They cooked up and built up the whole Watergate thing once again in order to throw sand in people's eyes and turn them away from the fundamental questions: what class does Nixon represent? What system is he the spokesman and representative for? What system does he defend and what class does he, and for

that matter, do all the rest of these dogs yapping at his heels represent? What system are they upholding, and what class are they attempting to keep down, confused, ignorant, divided, and therefore all the better exploited and oppressed?

Voting

Now they are getting ready to run this game on a bigger scale than ever, so let's understand what the rules of the game are: The Great Shuck and Fraud of Voting! This is the way that all of us in this country — the great majority of people who are enslaved and exploited and degraded every day under this system — exercise that glorious right to vote on which group of slavemasters and oppressors is going to rule over us for the next few years. Which millionaire, which bloodsucker, which group of capitalists — who have accumulated billions of dollars in bloodsoaked wealth and power — is going to get to crack the whip over us still harder in the period ahead? They have this game set up so that we can't win and they can't lose, no matter how you turn.

Now you have heard this, but let's sum it up. Here is what they run out at us. They say "Well, if you don't vote, then you are responsible for all the problems in this society and everything you hate about it, so blame yourself for it," which is what they always want us to do. They say, "If you didn't vote, you didn't exercise your rights. You didn't take your chance to influence the political process and to determine the policies the government would adopt. If you didn't vote, don't complain. You didn't play the game the way it is supposed to be played, it's your own fault, and you've got nobody to blame but yourself." Now on the other hand, if you do get sucked in, if you do vote for one of their candidates, and especially if you vote for the one who wins, then when you are outraged and angry at more broken promises, more lies exploding in your face, more vicious attacks coming down, then they turn around and say, "It's still your own damn fault. You put him in there. You must have wanted him to do what he is doing so shut up and get back on your knees." This is the way they run their game. Either way you turn, when you play their game they always have another little hook to catch you on. Not only are they going to run it around elections, they are also going to run it around world war, so let's understand it and get down on it.

You will hear people out here saying this all the time, even people among us who are the most ground down, the most beaten down, the most brutalized and oppressed, and have the most interest in rising up and abolishing all this, you will hear them get caught up in this game, saying, "All right, I agree. Conditions are terrible, this system is rotten; yes, we should rise up and get rid of it. But we are not going to do that right now. We are not going to do that this month, we are not going to do that this year. Wouldn't it be a little bit better if we voted for a Democrat? At least under the Democrats maybe we would have a little bit easier time. We would be in a little bit better position to fight. We would be in a little bit stronger position for the time when we could overthrow this system. So, yes, I agree with you, neither one of them is any good, they are both criminals and they both serve the same system — but let's vote in the one who is a little bit better and maybe it will be a little bit easier to deal with him."

This is the line that pimps and hustlers have run out (specifically about the Democrats) going back years and years to the time of Franklin Roosevelt. It's the same line that pimps and hustlers run out today, people like Tom Hayden and all the rest. In the midst of the revolutionary upsurge in the 1960s — when millions of people saw through the Kennedys, saw through the lies and the hypocrisy and the ugly maggots that ran through the hearts of that whole family, when millions of people moved in a revolutionary direction — then people like Tom Hayden, trying to run out a raggedy little radical disguise, went and wept at Bobby Kennedy's funeral and carried his casket. He *should* have been carrying that casket.

These people have been running this game on us forever and they will never stop running it. What is the danger of this, what do we have to wake up to and realize about it? Whenever you play *their* game, they are going to win; they are going to trick you and mislead you again. They are going to disperse our forces and weaken our movement yet again. We are going to have to pick ourselves up, try and wipe off the blood, clear away the confusion, and try once again to go forward when we should have already been further along the path toward revolution. Whenever they get us believing and acting in a way that says one part of their system is better than another part, that going along with one group of oppressors is better than going along with another group of oppressors, that voting for the Democrats is maybe a little bit more to our liking or in our interests than voting for the Republicans — *then they have us once again*. Whenever they get us caught up in their whole machinery and playing by their rules, then they have us once again. But once you begin to make a class analysis of these events, you discover that the real contest going on in these elections, the real struggle being waged, the real concern of the ruling class (whether Democrat or Republican or Gargoyle or whatever else), the real contest they are interested in is not: will you vote for Candidate A or his clone, Candidate B? Their real concern is: will you vote for this capitalist system and its representatives — or — will you refuse to do so? There is not a single candidate that runs, there is not a single politician out here, who doesn't weep, moan, cry all kinds of tears, and wring his hands over the fact that fewer and fewer people are going along with this sham of elections. More and more people, even if they aren't yet politically conscious, refuse to vote for *any* of these motherfuckers out of a basic sense that that's what they are and they will never be anything different. Covering this over, confusing people, and getting a "vote of confidence" from the masses to justify and help maintain their system — that is the real thing they are doing with these elections, and they are getting ready to do it this year on a greater scale than ever. It is also the way they run their game on us every day and in every sphere of society, so let's get hip to it. □

From a Speech
in Cleveland, Ohio

Talk With A Serious Fraternizer From East Germany

by C. Clark Kissinger*

I met Andreas at a conference in West Germany in early December. His long black hair, smooth shaven face and quiet demeanor set him a little apart from the crowded room of noisy antiwar activists. He listened attentively, taking notes, and trying, as he later explained to me, to get some understanding of the different trends and currents in the West German antiwar movement.

Only three months before, 26-year-old Andreas was living in Jena, East Germany, waiting to go to jail for his refusal to serve in the East German army. Jena, a small university town in the south of East Germany, has become a famous center of resistance in East Germany to the mounting preparations for world war. And Andreas turned out to be a quite typical spokesman of the young worker-activists who make up that movement. He is shot full of contradictions: repelled by the "state religion" to which Marxism is reduced by state capitalism in the Eastern bloc, yet equally unwilling to embrace the siren song of Western capitalism; attracted by the idealist humanism of Christian religion yet disgusted by the actual practice of the institutionalized Church which has obviously made its peace with the bourgeois state; acutely aware of the threat of world war between two equally imperialist blocs, yet incredulous of the existence of any revolutionary way out; and very cynical about anything smacking of "politics."

At first, Andreas was reluctant to be interviewed. "Why would any Americans be interested in talking to me?" he asked, obviously checking me out to find out if I was some typical Western reporter looking for a refugee from "totalitarianism." But there was

also a refreshing spontaneous streak of internationalism in him and a strong desire to fraternize with the "enemy" by doing an interview:

C.K.: Could you tell me something about your life in the DDR (East Germany — *RW*) and how you first became aware of the question of war danger?

A: I came from a working-class environment and wanted to go to an occupational school to learn to be an engineer. But I wasn't able to, so I was a worker for a long time. I first started working in Church affairs with retarded children. In the schools, you're not exactly "predestined" to think critically: "This is the way it is," "this is not the way it is." It's not until you're older that you've actually started questioning things. I was attracted to the peace movement because it not only dealt with the missiles, but it also dealt with other questions — the whole style of life, the alienation that comes out, the lack of articulation. For a long time I didn't really go out with it. It was more in private homes, study circles, discussion circles.

C.K.: Did you become involved in the

Church because of religious belief or because you saw it as an opportunity to discuss questions like these with other people?

A: I am a Christian, but within that I have differences with the Church which are comparable to those of an atheist with the Church. So partly because of that I went to Church, but mostly because within it you have "space" where you can go, where you can discuss. The Church's attitude is that it doesn't really want or isn't working for revolution, for overthrowing, but for setting up a kind of dialogue. On the one hand it places demands, on the other hand it seeks this kind of dialogue. It did not want to be in a situation of appearing to shelter an oppositional movement which is what happened to it. It didn't want that originally. So you can only go so far in the Church, then you've got to leave it.

C.K.: Why did Jena become the center of this oppositional movement or independent peace movement?

A: People do stuff all over the place, not just in Jena. People are scared of atomic war just like the American people.

The Church in Jena is actually one of the most conservative in the whole DDR. Because of the Church being so conservative, a lot of people were dissatisfied because it would say all these morally true things, but when it came down to refusing the (military) service or something they really wouldn't do anything. People would come to them and say, look, there are trials and convictions going down. Help us! They really wouldn't do much.

(In the DDR) we actually have a pretty decent constitution, the basic laws, and so on. But in the society there's just so much fear created. And they do come down on people, and they do sentence people. Because so many people began leaving the Church and setting up their own organization, that's why Jena became so well-known.

C.K.: Everything we see from the DDR is covered with peace doves. How does the movement there actually analyze the role of the DDR internationally? Do they feel it's a force for peace, or do they see it as part of the whole war system that's threatening?

A: The DDR is in a position where it can make really nice sounding peace offers, and talk a lot about peace. But I compare them for the most part with the government of the BRD (West Germany — *RW*), where they are tied to their bloc. They have to maintain their power and their country, so you have the same gap between the government and the people. I consider both governments equally dangerous, and both blocs equally dangerous.

C.K.: Did you serve in the DDR military?

A: No. I refused.

C.K.: And what happened to you for refusing?

A: I was sentenced to jail, but I didn't go to jail because I am here.

C.K.: Is that why you decided to come to the BRD?

A: I'm married and have three children. When I refused the service they were subjected to daily, constant harassment. Being stopped on the street, hearings, interrogations, and the questions came up: What if I go to jail, what if my wife goes to jail, what if we lose the children? So we decided to leave.

C.K.: Did you leave voluntarily, or were you kicked out?

A: (Andreas responded abruptly to this question. While some East German dissidents have been expelled by the East German government, he definitely wanted to make it clear that just because he had *not* been literally kicked out, it did not mean that he left because he was drooling over the West — an accusation which is commonly hurled at such peace activists by the East German government and an image cultivated by the West.) It was not a question of "voluntarily." It's not like we thought it was really going to be better here than there in some way. It's an underestimation of the movement there to say it's impossible to live there. People can live there, people are living there, people are fighting there. It was more a question of my particular situation that I left, but I would *not* call it voluntarily.

C.K.: In the independent peace movement in the DDR, is there ever discussion of the vast difference of living standards between the people of the DDR and the people of the Third World? And also the role of the DDR as an arms exporter to the Third World?

A: It's not that simple. There were several work groups in our movement: environmental, militarization, education, aid to prisoners, and there was an informational group. The question of arms exports is taboo in the DDR. It's very difficult to get information. It's not an open industry like it is here in the West. What we were more concerned with was the militarization in education.

C.K.: How did the militarization



Andreas in Jena.

* C. Clark Kissinger has been corresponding for the Revolutionary Worker from West Germany this fall. Other articles by this correspondent include: "Notes From the Mutlangen/Frankfurt Express" (*RW* No. 236); "The Battle of Bonn" (*RW* No. 234); "The Free and Democratic Prosecution of radikal" and "On the 'Reformed' Police and the Political Function of 'Distancing'" (*RW* No. 232); and "Soccer Wars in Berlin" (*RW* No. 230).



"Fraternization" of an imperialist bloc variety — a billboard in East Berlin with the symbols of the DDR and USSR reads:

"Class Brothers, Brothers-in-Arms."

Continued on page 15

Los Angeles

Political Police Furor Mounts In Trial of RCP Supporters

On January 3rd, intense anticipation built as central figures in the ongoing political police controversy began to gather outside a Los Angeles courtroom. Inside were to continue preliminary hearings in the "criminal case" of the last three remaining defendants — RCP supporters arrested April 28, 1982, in an RCP-called demonstration against "Operation Jobs." Former Public Disorder Intelligence Division (PDID) Sgt. Jay Paul, a "mainstay" of PDID and referred to by colleagues as a "special projects man," was set to testify. Over the weekend the *Los Angeles Times* reported that Paul's attorney said that Paul would, for the first time, "answer all questions." Speculation was that Paul would name names in the department — of those who had approved his relationship with the John Birch Society-tied private intelligence organization, the Western Goals Foundation and their computer, which Sgt. Paul had been dutifully filling with intelligence information from PDID and other sources. TV cameras and reporters began to fill the hallway. Sgt. Paul and his attorney arrived. The District Attorney prosecuting the case and the District Attorney heavyweight who is heading up the grand jury's investigation of PDID showed up, as did representatives of PDID's replacement — the Anti-Terrorist Division (ATD). But shortly before 10 a.m. the announcement was made: the judge was sick... everything was put off until January 9th. (The judge was not required to send a doctor's note.)

Hardly coincidental with Paul's scheduled appearance in this case, the LAPD filed formal disciplinary charges against him based on his work with Western Goals after a nearly year-long "investigation." Events on all levels of this saga of the political police in L.A. have entered new levels of intensity over the last several weeks.

The L.A. City Council recently voted 11-3 against an out of court settlement of the ACLU police spying suits; presently, every level of the California court system is involved in issues related to PDID operations; the L.A. County grand jury has an ongoing investigation of the matter. And all the while the acrimonious struggle between the FBI and the LAPD over control of the Olympics security operations continues to boil over into the public arena. The ACLU trial is set for late January (although it will likely be postponed as the LAPD continues the slow process of handing over mountains of new evidence under court order), and further settlement talks are also not out of the question.

The issues of this controversy over the political police have burst through the surface of this "criminal case" (the charges stemmed from what was an obviously pre-planned pig assault on the demonstration called by the RCP opposing the government's nationwide attack on immigrants known as Operation Jobs, in which thousands of suspected "illegals" were arrested in an intense week-long crackdown). The original 18 defendants in this case, most of whom were facing multiple felony charges, are now down to three defendants facing single — though nonetheless serious — felony counts of assault with a deadly weapon against a cop. Charges against some defendants were dismissed during the ongoing preliminary hearing as the prosecution failed to present any evidence whatsoever against them; in other cases the police were caught in blatantly contradictory lies or key police reports on the incident were destroyed or "lost," leading to further dismissals.

This case has been a perfect example of a political police operation from beginning to end — from the pre-planned, vicious police assault to the exorbitant (nearly \$90,000 total) bail/extortion charged, to the multitude of lies spread during this preliminary hearing itself. As reported in *RW* No. 223, September 23, 1983 ("The

Disappearing Witness... And The Plot Appears"), when a so-called "civilian" prosecution witness suddenly disappeared during the defense attorney's cross-examination, the police and prosecution made wild intimations that the defendants were considered as possible suspects in the disappearance and stated they might begin a *murder investigation!* The prosecutor added on the record "I have heard, and it is hearsay upon hearsay, about events in the past where members of the RCP committed acts interfering in criminal proceedings, including the kidnapping of a judge"! The D.A., of course, had not a shred of evidence of this. The witness just as suddenly reappeared — in police custody — the next day.

The planting of such lies and inuendos — even when subsequently exposed as patently absurd — is an important element in the political police attempts to stick the label "terrorist" on the RCP to justify any and all attacks against it. As reported in previous *RW*'s, LAPD Chief Daryl Gates and friends have been planting such lies in various public arenas against the RCP of late (see especially "LA Pig Tales," *RW* No. 213, July 8, 1983). This same tactic has recently been used in relation to other groups and individuals involved in the ACLU suits.

These and other charges/attacks on the RCP are one key aspect of the overall moves of the bourgeoisie now to carry out a leap in their political police operations focused immediately on maintaining the political purity of their upcoming Olympic Games. And more generally they are in preparation for the global contests of the future. Opening 1984 on such a note, the *New York Times* in their 1/1/84 edition reported an FBI plan to expand the computerized National Crime Information Center (NCIC) to include information on people suspected of criminal associations and in particular those suspected of being "terrorists." The NCIC system is hooked up into virtually every law enforcement agency in the country (and no doubt internationally as well) and this is only the latest in a great many announced, and unannounced, changes in political police operations.

Many of these changes are being pioneered in L.A. as a beefed-up, well-oiled political police apparatus is being put in place for the Olympics. But making these advances has been complicated by the widespread and far-ranging exposure of political police activity — through the exposure of attacks on the RCP and especially the murder of comrade Damián García, as well as the ACLU suits — and by the ongoing sharp debate within ruling circles over how to carry out this repressive leap and who will be in control.

It's in this context that this "criminal case" has recently become the arena of a new level of police lies and has come into the public eye as a significant, and on the verge of becoming a major, media story.

On December 8th, an investigator for PDID (who is now with the Anti-Terrorist Division), Gary Strickland, testified in the preliminary hearing. The defense is trying to prove discriminatory prosecution — that the charges in the case are the product of ongoing LAPD political police operations against the RCP and its supporters, operations that include beatings, arrests on trumped-up charges, illegal spying and harassment and on and on, including murder. The legal point here is to prove that, as part of these operations, the defendants were arrested and are being prosecuted because they are RCP supporters.

Strickland stated that he had helped supervise undercover cops and "civilian informants" in relation to the RCP from May 3, 1980 to the fall of 1981. Two undercover cops were mentioned, including Fabian Lizzarraga (exposed as the pig on the spot of the murder of Damián García). When a defense attorney asked for the names of the "civilian informants," the government

moved into high gear in a transparent setup. Immediately after a lunch-break the city attorney representing PDID/ATD objected to the naming of the informants, saying that their confidentiality is protected by law as long as the information they gave was related to criminal acts and that their confidentiality is required for their safety. The judge allowed the city attorney the legal maneuver of taking the witness as his own, that is, temporarily interrupting the defense attorney's questioning so that the city attorney can ask questions of the witness supposed to establish the need to hide the names of the "civilian informants." Strickland then told the city attorney he had gotten information from these informants on two of the defendants in this case.

At this point the city attorney announced "I believe I know what this is about," and privately conferred with Strickland. His next "question" was, "did this potential criminal conduct involve a threat on the life of the president?" Strickland went on, with the city attorney's direction, to elaborate that this alleged "plot" was supposedly discussed in the summer of 1981 by, among others, two of the defendants, and was to be carried out by another person in Washington, D.C. within a few weeks. Strickland was trying to establish that this was an actual plot which was planned to be carried out.

Not only does this lie fit well into the recent pattern of slanders by Gates & Co., but it immediately recalls the m.o. used against Bob Avakian in 1979, when the *L.A. Times* lied in misquoting him as threatening the president's life during a speech in Los Angeles. Even though the *Times* retracted the misquote, the Secret Service used it to justify starting an "investigation" of Bob Avakian. And within the last year, following the *L.A. Times'* exposure of PDID agent Fabian Lizzarraga and his relationship to the murder of Damián García, Gates once again regurgitated this misquote to justify operations against the RCP. For two more days Strickland remained on the stand as defense attorneys attempted to expose this allegation of a "plot" as a fraud and for two days Strickland stuck to his story. He had, he said, informed his superiors of the alleged plot. The Secret Service again was brought into action as well — after all, the LAPD has a stake in making it clear that they are not some "lone maverick" in their operations against the RCP and others, just as Gates's use of the *L.A. Times* misquote seemed intended to remind that the *Times* itself is fully involved. Strickland and the informants met with the Secret Service the very day he got the information. Strickland claimed that the Secret Service and LAPD initiated an "investigation" that lasted one month and the Secret Service started paying one informant to gather more "evidence."

When defense attorneys asked Strickland the outcome of this one-month investigation, the city attorney vehemently objected saying the outcome was irrelevant. But Strickland was ordered to answer and the government's scenario began coming apart. Strickland stated that the Secret Service performed a polygraph exam on this "civilian informant" and found that "the individual was not altogether truthful in his information" and that at best this informant claimed to have "some knowledge of conversations that occurred that involved an idea of killing the president." The two defendants supposedly "involved" in this now turn out — according to Strickland — to have had nothing to do with any such alleged conversation. Strickland then stated that PDID dropped this informant after the one-month "investigation" because he could not be believed.

What two days earlier had been an alleged, worked out plan was now a vague idea presented by an unreliable in-

formant who lied to create the whole scenario in the first place. And that explanation takes Strickland at his word, when in fact the whole way this "plot" allegation surfaced indicates it was manufactured, and paid for, by the LAPD and/or other law enforcement agencies from beginning to end and dropped into this case as part of overall attempts in the political arena to justify and facilitate political police operations.

In spite of the results of the polygraph tests, Strickland said they put the individual accused of planning to carry out the threat under 24-hour-a-day surveillance for two weeks and never in that time did this person have any contact with anyone known to be associated with the RCP. Every aspect of this "threat" allegation had come unraveled and been exposed as an utter fraud. But, unfortunately, further probing into it was ended when the judge suddenly reversed earlier rulings and declared the whole matter now irrelevant, closing off further questioning about these "civilian informants" as well.

This "presidential plot" fraud, as well as the earlier "disappearing witness" fraud, is very much the stuff of which the label "terrorist" is made and then used to justify political police operations. The question of what defines a group or individual as a legitimate target is an intense issue of debate in the current political police controversy. And this case is a perfect example of the practical application of any such defining. The RCP calls a demonstration against Operation Jobs — certainly a very "disruptive" thing to do. The police carry out a gun-waving, baton-crashing, pre-planned assault, making arrests, all becoming a further "disruption of the public order." This "disruption" was then put to immediate use. The very night that these arrests took place a high-level LAPD commander ordered all reports on the incident sent to his office so he could use them in his presentation the next day before the Police Commission where he was to argue the official department position opposing the granting of a parade permit for the May Day march that year. This commander (also testifying in this preliminary hearing) admitted calling law enforcement agencies around the country (including at least in Washington, D.C. and Houston) trying to find other incidents to use in his presentation. While for various reasons the Police Commission decided to grant a limited permit for May Day, this did not stop the police from launching an all-out attack on the march and making dozens of arrests. The FBI also sent out a memo on this April 28th incident, calling for its agents to be prepared for the upcoming May Day demonstrations. Now, during the court proceedings, the police launch allegations of "plots" and threats!

Another element brought into this "criminal case" by the defense to prove discriminatory prosecution involved the relationship between PDID and the Western Goals Foundation. Western Goals was headed by right-wing congressman Larry MacDonald (until his recent departure on KAL 007). MacDonald was also the head of the John Birch Society. PDID Sgt. Jay Paul was working with Western Goals, putting together a computer program and data base on an \$80,000 computer chocked full of information on leftists, liberals, revolutionaries, etc. Jay Paul is the man who was found to be storing 180 boxes of intelligence material, much of it from PDID, at a trailer he rented, a garage, and his wife's office. It's been alleged, and virtually admitted by Paul, that he was putting this material into the Western Goals computer. Paul insists that everything he did was with the approval of his superiors (indeed, a former PDID colleague refers to Paul as the higher-up's "fair-haired boy").

The grand jury had seized the Western

Continued on page 11

December was a nerve-wracking, confusing month for the poor stormtroopers trying to bring a bit of U.S.-style law and order to strife-torn El Salvador. It was bad enough that they were being hit hard by the opposition, suffering some of their most disastrous military defeats to date, the details of which stunk of an army corrupt and reeking of barracks rot and decay. Besides that, they had to deal with the sudden discovery by the commander-in-chief himself, Ronald Reagan, that yes indeed death squads did exist in El Salvador, including in the top ranks of the army and government. Just imagine the prodigious, investigatory work required to uncover that fact, a feat as remarkable as Hitler discovering the SS. Why surely this might qualify Reagan for the Nobel Prize in Science — and if not for science then why not a new one — for hypocrisy.

Henry Kissinger, head of a soon-to-report Blue Ribbon Bilateral Commission on Central America, said he was personally "appalled." Perhaps he was referring to the fact that it took four years for the Salvadoran death squads to make their estimated 30,000 killed — when he was running the show during the overthrow of Salvador Allende in '73, his Chilean butchers murdered that many in only four weeks. Or consider just who it was who delivered news of this discovery to El Salvador: former CIA head and current Vice President, George Bush. Now there's a *naif*, a man who could hardly be expected to know about death squads and murder in the night and such grisly matters, much less to know who teaches these killers their brutal methods.

Clearly, it's not as if these things have been hidden: besides the bodies piled in the streets, top military and political chiefs in El Salvador are really quite proud of their involvement. When asked a few months ago at a press conference why his ARENA Party was linked to the death squads, D'Aubuisson — who is just now being "discovered" to be head of the death squads by all the respectable media in the U.S. — doesn't even bother to deny the connection. He simply retorted that it was "because we're always the leaders in the fight against communism." And why should he have bothered to deny his role, since his generalcy of this integral part of the U.S.'s repressive apparatus in El Salvador was why he was chosen head of the Salvadoran congress and played a major part in overseeing the tens of millions in U.S. military aid which has come into El Salvador.

What this farcical display of "discovering" the death squads has to do with is hardly some new investigation or revelation — indeed, no one from the U.S. government even alludes to any new information about them. It is instead a product of the on-going deterioration of the overall U.S. position in El Salvador, part of an effort by the U.S. to curb the in-fighting among its compradors that this deterioration has spawned.

The U.S. had placed great hope in its program of stepped-up U.S. training and aid for a number of key Salvadoran army battalions and promised that once they took the field, the initiative, which the opposition forces have seized as of an autumn offensive, would switch to the government troops. These troops have now been deployed. Far from infusing the men with new spirit, the U.S. training appears to have made no significant impact in their willingness to pursue or engage the opposition. One U.S. official, when queried about a supposed crack battalion of the U.S.-trained troops, responded only that they were "the model of low morale." In the past few months various FMLN (Faribundo Martí Liberación Nacional) detachments have at one time or another occupied over 60 towns, have cut the Pan American highway, and on January 1st blew up the Cuscatlán Bridge, which was the major road link between the country's four eastern provinces and the central part of the country, and is normally heavily used to transport the cotton, sugar and coffee harvest. The bridge was supposed to be heavily defended, but the fact that only two Salvadoran army soldiers were killed in the attack on it was taken as indication of merely token resistance.

Two days earlier, on Friday, an even more significant setback occurred when an opposition attack overran an army garrison at El Paraíso. Salvadoran officers had boasted that the base was vir-

The Great Death Squad Discovery

tually impregnable — after all, it had been designed by U.S. counterinsurgency experts and built under the supervision of American military advisors, and was defended by several hundred troops. Two Salvadoran colonels were killed in the attack and every building on the base destroyed. It was the first army garrison ever overrun in the fighting.

In that same week overall casualty figures for the Salvadoran army were released for the last year. Almost twice as many troops were killed this year as last. One of the U.S. counterinsurgency experts for Central America, a brigadier general and former commander in Vietnam, told *Business Week* that, "If all the present trends and pressures continue, government troops will be withdrawn from their eastern and northern deployment to defend the capital from guerrilla attacks. There will be an immense refugee problem, which will of itself create additional internal security problems." Already the army has ceased to operate in the far northeastern part of the country.

And all these failures are occurring in combat against opposition forces whose leaders, strongly influenced by revisionism, have deliberately aimed for a "negotiated settlement" and not military victory, in line with the revisionists' historic compromise strategy.

Meanwhile, the U.S. Agency for International Development-supervised National Plan program, the claimed design of which was to enable the peasants of two target provinces, San Vicente and Usulután, to begin to rebuild their homes, schools, roads, etc., and "develop a stake in their society so they will defend it," is in chaos. No doubt some recognized its stench from the be-

ginning — it was designed on a model from Vietnam where 40,000 Vietnamese civilian "suspects" were killed under its auspices (see *RW* No. 210). Of the thousands of peasants who have fled San Vicente province and who were to be relocated under the Plan back in the province, fewer than 50 families have returned. The final phase of the Plan calls for locally constituted civil defense units to take over the protection of the villages. The mayor of San Vicente's provincial capital described the effectiveness of the unit there: "I personally know 50 to 60 people who were assassinated in the last three years — pulled out of their homes." Once the heads of the local civil defense unit deserted the village, the killings ceased. The Plan has been almost completely ineffective in preventing opposition units from operating in the area. The U.S. ambassador to El Salvador, one of many officials who had earlier declared that the National Plan was the "make it or break it test" for the Salvadoran government now stated that "the Plan is at a stage where it needs reinvigoration." A few weeks ago the Salvadoran constituent assembly dealt another blow to the Plan when, in deference to El Salvador's landed oligarchs, they reduced the amount of acreage which would be available for "land reform" by over one half.

It is significant that the disintegration of the Plan, the latest imperialist "reform program," comes at the same time as the furor over death squad killings. Increasingly, victims of the death squads have included a number of pro-U.S. forces — referred to as "centrists" in the U.S. media — who have sought to promote precisely these "land reform" (or more accurately, Vietnam-style "pacification")

programs and tend to be connected to the Christian Democratic party. Of course, this party, when it was in power itself under Napoleon Duarte, oversaw thousands of death squad executions, and indeed, these hits on peasants, students, proletarians and guerrilla sympathizers were for a time the major function of the "centrists'" reform programs. It is the *targets* of the current killings — the Christian Democratic forces themselves — which the U.S. finds inappropriate. Land reform has in general been staunchly opposed by El Salvador's ruling oligarchy. It was only in 1980 that the first, American-style pacification-type program caught the interest of the oligarchy, and that was chiefly because it was designed to ferret out and murder "subversive elements" among the masses at a time of massive struggle against the regime.

Since that time, El Salvador's economic and political situation has deteriorated even further, and the *spy* aspect of the land reform has just about used up its value. So has the *hope* aspect — that is, of someday owning land — that was meant to be instilled in naive peasants; this is not the 1960s and the U.S. is in no position to deliver the kind of massive infusion of investment that such transformation would require. Now the pressing matter is how to hold things together in the U.S.'s Central American backyard in the context of intensified crisis and contention between the imperialist blocs. And in the search for a "solution," the U.S.'s junior partners in El Salvador are becoming increasingly fragmented over the best way to clamp El Salvador down.

The land reform has become one im-

Continued on page 11

There is no place more explosive than the Middle East, as both a likely flash-point of a third world war and an arena where revolutionary sentiments and political forces are highly inflammable. Two principal actors on this stage — the state of Israel and the Palestinian people. The invasion of Lebanon marked a new stage of intensity in the drama, and one effect of this was expressed among many who, up until June 1982, had with varying degrees of queasiness silently acquiesced to or otherwise excused Israeli policy; for the first time those on the left who supported Israel found themselves jolted into open debate with and sharp, even bitter, opposition to the Israeli government.

But the terms of debate were strangely truncated. To even enter into it, it seemed at times, one first had to prove his or her bona fides as a supporter of the "good Israel." Those who exposed the continuum between Ben Gurion and Begin, or who dissected Israel's global role since its founding (and before) found themselves routinely attacked as either anti-Semites or "self-hating Jews"; those who analyzed Israel as a classic settler-colonial state, and from there called for its revolutionary overthrow, were deemed beyond the pale altogether.

Thus, in inquiring at the office of a recently-founded left-wing Jewish group — one which put out valuable exposures of the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and of the Lebanon invasion — the author of this piece was told that "Israel's right to exist is a given, we don't debate it." And yet, if the current policies and overall direction of the state of Israel flow out of certain systemic qualities intrinsic to its very conception, just what will all the efforts at "peace and reconciliation between Arab and Jew" amount to? If the contradiction between Israel and the Palestinians it has sent into diaspora cannot be resolved with a "mini-state," but only through revolution — what then? And if support for Israel (even "critical" support) must inevitably lead to support for the U.S., including U.S. preparations for and prosecution of a world war, how then can one really speak of a humane or left-wing Zionism?

Those who feel driven to criticize, but find it hard to fundamentally break with Israel, often admonish revolutionaries to be realistic and face facts. It seems important, in a time of an approaching global storm in which Israel will be (and already is) fighting for the defense and extension of the U.S. empire, that those people themselves face some facts, not the least of which concerns the fundamental character of the state of Israel.

To that end, the following essay. Part one will focus on the crisis of the Lebanon invasion in the summer of 1982, outlining its scope and its meaning as a link between past and future; part two will analyze the global role played by Israel, and in particular with relation to the U.S.; part three will sketch out the basic history of the Zionist ideal and the state of Israel; and part four will take on a number of the most commonly heard arguments in defense of Israel and in opposition to a revolution in Palestine.

* * * * *

Part I: Peace in Galilee

"In my childhood I have suffered fear, hunger and humiliation when I passed from the Warsaw Ghetto, through labor camps, to Buchenwald. Today, as a citizen of Israel, I cannot accept the systematic destruction of cities, towns and refugee camps. I cannot accept the technocratic cruelty of the bombing, destroying and killing of human beings.

"I hear too many familiar sounds today, sounds which are being amplified by the war. I hear 'dirty Arabs' and I remember 'dirty Jews.' I hear about 'closed areas' and I remember ghettos and camps. I hear about 'two-legged beasts' (the designation for Arabs commonly used by Begin — RW) and I remember 'Untermenschen.' I hear about tightening the siege, clearing the area, pounding the city into submission and I remember suffering, destruction, death, blood and murder. . . . Too many things in Israel remind me of too many other things from my childhood." (Dr. Shlomo Shmelzman, who was forbidden by the directors of the Yad Vashem

Holocaust Memorial Center to conduct a hunger strike there against the Lebanon war. Cited in Noam Chomsky, *The Fateful Triangle*, p. 257.)

On June 4, 1982, as Israeli tanks rolled into Lebanon, the Mid East's deepest crisis since 1948 began to unfold. When the first phase of the invasion was complete, i.e., when the PLO had been evacuated from Beirut, the total Palestinian and Lebanese war dead stood at nearly 20,000, with another 30,000 wounded.*

The Israeli advance began in the south. The Middle East correspondent for the London *Economist* described how the IDF (the Israeli military forces) surrounded cities and towns "so swiftly that civilian inhabitants were trapped inside, and then (pounded) them from land, sea and air. After a couple of days of this there would be a timid probing attack; if there were resistance the pounding would resume." At Sidon, where the IDF leveled the city, the world was told that the subsequent evacuation of the surviving civilian population onto the beach was a mark of Israeli humanity — as 50-100,000 people were humanely confined to the beach for days, with no shelter, and hardly any food or water, and with the young men blindfolded. Meanwhile, almost all of the Palestinian men and boys above 12 or 13 years of age south of the Awali River were arrested and shipped to camps; Palestinian women and children were dispersed in all directions and left to the care of the Haddad men and the Phalange. Dani Rubinstein of the Israeli newspaper *Davar* reported from the leveled refugee camp of Ain-el Hilweh in south Lebanon that "the shocking scene of the destroyed camps proved the destruction was systematic." Sheer hell raged in the Lebanese countryside; by late June the Lebanese police estimated over 10,000 dead and the Red Cross said that 15-20,000 Palestinians were being held in concentration camps. Dr. Chris Giannou, a Canadian surgeon, worked in Lebanon for the Palestinian Red Crescent Society. Giannou witnessed the early

* These figures come from the Lebanese "police group" and count neither those victims of the war who were buried in mass graves, (some of whom are still being unearthed), nor the deaths from Sabra and Shatila (anywhere from 1,000 to 4,000). Israeli figures, of course, are much lower; the PLO, on the other hand, estimated nearly 55,000 dead. Given the main target of the invasion, the Maronite government of Lebanon has little reason to overestimate. See *Race and Class* (Spring 1983), Vol. XXIV, No. 4, pps. 340-43.

Part I: Peace in Galilee

Fort Apac The



days of the Israeli invasion and his testimony was detailed in the August 6, 1982, *Revolutionary Worker*:

"I was a witness there to the use of cluster bombs. I saw the fragments of cluster bombs as early as June 5th in the city of Setagia. . . .

"I had to treat children who had picked up these bomblets and had their hands blown away in the explosion. I heard them being dropped in the refugee camp and the areas around it on numerous occasions. The sound of the cluster bomb is unmistakable. Nothing else in all of the sounds of war is quite like it. There are hundreds of little detonations over a period of 10 to 12 seconds, very much as if there was a pitched battle of small arms fire. It begins and ends very, very abruptly.

"I saw the victims of phosphorus bombs, bodies consumed by the intense heat. Human flesh turned into carbon. I had to deal with injuries of concussion bombs. Tiny slivers of shrapnel leaving a minor injury on the skin and yet completely destroying the muscle and bone beneath. . . .

"The hospital there was shelled; it was shelled almost every day. When a shell hit

the first story of the hospital, it cut the water out. Another shell dropped at the emergency reception center and killed 50 people who had taken refuge there. When I evacuated that hospital I passed along the perimeter of the camp. I counted no less than 300 cadavers, plus the 50 at the emergency reception area, another 20 dead bodies amongst the patients at the hospital. . . ."

Giannou was then arrested on June 13th by the IDF, and held in one of the concentration camps set up in southern Lebanon. He described his experience there:

"There were between 5-600 prisoners at any one time which they had brought in groups as others were taken out. Three classrooms in the convent school were being used for interrogation purposes. During one of my interrogations I heard blows being struck in the room next to mine. When I saw the prisoner exit it was obvious he had been beaten. In the schoolyard, however, the beatings were indiscriminate and rabid. Men were bound and hit on the head 90 to 100 licks. Some of the prisoners were blindfolded. We were given three cups of water

he: e Mideast



Kneeling on an enlarged map of the city, Israeli officers select targets for the summer '82 attacks that destroyed large sections of West Beirut.

spared, at least in the western sector. No less than half a dozen hospitals (including a children's hospital in Sabra), a mental hospital and eight of West Beirut's nine orphanages (including one with a Red Cross painted on its roof) were bombed. Noam Chomsky, in his valuable book *The Fateful Triangle*, quotes the Israeli air force major "who described the careful selection of targets and the precision bombing that made error almost impossible. . . he also expressed his own personal philosophy saying 'If you want to achieve peace, you should fight.' 'Look at the American-Japanese War,' he added. 'In order to achieve an end, they bombed Hiroshima and Nagasaki.'" (It's not much of an exposure, perhaps, to reveal that the IDF intentionally went after the civilian population; Begin himself said as much when he recalled the examples of Dresden and Coventry to justify Israeli air attacks on Beirut.)

Then followed the siege, when the IDF cut off water and electricity to West Beirut, subjected it further to what even a *New York Times* reporter called "indiscriminate bombing" (though his description was censored by the *Times*), and all the while claimed that the PLO was "holding the citizens of Beirut hostage" — a bizarre notion faithfully echoed in the U.S. press, and one almost breathtaking in its audacious imperialist-think.

The parallel that occurred at once to many — in this war in which historical parallels all the way back to the Old Testament were trotted out by the Israelis — was that of Warsaw, 1944. Begin bristled at the suggestion, and when the PLO was later evacuated by the "multinational peacekeeping force" Israel's supporters pointed to this (in contrast to the German imperialists in Warsaw) as another example of Israel's unique humanitarianism. Of course, what one can and must do in the midst of world war is a bit different than in the run-up to it (a different lesson of the "Nazi experience"), but what really motivated Israel in this demonstration of humanity was the same cold calculations that led them to invade Lebanon in the first place. After having killed 20,000 people, after having terror-bombed the city and tightened a noose around it, the IDF was stunned by the effectiveness of the Palestinian resistance on the several forays it attempted into West Beirut. They feared the PLO's support among the local populace, which had steadfastly refused to leave during the bombing, and the Israeli command dreaded having to go in and take Beirut in hand-to-hand fighting. In such a battle anything can happen and whatever the ultimate military outcome, Israel may have come out facing a more militant and determined Palestinian resistance, with a living grasp of the clay-footed character of the Zionist colossus.

But the PLO was driven out. Once again David had slain Goliath in the upside down terms of the U.S.-Israeli mytho-political discourse. But the war wasn't quite finished; one thing yet remained to make victory complete (especially in the wake of the resistance)

Continued on page 10

had been taken after they were beaten. When I went over, the fellow was dead and the prisoners around said that another two prisoners had died. I have no reason to doubt their word. . . . It is impossible to determine the exact number of prisoners who had died because of the beatings or because of the negligence, severe heat, and lack of water. It would be impossible to say. . . ." (RW No. 166)

Thousands were held in these camps until a year and a half after the invasion when many were released in exchange for Israeli POWs — although it should be noted that the IDF welched on the deal and held a number of prisoners back at the last minute. Those who would demand verification of reports like Giannou's — and his was one of many — would do well to forward their demands to the IDF, which barred reporters from the most notorious camps for over five months, and then allowed in but two. These interviewed the head of the prisoner's committee at Ansar who said, "I would not say this is Auschwitz, but it is a concentration camp."

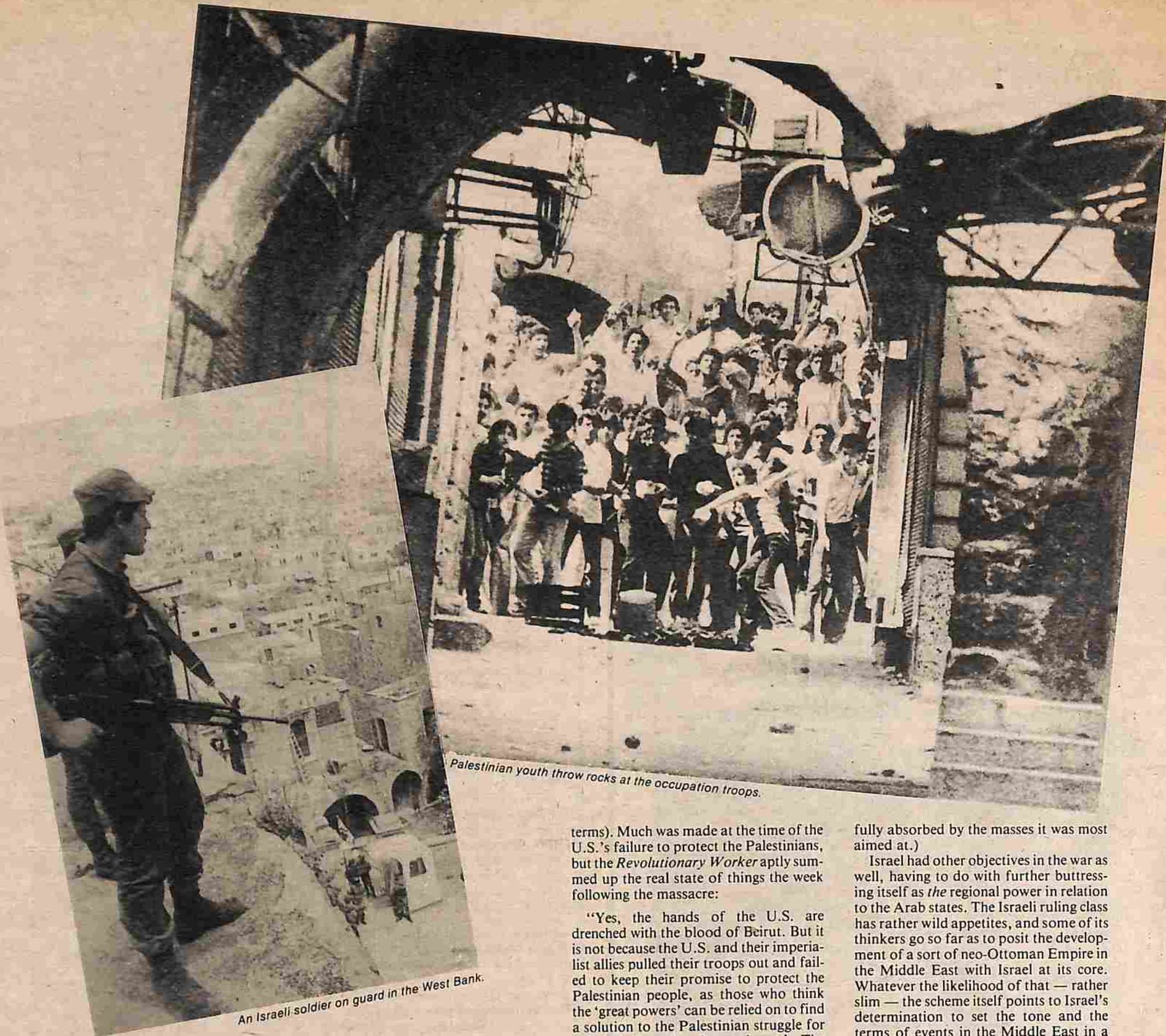
All this, however, only formed a prelude to Beirut, which was savagery unparalleled since the 1972 Christmas bombing of Hanoi. The IDF pounded Beirut day and night; nothing was spared, and nothing was meant to be

a day, one roll of bread to be divided among five prisoners twice a day.

"The physical abuse ranged from simply punching or kicking to beating with wooden sticks, broken legs off tables or chairs, plastic cords, electrical wires, and so on. One fellow had a modern version of a cat-o'-nine, a bunch of strings wound into a rope with nuts and bolts tied at the end. Some of the beatings were vicious gang beatings by four or five soldiers on one prisoner.

"Doctors and surgeons were also beaten. The entire male personnel of the Red Crescent was arrested. On numerous occasions I was called upon by Israeli soldiers to go and examine people either because the bindings around their wrists were too tight and had cut into the skin or because they had been wounded during the interrogation period. One fellow in particular only a few cell-blocks away from me had been beaten savagely for more than 20 minutes then left to die out in the sun for several hours. Israeli soldiers came over to me and said, look after him. When I went and examined him there was nothing more I could do for him for he was dead. Another cadaver I saw was inside where several prisoners





Palestinian youth throw rocks at the occupation troops.

An Israeli soldier on guard in the West Bank.

Fort Apache

Continued from page 9

Beirut). With the U.S., French and Italians temporarily out of the country, Israel's hand was politically free to set in motion a chain of murderous events.

Tuesday, September 14th: Bashir Gemayel is blown apart by a bomb (for which no one has yet taken responsibility); Wednesday, September 15th: The IDF retakes West Beirut; Thursday, September 16th: Haddadist forces commanded by Elie Hobeika — architect of the Tel al-Zataar massacre of 1976 and the chief Phalange contact with both the Mossad (the Israeli intelligence agency) and the CIA — are waved into the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps by the IDF. Thirty-six hours of barbarism begin.

Reverend Don Wagner, head of the Palestine Human Rights Campaign, arrived in Beirut on September 21st and entered the Shatila camp the next day, four days after the massacre ended. Wagner's observations appeared in the October 15, 1982, *Revolutionary Worker*. On entering Shatila, Wagner immediately came upon a mass grave "where bulldozers were just putting the final touches on the dirt which covered 150 bodies." He said that from "all that we saw, from the reports that we heard from eyewitnesses, from the estimates of the population of the camps from the time of the massacres," estimates of 3,500 to 4,000 dead were "very, very close to accurate."

Wagner also talked to a store owner who "noted, as did others, that the camp was intensely shelled by those Israeli tanks at the Kuwaiti embassy at approximately 3:30 to 4:30" the afternoon that

the massacre began. (*RW* No. 176, p. 3) All through that night, as the Phalange hacked people open with axes and mowed them down with automatic weapons, the Israelis put up flares to light their way.

Military correspondent Hirsh Goodman of *The Jerusalem Post* — far from a Palestinian sympathizer — reported that "The senior command of the IDF knew on Thursday night that civilians were being killed by Phalange troops in the Shatila refugee camp." On Friday, IDF chief of staff Eitan met with the Phalangist command, congratulated them on having "carried out good work," and offered them a bulldozer with IDF markings removed, evidently for shutting corpses into mass graves. By Friday afternoon reporters were on the scene. Finally, on Saturday morning the IDF entered the camps, removed their Phalangist protégés, and in their first move began to question and detain some of the survivors. (Chomsky, pps. 364-74)

"Operation Peace in Galilee" was finally complete, crowned (and concentrated) by the massacres of Sabra and Shatila. Israel from the start had aimed to cripple the PLO as both a military and a political force. As it happened, only Arafat's evacuation (and not Israeli force of arms) could accomplish the removal of the PLO from Beirut and its dispersion to the far corners of the Middle East; but Arafat in turn could only sell the evacuation to the fedayeen (and then only barely) with his talk of U.S. guarantees for the protection of the Palestinian masses left behind. The Israeli moves on Sabra and Shatila — the cold-blooded murder of perhaps several thousand defenseless people on center stage of world events — politically discredited Arafat and effectively insured the later splintering of the PLO (a splintering that unfortunately has taken place on bourgeois factional

terms). Much was made at the time of the U.S.'s failure to protect the Palestinians, but the *Revolutionary Worker* aptly summed up the real state of things the week following the massacre:

"Yes, the hands of the U.S. are drenched with the blood of Beirut. But it is not because the U.S. and their imperialist allies pulled their troops out and failed to keep their promise to protect the Palestinian people, as those who think the 'great powers' can be relied on to find a solution to the Palestinian struggle for national liberation have charged. The massacre at Sabra and Shatila is not a promise broken, but a promise fulfilled — an imperialist promise to pound the Palestinian fighters out of Beirut, to bring the PLO to its knees, to deal the Palestinian 'wild card' out of the deck and to secure Lebanon for the U.S.: all this is part of the U.S.'s overall strategy to strengthen their position in the Middle East, as they prepare for an all-out showdown with their Soviet imperialist rivals to redivide the world." (*RW* No. 173, September 24, 1982, p. 3)

At the same time, and in the long run equally important, the Israelis aimed to terrorize the masses of Palestinians. This was not a regrettable byproduct of war — after all, the PLO was gone from Beirut when the inferno in Sabra and Shatila was called to session — but, again, a cardinal aim of the IDF from the beginning. Israel hoped to crush and intimidate the Palestinian masses in general, to literally shatter their society — not only the army that had been built, but the hospitals, schools and cultural institutions that had been forged in the years of exile, even their very family units — in such a way and to such an extent that a decisive blow would be dealt to the national aspirations of the people. There is a word for this type of war, one that is aimed at a people as a whole, one that not only strategically rests on mass murders but also attempts to wipe out a people's entire tradition, identity, self-respect and — most of all — its will to resist.

(In that last aspect, however, "Operation Peace in Galilee" must be judged a failure, a judgment affirmed every time a Palestinian teenager with a stone stands up against an Israeli vigilante with an Uzi and one that will be proven in the years to come when the lessons — both positive and negative — of the Battle of Beirut are

fully absorbed by the masses it was most aimed at.)

Israel had other objectives in the war as well, having to do with further buttressing itself as the regional power in relation to the Arab states. The Israeli ruling class has rather wild appetites, and some of its thinkers go so far as to posit the development of a sort of neo-Ottoman Empire in the Middle East with Israel at its core. Whatever the likelihood of that — rather slim — the scheme itself points to Israel's determination to set the tone and the terms of events in the Middle East in a way that it hasn't done even up till now.

The *de facto* partition of Lebanon, with the Israeli seizure of the land south of the Awali River and the subordination of 700,000 more Arabs to direct Israeli military rule, fits into the expansionist dream (and practice) of a "Greater Israel" that can increasingly call the shots in the Middle East. Southern Lebanon, of course, provides Israel with a further defense corridor; what's less known are Israel's plans to divert the Litani River to Israeli uses (water resources are critical in the Middle East) and its flooding of southern Lebanon's markets with Israeli goods, while local artisans, farmers and merchants find their ability to move their produce out of the region drastically curtailed. The systematic destruction of the local economy and creation of a dispossessed cheap labor force is a pattern familiar to those who live on the West Bank.

But to view the horror of Lebanon only in terms of Israel's interests, either long- or short-term, leaves out the key part of the picture. Behind Israel stands the U.S. It's true, of course, that especially as the invasion generated world outrage and ran into fierce Palestinian opposition, the U.S. carried on a rather hackneyed charade of displeasure over the Israeli brutality. Solemn faces were made at photo opportunities, and the outraged Americans even went so far as to cut off shipments of cluster bombs to Israel — well after much of the civilian bombing had already been carried out. Behind the scenes, however, the Reagan administration (as well as their liberal loyal opposition) enthusiastically backed "Operation Peace in Galilee."

The Labor Party journal *Davar*, for example, commented on Yitzhak Shamir's visit to the White House at the

Continued on page 11

Discovery

Continued from page 7

portant symbol of a certain approach to this — that is, of holding out some incentive to pro-Western leaders in the FDR to get back on board — and as such, has become a symbol of that fragmentation. Much of the oligarchy no longer wants any efforts in this direction, fearing that their immediate and long-term interests will be sacrificed to woo these "reformers"; rather, they would like to see a more direct military role played by the U.S. to clamp down the country. Naturally, when the military struggle goes badly for the oligarchs, as it is currently, tensions rise with the "centrists," whose "reform" package — perhaps even including concessions or overtures to some elements in the opposition — is given a boost at such times. Thus there has been a deadly link between the frequent military reversals of the comprador forces and the upsurge in death squad killings of Christian Democrats and other "centrists."

It is this that worries the U.S. (and not the 30,000 or more killings among the masses of oppressed), since the "centrists" reforms represent the only available incentive which the U.S. can utilize in its strategy of splitting and smashing the opposition.

An article in *Newsweek* was entitled "The Death Squads Take Aim," and it

makes clear that it is exactly *where* the death squads are aimed now — and not their overall activity — that is of concern to the U.S. The occasion of the article was a threat by D'Aubuisson: "I publicly denounce the leader of the UCS (a pro-government peasant union)... I am referring to Maldonado." *Newsweek* goes on: "D'Aubuisson's charges — backed up by no evidence whatsoever — represented a direct challenge to U.S. policy... In an effort to head off further assassinations, U.S. Ambassador Pickering met privately with D'Aubuisson." The only other victims of the death squads mentioned at any point in the article are four AFL-CIO-sponsored union leaders who were killed in October. Similarly, the only demand for an arrest made by the U.S. was for the officers responsible for killing the AFL-CIO labor union organizers.

The forces grouped around the Christian Democratic Party are of particular importance with the elections coming up and the U.S. urgently seeking to draw in all it can into that process.

Even as he protested the work of the death squads, Reagan moved to streamline the process of getting aid to El Salvador by ending the requirement that he issue a bi-annual certification that El Salvador has been making "concerted efforts of human rights progress." In addition, the Kissinger Commission will almost certainly recommend a major military/economic aid package for all the U.S.-client states in Central America in

their report next week, and a U.S. governmental interagency study has just recommended that the Salvadoran armed forces be increased by about 20%, or 5,000-6,000 soldiers.

One of the main liberal critics of Reagan, Representative Clarence Long of Maryland, has already made some complaining noises about this, saying, "They'll get a hell of a lot of resistance and I think they know that" and threatening to "attach strings" to the U.S. military outlay to "make sure" the death squad excesses were managed. Since the administration fully agrees with this goal, this tough talk by the liberal Long didn't exactly shake the political rafters.

Then Long got down on his real concern in all this: smashing the Salvadoran opposition forces militarily. Discussing the Salvadoran army, he complained: "They've got to overhaul their officer corps, and that's not going to be easy. Those officers have got to be more willing to fight." Thus the liberals' aim: finding a better way to get the demoralized butchers of the Salvadoran army, quite adept at cutting civilians' throats and the mass terrorizing of peasants, to extend their bloodletting to genuine combat in the field. Evidently this differs not a whit from what any of the U.S. imperialists are striving for. There may be differences on the mix of carrot and stick in relation to the opposition, but basically the U.S. strategy, and that of its compradors in El Salvador, is force and bloody counter-

insurgency, and any overtures or splits effected in the opposition must be based on this.

This week, in response to the U.S.'s death-squad diplomacy, the Salvadoran government has arrested one officer, exiled two, and sent six colonels to units fighting guerrillas in the field, where they will more easily sight-in on the targets the U.S. finds appropriate. This has been hailed in the U.S. media as a "major shakeup in the Salvadoran high command."

The two exiled killers will be sent to Paraguay, where they will no doubt benefit from even more of the latest training in the techniques which they have so well perfected. In a similar vein, the defense minister, Casanova, promised that this was an example of how death squadders would be dealt with and vowed that eventually they would be ended "forever." The State Department hailed his statement, and ignored the fact that Casanova himself recently headed the National Guard — one of the major nesting places of the death squads — including at the time of the murder of the four U.S. church women there and for much of the period of the coverup which followed. Far from dismantling the death squads, the U.S. has simply pointed them in the "proper direction," where they will certainly continue to mete out doses of U.S. freedom and democracy to all those arrayed against it. □

Political Police Furor

from page 6

Goal's computer floppy disks (99 of them) as part of an investigation by the grand jury and the LAPD. The defendants in this case subpoenaed them from the grand jury/LAPD on the basis that if the LAPD, through Paul, were feeding information about the RCP and/or these defendants to a right-wing group (who could be disseminating it to all sorts of reactionary groups and agencies, official and unofficial), this itself indicates a singling out of the RCP and its supporters for illegal treatment. And further, any such information would be filled with lies and slanders the likes of which have filled police testimony in this case, again indicating LAPD misconduct towards the RCP. And, material in these computer files might reveal the existence of undercover agents/informants, or

other details of LAPD operations against the RCP and even possibly evidence of a pre-planned operation against the April 28th demonstration.

Over the strenuous objections of the district attorney prosecuting the case, the city attorney representing PDID/ATD, and the high-level district attorney heading up the grand jury investigation who came in especially to argue this matter, the judge ordered the LAPD to bring to court the computer material which they were converting to printed-out form.

After reviewing the index of organizations in the material, the judge ruled that it was relevant to this case — indeed, the RCP was listed, he said, on page one, disk one, and was a prominent feature throughout. A second index of names was ruled not relevant since no defen-

dants' names appeared. But the judge in the case, Ernest Aubry, made the surprise announcement that *his own name* appeared twice in the index! The case began to draw media attention — this was the first public disclosure of any Western Goals material and the judge's file was hot news.

Things began moving fast. The city attorney requested from Aubry a protective order which would prevent the defense from making public the contents of the Western Goals material. Aubry refused, turned the materials over to the defense and left the bench. After a quick bevy of phone calls, the city attorney asked that the judge return to the courtroom. When Aubry returned, the city attorney asked Aubry to disqualify himself from ruling because, with his name in the computer files, he now had a personal stake in the outcome. Aubry refused to do this, but he did grant a temporary protective order

keeping the material from being made public until the city attorney could take the matter to an appellate court, hoping both to get a permanent protective order and Aubry's disqualification.

This is what led up to the January 3rd events in the hallway outside Aubry's court. On January 5 as we went to press, the plot thickened when the appellate court refused to disqualify the judge and refused to extend the protective order, which then expired at noon. Excerpts from the Western Goals material quickly began appearing in the newsmedia around the city. The preliminary hearing in this case is scheduled to resume with J. Paul on the stand on January 9th, which is the same day the ACLU begins arguments in the police spying suits over this very same Western Goals material. *RW* readers can look forward to some interesting revelations on this material in the future. □

Fort Apache

Continued from page 10

height of the invasion. "Ronald Reagan played his part well," *Davar's* correspondent wrote. The U.S.'s public criticism of Israel, "though it is not comfortable and pleasant, does not harm us from a practical point of view. The government is compelled to make a public show of a hard line towards Israel — in part to respond to public pressure and also to deflect the pressures from the Arabs — and to use the same opportunity to extricate itself from the image of participant in the Israeli operation." *Davar* maintained that privately Shamir was told to "finish quickly with this matter of West Beirut" that is, intensify the bombardment.

One need not, of course, believe the *Davar* correspondent, who may only have been trying to reassure an anxious social base at home. The fact, however, that the delivery of military supplies from the U.S. to Israel during the first three months of 1982 was 50% greater than the same period in 1981 — at a point when every informed observer in the press was saying that an invasion was a matter of *when*, not *if* — would argue that the man from *Davar* was on target. So, too, was Jimmy Carter's comment in the *Washington Post* that "the word I got from very knowledgeable people in Israel is that 'we have a green light from Washington'"; as with Alexander Haig's "denial" of that green light, in which he stated that the "Israelis had made it very clear that their limit of toleration had been exceeded, and that at the next provocation they were going to react. They told us that. The president knew that." (Chomsky, p. 215) More to the point are the class interests of the U.S. imperialists served by both the Israeli invasion as well as the display of "conflict" between the

client state and its sponsor. In the first flush of the Israeli victories in south Lebanon — "Israel's blitz," as both *Time* and *Newsweek* gushed — even the most liberal commentators could hardly stop with their talk about the "historic opportunity for the U.S. presented by the Israeli invasion."

Here at last was the chance for the comprehensive Mid East settlement the U.S. had always dreamed of, and just in time for their "regional strategic consensus" against the Soviets, too: a newly united, viable and (implicitly) staunchly pro-West Lebanon; a Syria taken down a peg or three from its pretensions as a regional power and, perhaps, ready to learn the wisdom of Sadat; the destruction of the PLO and the consequent space for the emergence of unnamed "moderate" i.e., openly capitulationist, Palestinian leaders; and all to be done under the aegis of U.S. diplomacy, with the Soviets shoved thoroughly out of the picture, à la Camp David. The last point is crucial; for the urgency behind the U.S. push for this "historic opportunity" was the historic necessity presented by the looming interimperialist war for redivision with the Soviet bloc.

To seize such an "historic opportunity" required that the U.S. and Israel dust off the old tough cop/con cop routine. You know the one — after the "tough cop" beats up the victim for awhile, the "con cop" pulls his partner off, tells the tough cop to stop being such an animal, and gets him to leave the room and cool off; then, with his confederate gone, the con cop gives the victim a smoke, expresses his sympathy and offers to help figure out a deal so that the tough cop won't have to come back in to work the victim over again. Similarly, the U.S. ostentatiously maintained its distance from Israel precisely to preserve its credibility as a neutral mediator at the op-

portunity moment — but a mediator, note well, with both the power to temporarily restrain Israel and the implicit threat to unleash it yet again if the Palestinians and other forces in the Arab world didn't listen to American reason. This obscene tandem act reached its height at Sabra and Shatila, when the U.S. at first self-righteously attacked Israel (later, when the rehabilitation of Israel's image became the greater concern for the U.S., Sabra and Shatila somehow became proof of Israel's greatness — after all, they did hold an investigation, didn't they?). In fact, the IDF and their Phalange protégés did nothing but put the exclamation point at the end of the Reagan peace plan, which had been set forth only days earlier.

As the *Revolutionary Worker* pointed out at the time: "What, after all, is really being put on the table by the U.S. for consideration by the Palestinian people? The United States — and only the United States — can prevent these unfortunate 'massacres' from happening again. The corollary of this proposition is plain enough; Shatila was just a taste of what might be in store if you do not grovelingly accept capitulation to the Pax Americana." (*RW* No. 173, p. 3)

Further, the massacres provided the justification for the reintroduction of American Marines (along with some European allies) to Beirut, a move perceived by the U.S. ruling class to be highly beneficial and most important, and from a number of angles. First, as part of overcoming the political legacy of Vietnam, both in the U.S. and internationally, the role of peacemaker in Lebanon enabled the U.S. military to somewhat rehabilitate its image — a good career move, in Hollywood parlance, and more than a little important for what the imperialists need to do in the days, months and years ahead. Once again the

world (and the U.S. public) would get used to the Marines being all over the world, from the Halls of Montezuma almost literally to the shores of Tripoli. Second, the pre-positioning of U.S. troops and materiel near the Persian Gulf has been a policy goal since the late 1970s, and whatever becomes of this particular excursion in Beirut, at the very least the ice has been broken. Finally, of course, the U.S. has far from given up on the prospects of a viable and pro-Western Lebanon, distant as that might seem at the moment, and the birth of such a thing requires Marine midwives.

None of this is to deny that "Operation Peace in Galilee" turned out far less successfully than envisioned in the U.S. press during the heady days of early June — this is so mainly thanks to the heroic resistance of the Palestinians and the Lebanese Moslems (and secondarily to somewhat unexpected Syrian tenacity in pressing *its* claim on regional power status, backed by Soviet arms and representing Soviet interests). The potential, in fact, for a renaissance of revolutionary struggle in the area against both Israel and the U.S. has been amply demonstrated in the scattered but ceaseless acts of resistance to both powers; both the U.S. and Israel occupy an increasingly dangerous position, and should a revolutionary line gain hegemony over the resistance the results could be politically explosive.

But the U.S.-Israel tough cop/con cop routine wasn't originated in Lebanon, and it has many more stops scheduled beyond Beirut. There's a method to the madness, a logic to the horror, one that has been structured into the modus operandi of the U.S.-Israel relationship over the last 30 some years. To grasp that, and what the future holds, one must dig deeper into Israel's overall global role, which will be the next article in this series. □

Brings Home The Bacon

Continued from page 1

pared his mission to other moments of "great foreign policy... Eisenhower going to Korea, or Nixon going to China; Carter to Camp David." (The examples certainly say much about the content of Jackson's aspirations — a "new agenda" indeed!) "God Bless America!", exclaimed the returning Lt. Goodman, who later told reporters that he had spent some of his time watching old John Wayne movies on Syrian television during his captivity. More pointedly obscene was Reagan's characterization that "This young Naval officer was flying a mission of peace." Goodman's plane, of course, was downed during the December 4th U.S. air strike over Syrian positions in Lebanon's Shouf Mountain area, part of a military mission in which, as the Pentagon acknowledged on December 6th, cluster bombs were employed. And Jackson's repeated claim that his trip might lead to ending the "cycle of pain" between the U.S. and Syria could have only sparked the bitterest of laughter in many parts of Lebanon. For even while the ceremonies were being held on the White House lawn January 5th, between Jackson, Reagan, Goodman and his family, the Israelis were launching air strikes over eastern Lebanon's Bekaa Valley.

The Israeli air raid left a reported 100 dead and 400 wounded in and around the city of Baalbek. As usual, Israel claimed that the attacks were against "terrorist bases." In fact, the reports show that a wide range of civilian targets were hit, including a school in the Wavell Palestinian refugee camp nearby where an estimated 150 children were injured. The calculated barbarity of the attacks, clearly designed to inflict the greatest possible civilian casualties, is shown by the fact that as rescue efforts were underway after the first round of Israeli bombing and strafing, the jets returned for a second round, adding greatly to the overall casualties. With typical arrogance, an Israeli commentary maintained that the operation was successfully limited to "terrorist" targets; the overwhelming evidence to the contrary was dismissed by the allegation that a large number of "terrorists in civilian clothing" were also hit.

Superficially, it might appear that the Israeli air strike ran contrary to the accomplishments, such as they were, of the Jackson mission. In the midst of talk of

"improved atmospherics" between the U.S. and Syria (the "highlight" of which thus far has been Reagan's promise to write a personal letter to Syrian president Assad) and alongside the report circulating (as we go to press) of a new "security accord" between contending Lebanese factions having met Syrian approval, the Israeli attack seems an incongruous "signal."

In fact, the Israeli air raid — which must be looked upon as yet another manifestation of the U.S.-Israeli "strategic cooperation" agreement and overall "get tough" military posture in Lebanon — was entirely congruous with these things. Significantly, the Israeli attack, while directed at targets within Syrian-controlled territory, was not directed at specifically Syrian military installations. Directed as it was at a Palestinian refugee camp, and at the town of Baalbek — which has served somewhat as a political nerve center for Lebanese Shi'ite radicalism — the Israelis were making a political point to the Syrians. The attacks demonstrated that Israeli air power will continue to be brought to bear on those parts of Lebanon which remain under Syrian control, unless the Syrian's themselves take a more active role in "policing" and restraining those forces under its territorial control and political influence. This the Syrian regime has shown itself more than capable of — as witness its bloody suppression of the Palestinian and Lebanese nationalist forces in the past. Certainly, any forthcoming gestures along these lines (should the Syrians elect to play ball) would be appreciated as further "humanitarian gestures" by Assad and company.

More generally, the coincidence between the Jackson visit and the Israeli attack (and continued U.S. reconnaissance flights over Syrian positions in Lebanon), is entirely consistent with the broader pattern of U.S.-Israeli strategy over the past period. As Syria has moved to a position of increasing political centrality to any conceivable Lebanese settlement over the past six months, the U.S. and Israel have combined military escalation, threats, and provocations with a tenuous but active diplomacy. While U.S.-Israeli policy has undergone a series of adjustments, and entailed a wildly varied mixture of "signals" and maneuvers, this basic approach has remained a constant, as has

the Syrian approach of controlled brinkmanship. Despite the rhetoric of the Syrian state media over the recent period — that Damascus has become the new Arab "Hanoi" for example — the actual objectives and orientation of Syria's rulers is much more limited. As contrary as their position has been to U.S.-Israeli objectives in Lebanon, the Syrian bourgeoisie has no interest in radically upending dominant imperialist relations in the region, but in carving out a larger role for itself within this general framework. Specifically, the interests and orientation of Syria's rulers are such that, if they could obtain satisfactory terms in a Lebanon agreement, they would provide strict security guarantees for the Israeli state on its northern border as the *quid pro quo*. Were such a situation to arise, the Syrians would throttle the very forces in Lebanon which they are today encouraging. It is only on such a basis that the "improved atmospherics" between the U.S. and Syria could possibly develop, and such would be the terms of any conceivable "peace."

Make no mistake, we are not about to witness the rapid development of an American-Syrian romance. Conflict over Lebanon and over the Middle East more generally is likely to remain the principal aspect of this relationship, and even were a limited accord to take hold in Lebanon, this would undoubtedly set the stage upon which a new round of contention — political and military — would unfold. (The harsh Lebanese winter is not conducive in any event to large-scale military operations.) But the just-announced Lebanese "security accord" apparently provides all contending parties with sufficient maneuvering room so as to be of at least temporary value, and if the security accord's provisions for an expanded role for the Lebanese army are to see fruition, it's going to need all the "improved atmospherics" it can get.

In this context we can return to the role of Jesse Jackson. Jackson has a long-standing reputation as being more "pro-Arab" than is often considered politic within the American bourgeois political mainstream. Yet as he has become more "presidential" in recent months, as he has been compelled to supplant his past rhetorical flourishes concerning "human rights" with worked out positions that reflect a more presidential tone and timbre, he has more explicitly located his "pro-Arab" concerns within the overall context of securing and cementing the widest possible "strategic consensus" within the Middle East. His stated con-

cerns regarding Syria are mainly that the U.S. is pursuing a course which is pushing Syria closer to the Soviet Union. His major admonition to Israel is that it divert its expansionist drive away from the specific policies of outright annexation and "settlement" — of the West Bank and other occupied Arab territories — and seek a settlement with the pro-American Middle East states that would enable it to "become the capital of commerce in the Middle East... exporting talent and businesses and training."

There is nothing in Jackson's program that sets him apart from ex-Presidents Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford, who (especially once out of office) have counseled similar approaches to the Palestinian question and the Middle East situation, nor from the legion of retired ambassadors, geopolitical strategists and the like who advance these notions. All this reflects the contradictory pulls endemic to the political, military, and economic interests of the U.S., and the West more generally, in the Middle East. And even as the U.S.-Israeli strategic alliance has burgeoned over the past decade, such "loyal opposition" forces play an important role in stressing the overall identity of interests between the Arab states and the U.S., in keeping active the notion that a more "enlightened" U.S. policy in the region may be forthcoming, and in other ways keeping such interbloc contradictions strictly "within the family."

It's worth pointing out that Andrew Young, who has done yeoman duty for the U.S. in this kind of capacity for some time (not only in the Middle East, but as regards southern Africa and the Caribbean), was very supportive of the Jackson mission. Young, of course, is critical of Jackson's presidential bid, opposing it on tactical grounds while sharing the same basic strategy vis-à-vis the Democratic Party. But in respect to the Syrian trip, Young saw Jackson's role as being very much in the national interest, telling syndicated columnist Gary Wills that Jackson was playing a "prophetic role" which would "actually help (U.S. Mideast emissary Donald) Rumsfeld."

Whatever utility Jackson's "mission of mercy" may prove to Rumsfeld, the overall effect has surely been to bolster Jackson's standing as a certified national asset. Who says Jackson's not a front-runner? Certainly not U.S. imperialism, for whom Jesse is fronting very well these days. □



"This young Naval Officer was flying a mission of peace..."
Well, Thank You, Mr. Reagan!

SUBSCRIBE NOW!

REVOLUTION

SPRING 1984

**AVAILABLE
SOON!**

**Spring 1984
Issue #51 of
REVOLUTION
Magazine**

Revolution is the propaganda organ of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA (RCP, USA). It is published quarterly.

SUBSCRIPTIONS:

In the U.S. \$14.00/year
Other countries \$16.50/year—surface mail
\$24.00/year—air mail
Payable by check or money order.

Send all subscription orders to:
RCP Publications, P.O. Box 3486,
Merchandise Mart, Chicago, IL 60654

*Advancing the World Revolutionary Movement:
Questions of Strategic Orientation*
by Bob Avakian

*Angola: A Case Study in
Soviet Neocolonialism*
by Nicholas Cummings

*Observations on the French Left
During the Algerian War*
by Albert Lefevre

*The Military Line of the PLO
and the Lessons of Beirut: A Letter*
by Paul Case

\$4.00

Articles in upcoming issues include:

- *The ERA: Reform & Revolution in the Women's Movement*
- *A Critique of Che Guevara*
- *A Study of the Soviet Elite*
- *Education in the Soviet Union*
- *Hitler & the Jews*

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.”



153 pp.
\$6.95 Paperback
\$13.95 Cloth
Include 75¢ to cover postage
RCP Publications
P.O. Box 3486, Merchandise Mart
Chicago, Illinois 60654

A Concrete Action

Throughout West Germany on all the highways and bridges leading to the East German and Czech borders, there are innocuous looking manhole covers. The underground chambers they lead to contain no water mains, transformers, or sewers. Their purpose is far more shocking and sinister: they are pre-positioned implacements for approximately 350 nuclear landmines, each with an explosive potential of 15 kilotons of TNT. They are a part of the NATO "Barrier and Denial Plan," and in the event of war the landmines are to be set off to stop a Soviet army advancing into West Germany. One of the heaviest concentrations of these "mine holes" is in the so-called Fulda Gap area where NATO experts expect some of the major tank battles of World War 3 to come down.

It was thus with some consternation that U.S. and West German military authorities discovered that antiwar activists had sealed shut last month approximately 200 of the "mine holes" with ready-mix concrete purchased at local home and garden stores! The operation, which was carried out over three days without being detected, became known to authorities only when a leaflet appeared announcing the action, and signed by a new organization: the "Concreting Cells." □



Fratemizer

Continued from page 5

reflect itself in the education system?

A: There is an officer's training program. If you're an apprentice or get into any kind of trade, you have to participate in civil defense training. Everyone is trained in the use of arms. So in some ways one could get more scared of us than West Germany, but I don't want to represent it as if the DDR is more dangerous than Western European countries.

C.K.: How is the justification of the militarization of the society presented to the people by the government and the party of the DDR?

A: As defense. Defense of the socialist system against imperialism. And the fear is really there. It's gone so far that the fear really exists among the people. There's a whole psychological aspect above and beyond what the party is actually doing, these images of "the enemy," making devils out of the other side. There is a need for people to actually get to know each other from both the systems, because it just becomes this irrational thing that in the end has nothing to do with politics. It's just neurotic.

C.K.: But how do you see the two systems? It is unquestionably true that the U.S. is a dangerous imperialist power. But do you think the DDR is really a socialist country?

A: The DDR is so tied into its bloc, it doesn't even matter if it's socialist or not. I consider both blocs to be striving to become world imperialist systems. First, the DDR can't deal with the situation in any other way, like talk it out or something. In both systems certainly the power systems exist, so it's not that relevant to ask me if the DDR is socialist or not.

C.K.: On the other hand, people are also told constantly that they are a socialist country. What is their reaction to the contrast between what they are told and the reality of "real existing" socialism? Does that lead people to reject the entire idea of socialism, or does it lead people to try actually to make its emancipating dream come true?

A: Many people in the DDR are aware of this contradiction between what they are told and what exists. But a lot of people aren't really able to formulate alternatives. They either feel like they can't do it, and they give up. Or, they also live very well. The DDR is, practically speaking, in the First World, and so a lot of them just don't want to. I'm sure that situation exists in the Western world as well. But a lot just feel really impotent, and that's particularly so with the youth.

C.K.: Is it true that the movement in Jena has been effectively crushed by the state?

A: It's been really suppressed. There's

a couple people left, but they need some time to get back together. But it still has an effect as a concept; everybody's heard about it.

C.K.: You mentioned before that the movement around the Church had been forced from a position of dialogue to a position of opposition. Isn't that necessary? Wouldn't a real movement against war in either bloc be forced into a position of fundamental opposition?

A: They tried to set up this dialogue with the state, but the state refused. Now where do you go from here? You are in opposition. I for one am now in a position where I can't even participate in the process, and it is a process. What's now on the agenda is that these forces have to formulate what kind of opposition do we want to be. Where do we want to go? It's clear you're not going to come to some sort of peaceful resolution with a military government. But as to where it's going to go, that's not yet really formulated. But there's no chance to just exist and try to carry out a dialogue. It's just refused right off the bat.

C.K.: Do you see any future for the antiwar movement in the DDR? Also, what role do you see for yourself now in the struggle against world war?

A: The danger of war is increasing and more and more people are becoming aware of it. We've got to somehow send a spark to America that we don't want a war. We're afraid that people might somehow feel some justified fear of us if we feel fear of them. But it's going to continue. I feel very optimistic about it. There's going to be refusal of military service, and somehow or other it's going to continue. I see myself as something as the link between the two movements and I'm working now on figuring out the different positions and currents within the peace movement here. I'll participate in that and inform each about the other. Of course, with all the traffic and hurly-burly, I'm not really thrilled to be here in the "great freedom." I'm finding out that there's just as much injustice that goes down here as there. I'm just trying to get together with my wife and kids and settle down.

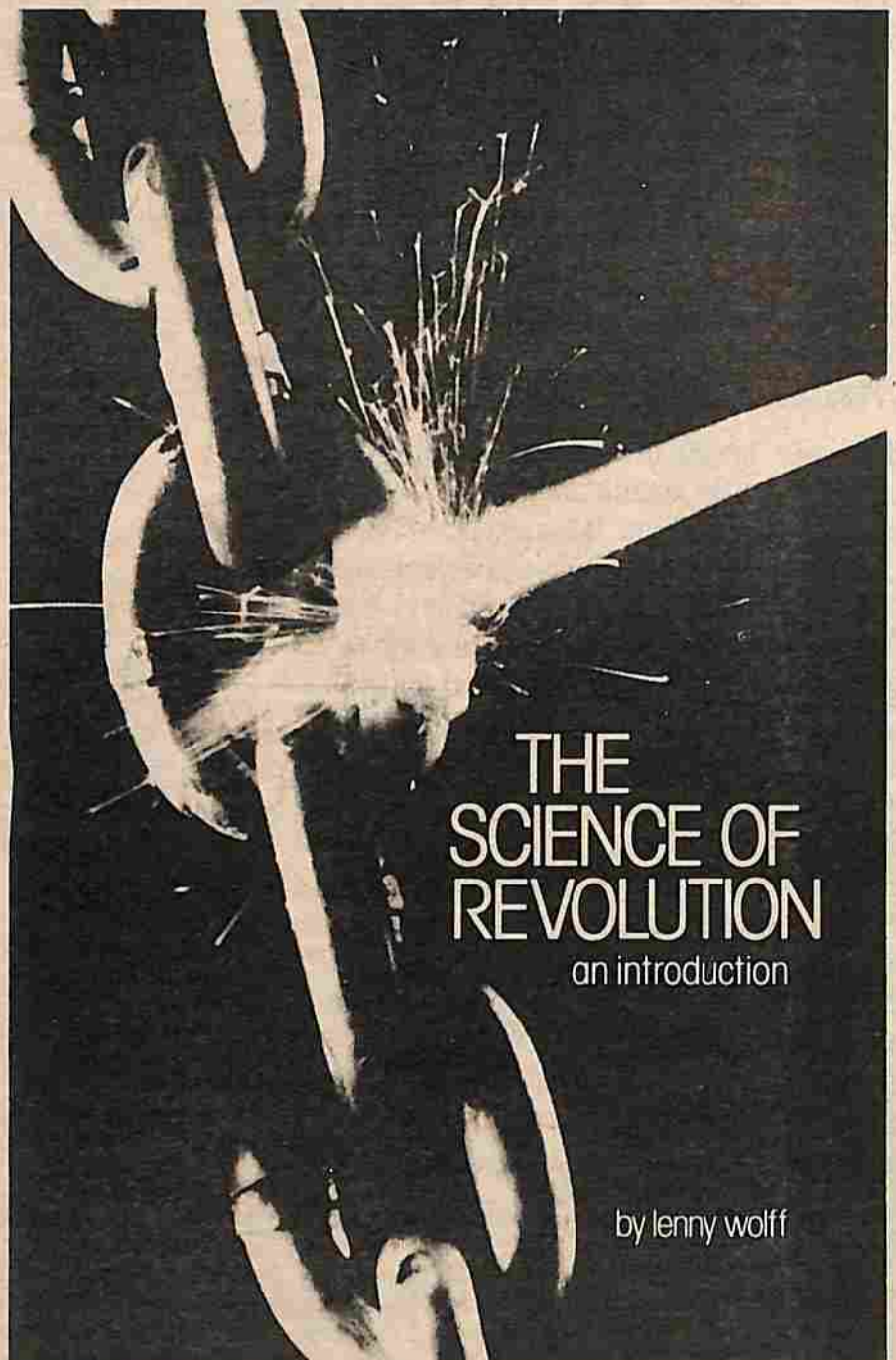
C.K.: Is there some message you would like to give to the people in the U.S. opposed to the imperialist war preparations?

A: I hope that they will have the strength to carry on with the struggle, and I hope that the experiences in the Eastern bloc will give them courage and strength, and that that can work both ways. □

CORRECTION

In last week's *RW* (No. 236), the article "Notes From the Mutlangen/Frankfurt Express" contains a typographical error. The last sentence on page 11, column 4 and continuing onto page 12 should be deleted.

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



THE
SCIENCE OF
REVOLUTION
an introduction

by lenny wolff

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

RCP Publications,
PO Box 3486, Chicago, IL 60654

You've Lived The Reality...

Now the Book!

"This is a provocative reinterpretation of Marx and Lenin from a viewpoint opposed to capitalism and imperialism and also opposed to what it calls the 'social-imperialism' of the Soviet Union. It is therefore worth reading as an unusual point of view, rigorously presented."

—Howard 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*

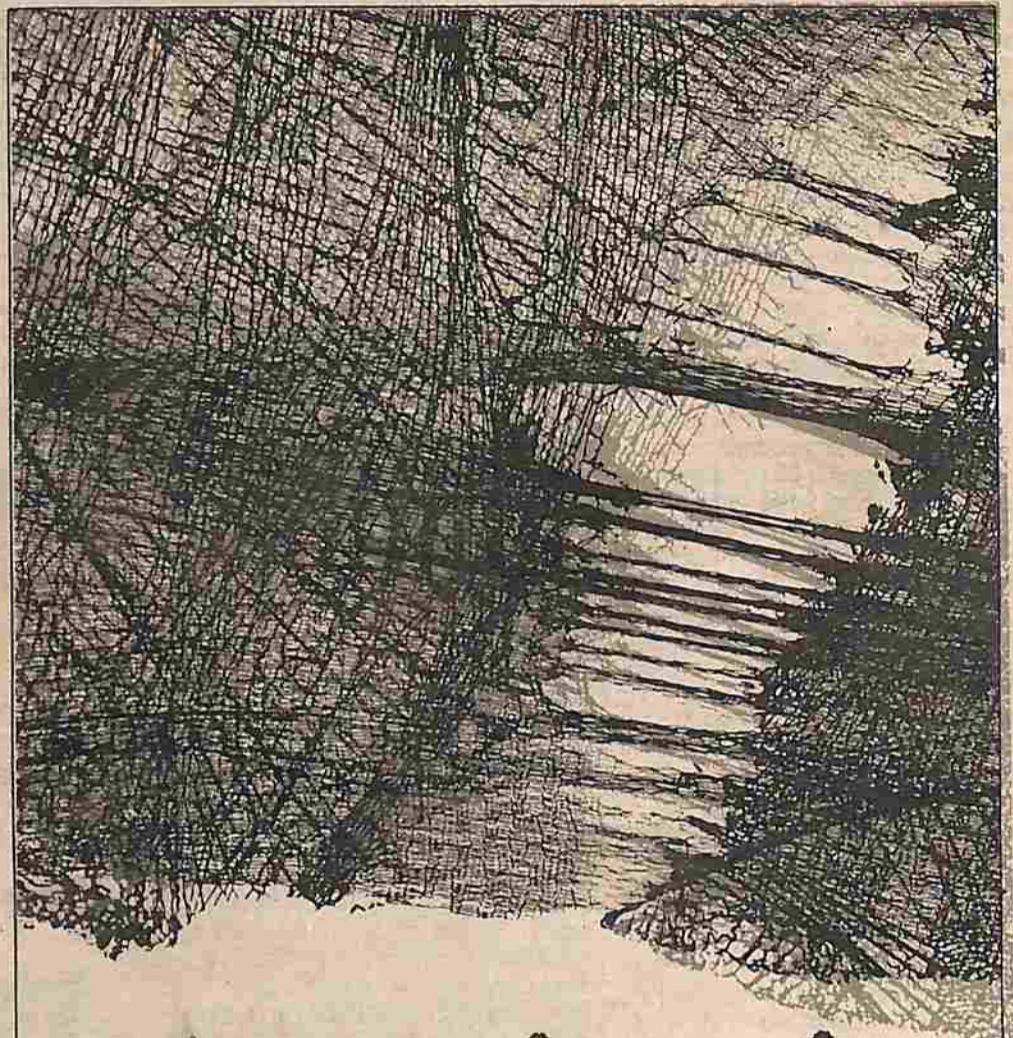
America in Decline is a multivolume study of the origins and implications of the contemporary crisis of world capitalism.

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. 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. The third chapter subjects the received tradition of Comintern crisis theory to blistering criticism.

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.



America in Decline

An Analysis
of the Developments
Toward War and Revolution,
in the U.S. and Worldwide, in the 1980s.

Raymond Lotta with Frank Shannon Vol. 1

America in Decline Vol. 1

An Analysis of the Developments
Toward War and Revolution, in
the U.S. and Worldwide, in the 1980s.

Raymond Lotta
with Frank Shannon

278 pp.
\$21.95 Cloth (now available)
Include \$1.00 postage
Order from Banner Press
P.O. Box 6469
Chicago, Illinois 60680