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"An Alliance for Progress for the '80s," "More Butter, And More Guns," — the Kissinger Commission report on Central America has been greeted by critics and supporters alike as if it amounted to yet another example of that typically big-hearted, but sometimes misdirected action of the Yankees to just throw a huge amount of money at the problem and hope something works. Some have viewed it as akin to a concession: Daniel Quiros, former president of Costa Rica and currently vice president of the Socialist International, wrote that "Those who believe in democracy are pleased by the conclusions of the Kissinger Commission," are glad that the U.S. is finally "waking up" to the problems of the region, and hope that, while they are not so excited about the military escalation, at least the "dream-like offer of economic and social advantages" is real.

Surreal would be more appropriate — for Mr. Quiros, if he doesn't already know better, will soon find that in the realm of the Kissinger Commission, Peace Corps-style health workers become adjuncts to the dreaded National Guard, that highways become byways for tanks and APCs, that the much-hailed "butter" quickly turns into lubricating oil for guns. Indeed, what the Kissinger Commission report represents is an escalation all along the line of programs already in place as props of support for the death-squad democracies so tightly tied to the U.S.

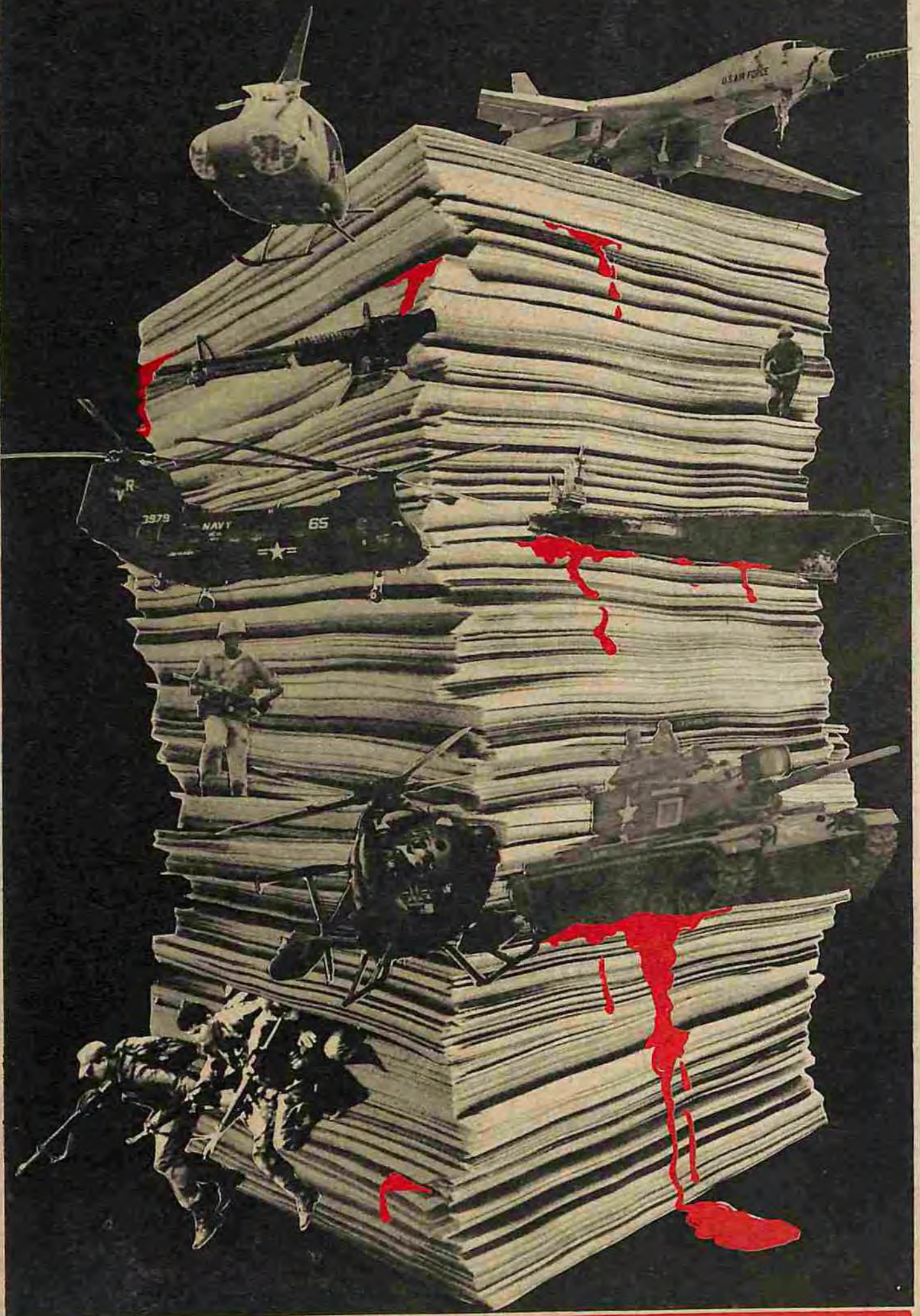
It has been widely remarked that there is little of real surprise in the report — and in a sense it is true, for a paramount concern of the U.S. in the region is exactly to avoid surprises, to prevent the kind of further deterioration of its position that could portend very unwelcome surprises, and instead to shore up its clients, chiefly through military support and counterinsurgency programs, in order to achieve a modicum of stability.

The purpose of the panel as stated by Reagan was to reach a "bipartisan national consensus" on U.S. policy in Central America. In the weeks leading up to the official completion of the report, the media featured coverage of wrangling, contentious meetings: John Silber the "hardliner" president of Boston University, had taken to calling the two liberal Latino members of the commission "Comandante Diaz" and "Comandante Cisneros." But the wrangling was portrayed as "responsible," and much was made of each side supposedly learning the truth of the other's position: one of the liberals revealed that "even Henry was unnerved by the environment of violence" they encountered on the commission's trip to El Salvador, and Kissinger returned to join the others in issuing dire warnings concerning the death squads.

But the revelation that did most to bring the commission members together was the liberals' "discovery" of the genuineness of the "Soviet threat to Central America," learned at the knee of that godfather of gunboat diplomacy, Kissinger himself. What was hailed by the *Wall Street Journal* as the "seminal event" and its sobering up of the liberals was the commission's stop in Managua.

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Kissinger Commission Recommendations: More of The Same... MUCH MORE



Part III: "...A Loyal Jewish Ulster In A Sea Of Hostile Arabs"

Fort Apache, The Mideast

See Centerfold

From The Mud On The Serial Number Is Not Standard Pentagon Procedure Dept.

On Wednesday, Jan. 11, a U.S. Army O-H-58 light observation helicopter carrying two army engineers was forced down near the Honduras-Nicaraguan border and its pilot killed by "hostile fire" during what was innocently described by U.S. officials as a mission "in support of engineering activities." After what the *NY Times* described as "initial uncertainty" over the incident, the Nicaraguan government quickly confirmed that its military units along the border had indeed fired on an "unidentified military helicopter" over Nicaraguan territory, including after it was forced to crash land a few hundred feet inside Honduras. Reagan called the incident "a great tragedy," declaring that "We have put the Nicaraguans on notice that this action is unacceptable." "The indefensible thing," railed Defense Secretary Cap Weinberger, "is that the pilot was killed after he was out of the helicopter and simply walking around an unarmed helicopter."

The chopper, described as "probably unarmed" and "clearly marked" had allegedly been flying about 20 miles north of the Nicaraguan border, under standard orders which supposedly prohibit U.S. military aircraft from approaching closer than five nautical miles, when it suddenly encountered "heavy winds" that may have caused it to "stray" from its intended flight path, etc., etc. "The guy was lost," mused one American official. Oh yes, another lost aircraft. None of this exactly jived with a slightly different version by Edgar Chamorro, a leader of the largest *contra* group (Nicaraguan Democratic Force), who admitted the helicopter was operating directly along the border and said it was "apparently surveying the area" in connection with roads being built as part of joint U.S.-Honduran Big Pine II military exercises. Both the U.S. and its partners agreed, however, that the flight had *nothing whatsoever* to do with the fact that the area where it was shot down just happens to be the nerve center of U.S./Honduran-directed *contra* operations and the principal war zone in the recent fighting.

Posthaste, the Nicaraguan government released its own version of the downing, the details of which were generally confirmed by UPI reporters who spoke with Nicaraguan military personnel and civilians in the area, including a 14-year-old fighter who had helped shoot down the craft. According to witnesses, the chopper had been flying at least two miles inside Nicaragua over the town of Teotecacinte and various other border settlements in the Nueva Segovia province, including La Limonera where several hundred Sandinista soldiers are based. According to local weather reports

for the day, there were no winds strong enough to blow a copter this far off course. According to a young Nicaraguan duty officer in charge of Teotecacinte, he had given the order to fire after the helicopter, which he insisted was unmarked, had executed a pass over the Sandinista command post. A civilian who was working with armed peasants in a nearby bean field also reported that he and others had opened fire on the copter as it zig-zagged toward them. (Since no one has disputed that the chopper was downed solely by fire from AK-47 assault rifles, which have a maximum range of 800 yards, this would seem to give some indication of just how low it was flying over the area during its "surveying activity.")

As for U.S. claims that the copter was "clearly marked," witnesses said the opposite, that the craft's markings were covered with mud. (The Pentagon itself didn't exactly go to great lengths to deny this, stating that covering the copter's markings with mud "is not routine procedure.") Meanwhile, the two individuals who could have the most to say about the events, the two passengers in the copter, were quickly spirited off by U.S. authorities for at least a full week after the incident. It was a highly suspicious "engineering" flight indeed.

Right after the downing, the Honduran government asserted that both the helicopter and its pilot were Honduran and even went so far as to identify the dead pilot as one Lt. Leonardo Castellanos Ardon. This "error" was corrected the following day, but the Honduran government railed right on, recalling its ambassador from Nicaragua and screeching that it was "determined to defend sovereignty and territorial integrity against any act of aggression" — an obvious retaliation threat.

After only a couple of days, however, the volume on these histrionics was perceptibly turned down. Secretary of State Shultz, asked by reporters if he

would rule out the use of force against Nicaragua by the U.S. in retaliation for the downing, rephrased the question: "What you are asking is, 'Is there a plan, or an instinct on the part of the administration to undertake a military operation directly in Nicaragua?' The answer is no." On cue, the Hondurans pulled in their fangs, announced that the incident was being "handled through diplomatic channels" and stressed that while they had called for an OAS meeting to consider the incident, they were only seeking a discussion and would not press for passage of a formal condemnation. One White House aide put it more interestingly: "No one wants to convert this incident into a Tonkin Gulf affair." The Hondurans also followed up by issuing a statement to the effect that they probably wouldn't retaliate by invading Nicaragua. Well, at least we're straight on what *could* have occurred! It was the kind of "restraint" that might be likened to that of a gangster who twists his victim's arms instead of outright blowing him away — but with the threat of more to come. The Nicaraguans responded by appealing to the U.S. not to use the incident as a pretext for reprisals, "deplored" the shooting, and sent condolences to the family of the dead pilot. Just what the U.S. "instinct" is as far as Nicaragua is concerned was made clear as the helicopter incident unfolded amidst a series of rapid-fire events.

Certainly the import of the downing and the responses of the various parties involved cannot be considered apart from the fact that the incident took place in the context of — indeed on the very same day as — the release of the long-awaited Kissinger Commission report on Central America, a report that mainly hinged U.S. strategy in the region on bigger infusions of military muscle by the U.S. and its client regimes to deal with the

growing turmoil (see article p. 1). The incident also followed by a single day the U.S. announcement that yet another set of prolonged joint U.S.-Honduran military exercises is planned to start after Big Pine II ends (this time with the possible participation of Guatemalan army troops as well) — something that one Pentagon official noted would have the effect of establishing "an almost permanent (U.S.) combat troop presence in Honduras" despite the lack of a formal stationing agreement. The U.S. claims that their chopper's activity was merely related to the Big Pine II exercises and Central America as a whole.

Meanwhile, it came to light that since the first of the year, the U.S. has actively turned up the heat in precisely this sector of the border, working especially through the *contras*. Residents of Las Trojes, a small Nicaraguan town three miles from where the chopper crashed, which now functions as a *contra* supply center and staging area, had told reporters that uniformed American military personnel and CIA agents accompanied by *contras* and Honduran military men have in fact been arriving *regularly* throughout the past few weeks in both American and Honduran military craft to deliver supplies and oversee operations. At the same time, the Nicaraguan Defense Minister revealed that "unidentified aircraft" have flown over northern Nicaragua more than 40 times in the first 17 days of this year and asserted they were working with *contra* forces trying to capture Jalpa, a provincial capital, and break off a chunk of Nicaraguan territory. A Mexican newspaper, *Uno MásUno*, also reported that a communiqué issued by the Nicaraguan Defense Ministry after the downing identified this particular U.S. helicopter as having provided logistical support for 600 *contras* as they tried to flee into Honduras. Hardly coincidental was another report appearing in the Sunday *L.A. Times* which noted that a new *contra* offensive had been opened on the Saturday following the chopper incident in two provinces, including Nueva Segovia — precisely the area surveyed by the helicopter.

The U.S. and its Honduran client has, in short, been pushing it with the Nicaraguans on this part of the border in the last couple of weeks. Clearly, in doing this, the U.S. knew that an incident such as the helicopter downing was a probability. And once it happened, the U.S. used it to further pressure the Nicaraguans, as well as put a bloody flourish on the issuance of the Kissinger Report and its "military solution." All of which raises the possibility that the copter — brazenly swooping low over a Sandinista command post, its markings covered — deliberately tried to provoke something on that day. Was the U.S. probing to test the Nicaraguans' response on both military and political levels? Was the copter intent on provoking yet another border incident in the area?

In any case, the U.S. has been happy to use the incident to issue a warning, not of immediate retaliation but of broader U.S. plans for the region. □

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OVERRULE THIS, MOTHERFUCKER

by Bob Avakian



**"Why Shouldn't
We Shoot
You?"**

Barry Farber: This man is facing 241 years in prison. He is Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, and I think I should find out what that is. It is definitely *not* the Communist Party.

Bob Avakian: Definitely not, it's the party that really is communist and really is revolutionary, that stands for, is openly advocating, organizing, and educating people out here every day, at the present time influencing tens of thousands of people towards the goal of rising up, eventually millions strong, and making armed revolution.

Barry Farber: Well, I can say the Barry Farber Show influences millions of people towards brotherly love and sound conservative thinking and international cooperation. You advocate violent overthrow of the government?

Bob Avakian: Definitely.

Barry Farber: You advocate violence?

Bob Avakian: Most definitely.

Barry Farber: You have just broken the law.

Bob Avakian: Well, as you just said, I'm already up on charges, but the government is hypocritical; they won't bring those charges against me right now and accuse me of that because that would be too openly political. They'd have to say, "Well, our democracy and freedom is not what we say it is; you can only have democracy and freedom if you go along with the program, if you uphold capitalism, if you get on the radio and the television and say what we want you to say or you make speeches that say what we want you to say." Otherwise if you start getting a following — which is what our party is doing — then they come down on you. They are charging me with assaulting police officers after a demonstration of ours was attacked by the police shortly after they revoked our permit.

Barry Farber: Do you mean if you are a communist or a revolutionary communist, you should be allowed to assault police officers?

Bob Avakian: I didn't assault police officers. They attacked our march and demonstration. They revoked a permit on the spot and attacked the demonstration. Then they turn around because *they* have state power, because they are the government, because they represent the capitalist class, and charge us with these things. You see, as you just said it, you are expressing what the capitalist class can't say openly — they have *you* to say it — which is that I ought to be in jail for advocating their overthrow. But they won't come out and say that now because then they would have to say, "Yes, we do have political prisoners, yes, we do have political trials."

Barry Farber: You're committing a crime, you're committing a crime!

Bob Avakian: They're not charging me with that.

Barry Farber: Do they know that you advocate...

Bob Avakian: Of course they know...

This article is the eleventh 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. The above are edited excerpts from the Barry Farber Show on station WMCA in New York City. The show aired in October 1979—ed.

Barry Farber: Have you said that? Have you publicly declared that?

Bob Avakian: Of course, hundreds of times. Let me just tell you something. This show is not really all *that* important, it's not the first time that I made this clear.

Barry Farber: But it's important to me and I want to know if you have declared up to now publicly that you advocate the violent overthrow...

Bob Avakian: I didn't wait to come on *your* program to reveal this secret; I have said it hundreds of times, our party openly advocates it in our newspaper and our publications. We are not attempting to hide it. And see that's how we're different from the old Communist Party. First of all, they don't believe a revolution is necessary, they believe that they can peacefully inveigle, cajole and bargain their way into the capitalist system by calling themselves socialists, try to round up people like Doug Fraser, who pretend to be socialists, to try to keep the people's anger down as this economic and political crisis grows...

Barry Farber: Are you saying, Doug Fraser, president of United Automobile Workers is a communist?

Bob Avakian: No, he pretends to be a socialist, however, a democratic...

Barry Farber: Are you then saying the American Communist Party arranged with Mr. Fraser to pretend to be a socialist...

Bob Avakian: No, no, but they try to work with people like him, and they want to try to say you can do it peacefully, without revolution, which as anyone knows is a farce.

Look at what this government does. This government pulls coups in Chile, shoots down people in Iran, conducted the Vietnam War, and is preparing actively and calculatedly for World War 3. They killed prisoners at Attica for demanding some reforms, they murdered Fred Hampton in his bed, they murdered students at Kent State, they murdered Wobblies for standing up against them — the whole history in this country is one of murder and plunder. They are not going to allow...

Barry Farber: Stop, stop, stop. I happened to have studied a lot of countries and cannot think of a country where I could not call the roll on things that would frighten men, women, and children under their beds if you were to put them all together.

Bob Avakian: This country is ruled by a dictatorship of the capitalist class backed up by force of arms and when people attempt to rise up against it, then what becomes clear...

Barry Farber: What other dictatorship do you know of that allows those who vow to overthrow it violently on the air? If this was a dictatorship, I'd be the tool of a dictator, and you wouldn't be around.

Bob Avakian: The thing about this dictatorship is that it pretends to be a democracy.

Barry Farber: Ah, you didn't say it is a dictatorship which acts like a democracy.

Bob Avakian: No, it doesn't "act like," it *pretends* to be; those are two different words. Here I am being charged with 241 years for exercising my so-called rights, demonstrating, being brutalized by police, and then you want to crow about democracy because you have to let me on this radio show.

Barry Farber: I don't have to let you on this show.

Continued on page 4

"Why Shouldn't We Shoot You?"

Continued from page 3

Bob Avakian: You know why you have to? Because you and the rest of the media cannot ignore our party because we are an influence out here.

Barry Farber: Look, do you want me to show you how quickly I can kick you off this show?

Bob Avakian: Then what would you be acting like — a dictator?

Barry Farber: Absolutely not; like a broadcaster that decides who, all of a sudden, he doesn't want as a guest on his program.

Bob Avakian: Who backs you up in doing that? Who owns this station?

Barry Farber: Nobody has to back me up whether I want you or don't want you. Let's get one thing straight...

Bob Avakian: You see, if they don't like you, they will throw you...

Barry Farber: They certainly will.

Bob Avakian: Because this is a dictatorship of the capitalist class.

Barry Farber: There are sixty thousand other radio stations in this town where I could apply for work if this one decided they didn't want me. And that's more than you can say for any of your communist countries.

Bob Avakian: Right, because the capitalists can have all manner of junk run out there. But when you begin to tell the truth, as we are doing, about what needs to be done to get rid of the madness that millions of people have to go through out there, then you come up on charges. They are even such hypocrites they won't say, "We're attacking you for advocating revolution." They will attack you, trump up charges, then turn around and try to say that you attacked them in order to cover up the political essence of their attack. It is a perfect example of how they try to cover up their dictatorship with a mask of democracy in order to try to keep the people believing that there is an avenue for changing this society, that if you really try to work within this system things will get better, when in fact they'll only get worse and people are suffering more out here...

Barry Farber: Freedom of speech means when you go out of here I'm not going to try to muzzle you. As my friend Hubert Humphrey said, "You have the freedom to talk, I have the freedom not to listen." And I surely have the freedom to take my microphone away from your lips.

Bob Avakian: You don't control your own mike unless the ruling class holds it every day.

Barry Farber: Hold it, hold it. We'll be right back...

(Station break)

Barry Farber: I told you that your mere being on this show, if you never did anything else democratically in this country, merely being on a radio show, an organ of the mass media, is more monumental than anything that goes in the freedom of expression category in any country that is a communist dictatorship.

Bob Avakian: That's completely wrong.

Barry Farber: Then name a communist dictatorship where anything like this happened.

Bob Avakian: In China, the masses of people ran the media...

Barry Farber: An anticommunist can be on the radio? What are you talking about?

Bob Avakian: The masses of people, the millions of people who make up the majority of society and work to make it run, ran the radio stations, ran the media, ran the culture and the education...

Barry Farber: Name an anticommunist who ever got on...

Bob Avakian: Why do we want that? — I told you we might let you on as a negative example.

Barry Farber: I said this was more impressive than anything in a communist country and you're telling me that certain communists got on the radio in place of other communists. I'm saying when did an anticommunist get on?

Bob Avakian: No. Communists got on in place of capitalists and workers got on in place of capitalists and landlords and ran the society and there were millions in debate. And do you know what else they did that never could happen in a capitalist country? They brought the leaders of that country all the way up to the top ranks out in public and subjected them to criticism and forced them to explain themselves, and if they didn't feel their answers were adequate then they didn't allow them to continue in those leadership positions. Millions of people debated and struggled over questions in a way unprecedented in society...

Barry Farber: We'll be right back.

(Station Break)

Barry Farber: Welcome back to a show which you are only going to hear in a real democracy. A young fiery upstart with tobacco sauce instead of blood — clenching his fist, threatening, warning, promising, advocating violent overthrow of the capitalist system — denouncing all who arrest him, whether for rioting or demonstrating or trying to sell newspapers in North Carolina or other crimes like that, denouncing them as repressive pigs, and meanwhile wearing... interesting what people wear around their necks. I see my director has a nice little locket around her neck. Larry, what have you got, a Star of David? An old subway token? Others wear crosses or Stars of David. Mr. Avakian, would you explain what is around your neck and why? Come a little bit closer, you're not afraid of microphones.

Bob Avakian: No, I'm certainly not afraid of microphones or anything else. It's a thirty-aught-six with two carbine shells, empty shells, which I'm wearing because they express a very important political truth that actually Mao Tsetung

summed up very succinctly: "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun," which is what the ruling class is teaching us by arresting us, brutalizing us, shooting Fred Hampton, etc.

I want to say one thing about your thing about dictatorship. I think we ought to come back to that point because I want to make very clear where we stand on that. Our position is that when you have a society divided into classes, you are going to have it ruled by one class or another and it's going to be an armed dictatorship. This is an armed dictatorship in the hands of millionaires who are fearful because they are a handful and exploiters, and they have to camouflage it as democracy. We are openly advocating overthrowing the capitalists, depriving them of their property, in other words, their right to exploit, their right to express their opinions, their right to organize against revolution. We advocate carrying out a dictatorship of the majority of the working class until we abolish classes.

Barry Farber: Now, here is a nation; we have only one planet we can talk about, we don't know what goes on in other galaxies. We have here, according to you, Mr. Avakian, a capitalist state where a handful of capitalists run the action. Can you name a nation other than America that has amassed more wealth and distributed it more fairly to its own and other peoples?

Bob Avakian: I don't agree with your second part, I don't agree with the way you phrased the question.

Barry Farber: Well, you can't disagree with the question.

Bob Avakian: Yes I can, because I don't agree that they have distributed it fairly. The distribution is to a handful of people and they have plundered the whole world to get it. The fact that people are starving in Brazil, that is the basis, as well as the exploitation here, for the wealth they have.

Barry Farber: Back to my question; can you name a nation which, more than America, has amassed more wealth and distributed it more fairly?

Bob Avakian: I can name you a country, namely China, where they did not amass wealth by plundering and exploiting people in China and around the world. That's the point. The wealth is controlled by a handful; it doesn't benefit the masses who produce it.

Barry Farber: So you cannot name a nation which has amassed more wealth and distributed it more fairly than America.

Okay, next question. The biggest flattery to a nation is immigration, not imitation which is pretty good flattery, but immigration — the desire to uproot your life and move to that country that you are flattering by your desire to go there. Can you name another country that attracts more immigration than the United States?

Bob Avakian: "Attract?" That's what you call it, when in Mexico forty percent of the national product is owed to the imperialists like the U.S., when U.S. companies like G.E. go down there and pay people a few cents an hour and force them to come to the U.S. You call that flattery because people have to leave their families...

Barry Farber: Bob, they're coming over from Yugoslavia.

Bob Avakian: Because they are starving under U.S. domination.

Barry Farber: I said Yugoslavia, that's communist domination!

Bob Avakian: That is not, that's U.S. domination. Yugoslavia is in debt billions of dollars to the U.S. Do you deny that?

Barry Farber: I wish Yugoslavia were in more debt to the U.S.

Bob Avakian: They are paying you back every day by promoting U.S. imperialism's interests around the world. That's what Tito was doing in Cuba (at the 1979 Non-Aligned Countries Conference). Aren't you grateful to Tito for that?

Barry Farber: I wish Tito would pay us back every cent we paid them since 1948.

Bob Avakian: Aren't you grateful to Tito for promoting U.S. imperialism's interests?

Barry Farber: You seem to get some great towering pleasure out of Tito being on our side. If he knows what's good for him he'll be on our side instead of the Soviets' side.

Bob Avakian: Why's that, because you're better gangsters?

Barry Farber: We have defended countries like Yugoslavia and Israel.

Bob Avakian: Yeah, what is Israel but a state built upon the Zionist terrorism against the Palestinian people and a beachhead of U.S. imperialism in the area?

Barry Farber: Israel is the only democracy in the Middle East.

Bob Avakian: Democracy? They terrorized all the Palestinians out of the area. They discriminate against non-Europeans, even non-European Jewish people are discriminated against, let alone the Palestinians there. And it's just a beachhead artificially kept alive by massive infusions from the U.S. to keep it as an imperialist outpost.

How about South Africa? How about Iran? How about Nicaragua?

Barry Farber: Stay with Israel for a minute. Aren't you impressed that Israel unlike its neighbors, unlike Egypt, unlike Syria, unlike Jordan, that Israel has real elections with real political parties, including the communist — they have two communist parties in Israel!

Bob Avakian: And neither one of them is revolutionary, that's why they tolerate them. That's why they tolerate the Communist Party, U.S.A. here, because it's not revolutionary. But that is a perfect example of your democracy, so let's look at it. They have the sham of elections just like here where you can vote for one oppressor or another — it makes no difference. They tell you whether you did vote or you didn't vote, you are at fault because if you didn't vote then you didn't exercise your right; if you did vote, you put the guy in there to stick it to you again. But in Israel, they have torture-chamber prisons. They have driven the Arab people out and even that's not enough. They go and grab more Arab land in order, and only because the U.S. supplies them militarily, to keep U.S. presence in the area, to keep the people down in the area, and to rival the Soviets in trying for world domination. And Israel is strategically important for the U.S. in preparing for World War 3, just like South Africa is, just like Iran was. That's a good example of democracy for you, the Shah of Iran. There was a brilliant example...

Barry Farber: Israel has done a curious thing that no communist dictatorship has ever come close to. Israel has said, in the face of lies like yours...

Bob Avakian: That's all truth and can easily be documented.

Barry Farber: I said that Israel has said, in the face of lies like yours...

Bob Avakian: What's a lie? Wait a minute, let's go back, what's a lie?

Barry Farber: Israel has said, "Come into our prisons where Israel uses torture as an instrument of control. Interview our inmates, not just this one, that one, and maybe that one. Come into our prisons."

Bob Avakian: Have you ever been in jail?

Barry Farber: No, I haven't but you must have been or you wouldn't make such heavy weight of it. Now, what did you learn in an American jail that you think that I ought to know?

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Report On The Armed Struggle and the Municipal Elections In Peru

The following communiqué on the municipal elections in Peru, which were held in November 1983, was received by the Revolutionary Worker from the People's Intellectual Movement, an organization under the leadership of the Communist Party of Peru. For further analysis of the revolutionary war in Peru see RW No. 227 "Revolutionary Warfare in Peru."

The Armed Struggle and the Municipal Elections in Peru

"The oppressed have the right to decide every so many years which members of the oppressor class will represent and repress them in Parliament."

— Karl Marx

"Elections are a tool of domination of the landowners and big bourgeois, not an instrument of transformation for the people, not a means to overthrow the power of the rulers; thus it is correct to use the elections as a theme of agitation and propaganda."

— Partido Comunista del Perú:

"Against Constitutional Illusions and For the New Democratic State (1978)."

Carrying out its plan and initiative, the reactionary government of Peru held municipal elections all over the country on Sunday, November 13, 1983.

On the other hand, in the face of these elections, the Communist Party of Peru (PCP), carrying out its programme and developing the masses' initiative, has pushed forward the guerrilla war, the People's War. The PCP called on the people to boycott the elections: to not participate.

In these elections, the ruling party AP (Acción Popular) suffered a drastic and dramatic defeat, receiving only 12% of the eligible votes. Despite this debacle, Belaúnde declared: "democracy has won" ... "the defeated ones are the guerrillas and Sendero Luminoso (a common name given to the PCP)."

The reactionary press, as expected, happily repeated the government's statements and reported internationally and nationally: "Sendero failed miserably" (*Caretas*, November 15, 1983, a pro-government magazine); "The winner is democracy" (*El País*, Madrid, Spain).

Is it true that the winners of these elections are the government and its "democracy" of hunger, jail and death? Is it true that the big losers are the PCP and the People's War it is leading?

Let's examine the following facts and draw our own conclusions:

In the Political Sphere

1. *A clear dilemma for the people:* Two roads, two initiatives to follow. The government and its bourgeois elections or the Communist Party of Peru and its strategy, the armed struggle whose goal is to seize power for the masses.

From the headlines, commentaries and editorials (for example, *Newsweek*, November 1983), statements from the government as well as the parties that took part in the elections, it's very clear that the real alternative for the people of Peru in the present (and eventually for the rest of the semi-feudal and semi-colonial countries) is: bourgeois elections or armed struggle.

The magazine *Oiga* (a pro-government weekly) printed a good example on November 14, 1983: "the vote... was a dilemma between (revolutionary) violence, armed struggle as the midwife of history, and the democratic game."

The reactionaries and their press, in their zeal to underplay the importance and magnitude of the guerrilla war by declaring it defeated, actually brought out its importance and put the PCP and

the armed struggle on the front pages. The reactionaries have not been able to hide the fact that the guerrilla war has grown and reached such a level of development that it represents a real threat to the state and the system, and is an alternative for the people: "Sendero Luminoso is the worst challenge to Peruvian democracy" (*Cambio 16*, Madrid, Spain, July 4, 1983).

Likewise the following commentary is revealing from *Cambio 16* of November 28, 1983, which naively states that "Sendero Luminoso only achieved a level of 50% abstentions in the Ayacucho elections and only 32% in the rest of Peru." But another conclusion emerges clearly from all these statements. With their own words they contradict themselves; their classification of the guerrillas as "a terrorist group," "a handful of social delinquents" and the facts have forced them to recognize that the armed struggle is a powerful movement, every day rooted deeper among the masses and able to contend with the government for state power. They were also forced to recognize that it is the PCP that is leading the war, a political and just war, in which the oppressed masses are the actors and which has been growing systematically and which now includes extensive territories and a great number of Peruvians.

2. *The boycott of the municipal elections called for by the PCP was successful.* The magazine *Oiga* (November 14, 1983) printed the following revealing comment: "the overwhelming defeat of AP (the ruling party) was obvious and focused attention on the high level of abstentions," and adds: "despite the fact that the majority voted enthusiastically, the absence of voters and poll workers was alarming."

According to statistics, though not official, more than 40% of the electorate failed to vote, demonstrating in this way their opposition and repudiation of the electoral road. In 1977, the PCP also called for a boycott of the elections to the Constituent Assembly. At that time the Party didn't have much influence among the masses, because it was completing its 15-year process of reconstruction as a Party of a New Type: Marxist-Leninist-Maoist. Further, it was preparing itself for the armed struggle. In that election,

the number of abstentions and invalid votes was around 18%. The presidential elections were on May 18, 1980. The PCP had initiated the armed struggle on May 17 and called for an active boycott of the elections. At that time 25% of the voters observed the boycott. In November 1980 the first municipal elections under the present regime took place. The number of boycotters, those that observed the PCP's call, grew to 33%. Thus we can see clearly that the boycott is a political act that has gathered strength as a result of the systematic political work among the basic masses, in line with the strategy of "politicizing, organizing and mobilizing the masses" for revolution and the seizure of state power through revolutionary violence.

It's also a very important fact that on the occasion of the elections, the government, "as a democratic measure," imposed all kinds of threats and sanctions on those who wouldn't vote, as well as a veritable psychological war of propaganda on television, radio and in the press, demanding that the people participate in the voting.

An example of the actual blackmail of the population is the fine of 10% of monthly wages which the government imposed on the workers and employees who refused to vote; the rest of the people would be fined 20 soles. In the militarized zones of Ayacucho, Huancavelica and Apurímac, the threat was more drastic and brutal: arrest — which means torture and in many cases disappearance or death; nevertheless in all these regions the boycott topped 66%. In addition, in these militarized zones there was not only a boycott, but the elections were materially prevented — they couldn't be carried out at all because the People's Committees (the new government of the new state in the base areas under the leadership of the PCP) called for a general strike against the government and in support of the armed struggle on November 13-15. The magazine *Caretas* (November 15, 1983), commenting on this strike, wrote: "everyone without exception observed the boycott" and the newspaper *Le Monde* (November 15, 1983) said for its part: "Sendero Luminoso... has succeeded in paralyzing the city of Ayacucho...." In many other towns

there was also complete boycott of the elections.

People's War is a dialectical process. The boycott is only one of the tactics in this process and has been developed as expected and has grown as expected, from small to extensive, from spontaneous to conscious, due to the correctness of the political line of the PCP; thus we expect that the boycott of the 1985 presidential elections will be observed much more broadly than now.

3. *The revisionists and opportunists of the Izquierda Unida (United Left) exposed as true reactionaries.* The so-called IU, which is a collection of all the revisionist and opportunist groups including the followers of the Soviets, Deng and Hoxha, follows the path of those who "seek to win socialism by collaborating politically with the bourgeoisie," as José Carlos Mariátegui, founder of the PCP described the old reformist social democrats. They participate in these elections in collaboration with the reactionary government and its goal to derail the masses from the revolutionary path: the armed struggle.

Furthermore, all the representatives of the IU sided with the enemy of the people: they made all kinds of statements against the present armed struggle and the PCP, calling it "terrorism," "a dirty war," "messianism," "Pol Pot-ism," etc.

Cambio 16 of Spain, in its August 8, 1983 edition, says: "the government of President Belaúnde... seems more assured and enjoys the support of all the political parties, including the IU, in regards to the need to defend the constitutional regime" and characterizes IU (in its issue of November 28, 1983) as: "a coalition hegemonized by socialists who impose upon it a moderate character in strict defense of the constitutional regime."

Now they are expressing a more open desire to ally with reactionary parties, like APRA, FRENATRACA, PSR and eventually with "the left or left-wing of the ruling party AP," "in order to defend democracy" and to "defeat Sendero Luminoso with guns if necessary."

Alfonso Barrantes L., IU representative, is an example of gross oppor-

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A police commando checks identity papers in Ayacucho.

A Hot Autumn Farewell

The following correspondence is from a member of the World Without Imperialism Contingent which recently returned to the U.S. after two months on the frontlines of the antimissile protests in West Germany.

RW,

The floor was cleared. A youth pulled out a big hide-covered drum, an older man with puffy cheeks put a woodwind instrument to his lips and they cut into a pulsating melody. A group of Turkish youth took the floor, dancing in beautiful, fierce, bouncing unison as everyone along the walls clapped and cheered.

This was our farewell celebration with ATIF (Federation of Workers from Turkey in W. Germany) at their center in Köln. Everyone in the Contingent was present, as well as a big group of workers from Turkey and their children.

We had just arrived from the antimissile protests in Mutlangen and Frankfurt and the conferences in Hamburg and West Berlin (see page 7), tired, but in higher spirits than ever. People in the Contingent looked a bit different than two months ago — seasoned, rough, some donning kafiyehs, clothes worn and somewhat frayed from the rigors of the "hot autumn." We spent the afternoon lounging at "the house" where squatters had been putting us up for almost a month, writing correspondence and reports amidst wild story telling and laughter. Some were packing away "souvenirs," posters, leaflets, political buttons — even some wrinkled up, water cannon-blessed literature and three authentic Bremerhaven cobblestones...

Our friends in ATIF started pulling us from the walls and onto the dance floor. We joined in, timid and clumsy, but with the infectious irresistible rhythm we were soon jamming, leaping in the air, spinning around and working up a righteous sweat.

I looked around at the proletarians from Turkey, men and women from late teens to mid-50s, people who work shit jobs and face the threat of deportation into the hands of the junta in Turkey, but who are high-spirited revolutionary optimists. These were people we had grown close to and struggled together with, marching in the streets of Bonn

and the snow in Mutlangen singing revolutionary songs and chanting "A World Without Imperialism, Not An Imperialist World War!", turning heads, greeted with delight and controversy. I remember one meeting of an independent peace group where one of these proletarians fought to be heard against the objections of a few who said, "Let's not talk about abstract world politics."

It was the workers around ATIF who first welcomed us upon our arrival in West Germany and took us into their homes where we strained to communicate, using a combination of sign language, pantomime and laughs. Having come such a long way, a celebration was certainly due.

After catching our breaths, ATIF made a presentation, saluting the Contingent and the RCP, what we accomplished and learned together in stepping into the political fray and raising the pole of opposing all imperialism. We presented ATIF with some of our war-seasoned banners carried at dif-

ferent demonstrations and surprised everyone by singing (as well as we could) the TIKKO March in Turkish. (TIKKO is the guerrilla army of the TKP/ML in Turkey). We also sang "Whirlwinds of Danger," an old Polish revolutionary song and a (once again spirited, but somewhat off-key) rendition of the Clash's "Guns of Brixton." Then everyone joined in with fists high in the "Internationale" in Turkish and English.

ATIF set up a slide show, tracing the history of the class struggle in Turkey, the uprisings, the brutal suppression, the development of the revolutionary movement, the martyrs, and finished with a picture of youth in New York carrying an ATIF banner which had been sent to a May Day demonstration. Afterwards, they read to us from the collected writings of Ibrahim Kaypakkaya, the martyred leader of the TKP/ML — a rare treat as the writings aren't available in English. We spent over an hour asking questions about the development of the TKP/ML, its strategy

in the present situation in Turkey and the world.

It was getting pretty late, but no one wanted to say goodbye. We switched on some reggae, danced, joked around and talked into the early morning hours.

Our whole experience in West Germany was incredible, like a lifetime compacted into a couple of months, the kind of thing you read about in books. We threw ourselves onto the frontlines, making our internationalist aspirations felt, and uniting broadly with people from all streams of society, entering the upheaval, debates and demonstrations. It was a first-hand experience in just what is possible in these increasingly explosive and turbulent times when amidst the stench and decay of the old, and the real dangers of destruction, people catch a glimpse of the new and fight for it. In refusing to be confined by the narrowness of "tending to our struggle in the U.S.," but rather, seeing things globally, we were able to literally stride across the world.

The Fly

Bonn, Nov. 21st — (Below) "World Without Imperialism Contingent" members and a majority of workers from Turkey form the core of an anti-imperialist contingent within the swirl of Autonomes, anarchists, Greens, peace people and others at the demonstration. (Above) The ATIF banner "No To Imperialist War Preparations."



Peru

Continued from page 5

tunism. First he was a member of APRA, later of the pro-Soviet Communist Party which he later abandoned to form part of UDP. Now he calls himself independent, but considers himself a Marxist-Leninist, and thus of the left.

Let us examine his latest statements in the magazine *Caretas* (November 15, 1983) to see what kind of reactionary he is:

With much happiness he says "good-bye to Lenin," later he presents himself as a mystic and religious person: "the Constitution talks of freedom of worship and I respect that... for us politics is a form of being religious." "God will save us from intolerance," "Whatever God and the ranks of the United Left decide." He adds: "if in certain places a single party system is pushed from the start, that is the problem of that reality... the one party set-up is a dogma that doesn't correspond to our reality," "the best way to realize my pluralist call is precisely my affiliation...."

Thanks to these and other similar statements in support of this reactionary system, this "leftist" has been invited to visit the social-democratic regimes of Holland, France, West Germany and others, where he is going to help Mr. Belaúnde by obtaining more loans "with the aim of carrying out his electoral promises," and increasing the national debt and economic dependency. This is the second time Barrantes has served as Belaúnde's itinerant ambassador.

4. *Advances in the process of consolidating Base Areas.* While the reactionary government and its army were

tyed up trying to assure the success of the elections, the People's Committees with the support of the People's Army achieved many advances in the organization of production, and the defense and organization of the new state in the base areas. They also carried out punishments of recalcitrant elements hated by the people who belong to the oppressor class: local government officials, feudal landowners, local power brokers (big and small), informants and traitors of the people. In many places people's courts were organized and these elements were sentenced and executed. Many government officials like governors, mayors, judges and others, simply decided to leave their posts or renounce them in order to save themselves; many retreated from their districts to the big cities like Lima. These areas have remained under the control of the People's Committees.

In the Military Sphere

Here we will examine only the four week period before the municipal elections. The following are the most important achievements.

1. The People's Army confiscated a substantial quantity of arms and munitions from headquarters and posts of the army and police, in many parts of the country.

— 110 machine guns, 30 pistols, 60 grenades, 2 mortars, 5 communication apparatuses and 50 uniforms. All this only in Ocos (Ayacucho) on November 12, 1983, in an attack on the headquarters of the joint forces especially trained to fight subversion.

— 200 arms, including machine guns, rifles, pistols, a large stock of munitions, communication apparatuses; captured in Armisa, which is a company providing

arms to the armed forces (ARMISA factory, Surquillo, Lima).

2. Another 15 police posts and military headquarters were attacked and successfully captured. The main ones include:

— 200 guerrillas attacked police posts simultaneously in Cabana, Aucará and Andamarca, in the southern province of Lucanas, on November 11, 1983. These towns were outside of the area under military control. More than 80 machine guns and pistols were seized, as well as munitions and 16 uniforms; the police posts there were literally demolished. The command post of the Investigative Police of Peru (PIP — the political police) was attacked in Apolo, Lima, October 29, 1983. The same day, the national Center of Training and headquarters of PIP, in Surquillo, Lima, was attacked, resulting in substantial material losses and major psychological demoralization of the ranks of the police corps trained in torture. This action struck boldly at the heart of the training center of these torturers. Its laboratories of torture were destroyed. That same day in Lima, a factory of military production was attacked as well as an arms warehouse. On election day in Arequipa, the police post of Tingo Grande was attacked and seized. On November 10, 1983, there was a major attack on the Navy Ministry in Lima. On November 1, 1983, various imperialist properties were attacked including Coca-Cola and the U.S. ambassador's residence.

— A very important action of international solidarity took place in support of the people of Nicaragua, which suffers the direct aggression of U.S. imperialism which is using its lackey government in Honduras to carry it out. A guerrilla

group attacked the Honduran embassy in Lima November 10, 1983, causing extensive damages and destruction.

In all, about a dozen local offices of the parties AP and PPC (governing coalition) were attacked successfully in Lima and other parts of the country in this period. More than 40 policemen were disarmed and their uniforms seized throughout the country as well.

3. The reactionary armed forces lost more than 50 troops in direct confrontations (battles) and ambushes.

Conclusion

Therefore, who is the real loser? The reactionary government and its system. They have lost men, officials, arms, munitions, territory and couldn't carry out their elections in hundreds of small villages and communities. They lost politically and militarily. On the other hand, what have the revolutionary armed forces gained? The development of the People's War in which they have achieved two important things:

1. Concrete advances in raising the sights of the masses to the key question: the consolidation of the base areas, in which the People's Committees constitute the new workers' and peasants' government of the new state.

2. The conquest and expansion of new guerrilla zones (Arequipa, Libertad, Cajamarca, Huanuco, Cerro de Pasco, Lucanas, Huancavelica). The government has responded to this recently by extending the state of emergency under military control to two more provinces.

Europe, December 1983. People's Intellectual Movement (MIP), an organization under the leadership of the PCP. □

The Specter of World War, The Meaning of Peace and the Road Forward

Correspondence On West Germany Conferences

The following letter, from a member of the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade who took part in the World Without Imperialism Contingent, is a report on one of three significant conferences which took place in West Germany in mid-December.

RW.

Following the November 22nd "Battle of Bonn," ATIF (Federation of Workers From Turkey in West Germany), the proletarian internationalist Turkish newspaper *Partizan*, the World Without Imperialism Contingent and the RCP, USA called for conferences to be held in Köln, Hamburg and West Berlin under the title "The Specter of World War, the Meaning of Peace and the Road Forward." The call pointed out:

"The intensifying confrontation between the Western and Eastern blocs (007, Grenada, Lebanon) has fueled the debate and struggle over the nature of the conflicts in today's world and raised more clearly before millions the specter of world war. This is posing profound questions about the way forward to eliminate war and its source. Because the way in which people understand these questions will determine how they will act in shaping the future, we are calling for a conference with participation from various forces to discuss the following questions:"

Some of these questions were:

"Is world war 3 imminent? What is fueling the apparent drive toward world war? Are the missile deployments being forced on the BRD by the U.S.? Is the BRD a willing partner in NATO and imperialist in its own right? Is the Soviet-led Warsaw bloc also an imperialist alliance and preparing for war? Or a force for peace preparing for defense against U.S. aggression? Is maintaining the present peace possible or progressive? Can the BRD and other major powers wage a progressive or just war? What is the relationship between revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nationalities and the struggle against a nuclear world war? If world war is a real danger then who says revolution is not a real possibility?"

Teams from the Contingent joined forces with ATIF in the three cities. The team I was with went to West Berlin.

Having plunged into the "hot autumn" — its battles, debates and twists and turns — we felt these events would be right on time given the widespread debate and turmoil over the direction of the peace/ anti-missile movement. Building for the conference was a real challenge, rich in experience and exciting. We learned a lot more about the complexity of the political scene, the various trends and the depth of opposition to war preparations among the different streams of society.

From the start we went out broadly, to meetings and in the streets among the radical youth, students, professionals, intellectuals, the clergy, independent peace groups, the Alternative List (a vast network aligned with the Greens) and Turkish/Kurdish groups. A lot of people from these different quarters really identified with the call for the conference, its boldness and sense of urgency, and worked with us to make it happen.

A number of groups gave their endorsement; not, however, without critical examination and struggle. This was definitely the case at a meeting of ASTA (the student government) of Frei University. After being dismissed as being not so relevant by a couple of members — I'm sure they had political reasons for wanting to limit our "relevance" — we continued to struggle off to the side with one guy who was interested. He then demanded an interruption in the agenda and spoke to everyone about the conference, urging support. Discussion broke out, followed by a vote.

That afternoon we added ASTA, F.U. to the list of endorsements which included: Bauchladen, an artist collective (West Berlin); Komitee zur Unterstützung des Alltäglichen Widerstandes in den Ber-



A poster for the conference.

liner Knästen (a political prisoner support group); Friedens (peace) Initiative (Köln); Eine Gruppe für Bildung einer anarchistischen Konföderation (a group for building an anarchist confederation from Munich); and *FightTbAck*.

Individuals also endorsed the call, including two who would speak at the conferences in their cities; Michael Kaiser of the Greens in Köln and Reverend Manfred Baumann of West Berlin.

We met a writer from the U.S. and resident of West Berlin for ten years, Mitch Cohen, editor and translator of a fascinating collection of poetry and prose from both sides of the wall, *BERLIN: Contemporary Writings from East and West*. Aside from his own endorsement he put us in contact with another writer and made time to struggle with some leaders of the Alternative Liste to support and speak at the conference. Earlier, one of these leaders told us he was interested, that the AL itself was in the process of summing up Bonn (the 21st) and discussing future plans. "Our old programme is obsolete," he put it. But the character of the conference, the rigorous discussion called for among the different forces, was extremely controversial and whether to support it or not was quite an issue. (In Hamburg, for instance, the revisionists united to actively oppose it.)

Our call, however, caught the interest and enthusiasm of a lot of the AL grassroots at an AL-sponsored forum called "Euroshima and Grenada." There the panel made a brief announcement of the conference. And as people went out of the auditorium, those of us building the conference agitated in German (by a youth from Turkey) and English. A crowd gathered to talk to us, take leaflets and donate money.

With the countdown of days, the ATIF center became a hectic nest of activity and excitement. The conference became the topic of discussion among the workers as more of them joined us in our mad dashes around the city to leaflet, poster, attend meetings, go to newspaper offices, printers, etc.

We leafleted every major spot where masses could be found, the universities, subway stops, the Turkish Bazaar, the fleamarkets and the cafés and Knipers

where the youth hang out. At a busy middle-class shopping area we unveiled a newly acquired weapon, a beatup, old megaphone (it sure worked good) and proceeded to crack open the superficial Xmas routine. As shoppers gathered around the youth from Turkey speaking, a cop appeared and launched into a Hitler-fit. Some German youth confronted him, calling him a "dog of the state" (!) We continued until a police van pulled up — time to move on — we hopped a subway and popped up in another area to carry on.

Later in the evening we visited a pub in Kreuzberg where a lot of radical youth and *Autonomen* hang out. Already the conference had become a question among these people, many of whom we had met in demonstrations, squats and meetings. After speaking to everyone from the middle of the floor we soon found ourselves embroiled in discussions at crowded tables. "Out on a limb" in the sense of being ahead of the mainstream and under a lot of heat from the state, the question of the road forward is pressing for a lot of these youth. Their views and experience would be indispensable to the conference.

It happened in Berlin on the 11th of December. The conference was, in my opinion, an unprecedented gathering in its political and international character. About 100 people attended, almost one-half Germans (squatters, *Autonomen*, punks, intellectuals and AL supporters). The other half, proletarians of all ages from Turkey, men and women, and some Contingent members.

The program got underway, opening with a presentation by the RCP, followed by *Partizan*. The Reverend Manfred Baumann walked in from the snow, still in his clerical outfit, and spoke to the questions at hand with references to Martin Luther and relating experiences from a recent trip to Central America. He was followed by a surprise appearance and presentation by a representative of the democratic organization led by the Peruvian Communist Party (a.k.a. Sendero Luminoso). Together, these speeches given in various combinations of four different languages, German, Turkish, Spanish and English, set the terms for

hours of lively discussion. Here are some of the highlights:

Debate immediately ensued around the nature of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact which most of the speakers considered to be social-imperialist. This was controversial to say the least. One person in the audience spoke in staunch defense of the USSR as socialist and on the defensive against U.S. aggression. An array of different views were aired as the discussion developed, touching on the foreign policy and economic base of the USSR vis-à-vis NATO, Afghanistan, Poland, El Salvador, Grenada and the present missile face-off.

Later, a question was posed by a supporter of the AL, a woman and frontline blockader during the "hot autumn." She agreed the present world situation needs some fundamental change, but why were the speakers talking so much about revolution, something unrealistic? She went on to discuss the crossroads facing the movement and how she felt peace organizing and direct action on a community level should develop. This sparked discussion over the developing world situation and just what is realistic and possible. A 15-year-old student said he believed revolution is the only way forward, but people are so brainwashed, how can we change their minds? He put out the idea of working in the trade unions to educate the workers, especially about the history of the East/West conflict. One of the *Autonomen* moved forward and shot back that people around the world were already making revolution without half such education, that this wasn't the level on which to work.

The back-and-forth really took off in rapid-fire German, with different people waving their hands to get a turn to speak. A proletarian from Turkey, just fired from an auto plant, jumped into it, exposing the role of the trade unions and their Social-Democratic leadership. The RCP panelist went into the question of the stratification of the working class in the imperialist countries and pointed out the strategic role of the immigrant proletarians from Turkey as a force for revolution right in West Germany.

At one point a youth from Turkey,

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Part III: "...A Loyal Jewish Ulster In A Sea Of Hostile Arabs"



Tanks into Plowshares? On a Zionist kibbutz in the 1920's.

The following article is part three in our series "Fort Apache, The Mideast." Part one appeared in RW No. 237, and part two in RW No. 238.

As the Israeli blitz rolled through Lebanon, and later during the Battle of Beirut, many posited the existence of two Israels to explain what was happening. There was the bad Israel of Menachem Begin and Ariel Sharon, and the good Israel of Shimon Peres, Moshe Dayan, Golda Meir and David Ben-Gurion. There was the bad Israel of the West Bank fanatics, and the good Israel of the cheerful spirit of the socialist *kibbutzim*. The bad white phosphorus, the good citrus plants. The Lebanese inferno vs. the dream in the desert.

But there is a history that led to Sabra and Shatila, there is a dynamic to 30 years of Labor Party rule and 50 years of settlement before it, there are some roots to the cluster bombs that bloomed in the desert of Lebanon and these have to be dug up and examined. The thesis of the two Israels has to be set against the real history of the Zionist movement.

To grasp the dynamics at work in the Middle East, some knowledge of the Ottoman Empire and the imperialist conflicts of the 19th and 20th centuries are more useful than exegesis of Old Testament geography or ratings of relative degrees of oppression. Beginning in the mid-15th century the area now comprising Syria, Lebanon, Israel (Palestine) and Jordan was ruled by the Ottoman Empire, based in Turkey. The Ottoman bureaucracy exacted tribute from the

feudal lords of the region and played the numerous ethnic groups of the area off against each other. But in the 19th century the empire fell under severe pressure from the more dynamic great powers of Europe. Britain dominated Egypt, the French the Mahgreb (North Africa) and the Russians Afghanistan, while Turkey decayed and went into insupportable debt to the European powers. The empire tried to cope, with some success, by allowing some penetration by each rival power in the hope that they would offset one another and thus allow "the sick man of Europe" to hang on.

One form this took was tolerating or even encouraging, within limits, certain settlements directly tied to those powers. The Russians made use of a Russian Orthodox settlement and missionaries, the French cultivated their ties to the Maronite Catholics of Lebanon, and Britain, as far back as 1857, tried to encourage Jewish emigration to Palestine under the Crown's aegis. While this latter attempt failed (the Russian Jews at that point overwhelmingly pinned their hopes to the huge upsurge of the antifeudal reform movement then sweeping Russia), conditions were riper some years later in the wake of vicious pogroms and a general period of reaction in Russia, when Theodor Herzl proposed his scheme for Zionist settlement.

Herzl from the beginning aimed to join the millennialist aspirations of the Jewish peasants and artisans of Russia and

Poland to the great-power interests of whichever imperialist would take him up. He was quite explicit, for instance, in addressing the Ottoman bureaucracy:

"If His Majesty the Sultan were to give up Palestine, we could undertake to regulate Turkey's finances. For Europe, we would constitute a bulwark against Asia down there, we would be the advance post of civilization against barbarism. As a neutral state, we would remain in constant touch with all of Europe, which would guarantee our existence" (Herzl, cited in Maxime Rodinson, *Israel: A Colonial-Settler State?* [New York: Monad Press, 1973], p. 43; see also, Theodor Herzl, *The Jewish State*).

Basically Herzl was calling for a Fort Apache, Palestine — an outpost to be used against the people native to the area. Far from "never having considered the Palestinians," as some modern apologists sum it up, Herzl (and those who followed) clearly understood their selling point to be the subjugation of the Arab masses. (Herzl also very explicitly posed Zionism in opposition to the revolutionary movements then drawing in increasing numbers of Jews in Eastern and Central Europe; at an 1898 meeting with the Kaiser, Herzl wrote, "I explained that we

Fort Apache, The Mideast



were taking the Jews away from the revolutionary parties." Brenner, *Zionism In the Age of the Dictators*, [Westport, Conn.: Hill & Wang, 1983], p. 5)

But Herzl could not marshal serious support for his plan and emigration continued at a trickle during the early decades of the 20th century. The Yishuv (i.e., the Jewish settlement) grew from a peak of 12,000 non-Zionist indigenous Jews in 1860 to 58,000 by 1919. At that point 700,000 Palestinian Arabs resided in Palestine. It was only the vagaries of World War I which gave any real flesh to Herzl's dream, in the form of the Balfour Declaration of November 2, 1917.

The Balfour Declaration committed Britain to "facilitating" the "establishment of a national home for the Jewish people" in Palestine. Publicly expressing assurances that Arab rights would not be violated, Balfour was more frank in his private correspondence: "The four great powers are committed to Zionism, and Zionism, be it right or wrong, good or bad, is rooted in age-long tradition, in present needs, in future hopes, of far profounder import than the desires and prejudices of the 700,000 Arabs who now inhabit that ancient land" (Cited in *The Fateful Triangle*, Chomsky, p. 90).

The Declaration was very clearly the product of British imperialist considerations. The Ottoman regime was collapsing and by early 1916 France and Britain had already drawn up the secret Sykes-Picot agreement on spheres of influence in the area. With France dominant in Syria and Lebanon, and hoping to grab up Palestine as well, Britain wanted to strengthen the Yishuv and more tightly tie it to British interests.

The Zionists could act as a counterweight not only against Britain's French rivals, but also against the Arab nationalist forces which Britain had been obliged to partially unleash and support against the Turks. The Zionist encroachment would form, in the words of Sir Ronald Storrs, the first military governor of Jerusalem, "a little loyal Jewish Ulster in a sea of potentially hostile Arabism" (Brenner, p. 95).

Further, the Declaration came out less than a week before the Bolsheviks seized power in Russia. At that point the British were working feverishly to prop up Kerensky in hopes of "rehabilitating" Russia as a reliable war ally; to that end

the promise of a Jewish homeland was seen as a crumb with which to win over the masses of Russian Jews. These Jews had been, to put it mildly, unenthusiastic about the war from its very start and many at that point were shifting over to the Bolshevik side; now it was hoped that they'd see some stake in an Allied victory. By and large things didn't work out that way.

Beginning in the 1920s the scale of land purchases conducted by the Jewish National Fund and the establishment of industry, which by their charters employ only Jews (and which competed with and ruined many local artisans), led to conflict and struggle between the Zionists and the Palestinians. Immigration continued with British support through the '20s but by 1931 Jews made up 18% of the population of Palestine. With the rise of Hitler, however, emigration from Europe took off, with 165,000 Jews coming to Palestine from 1933 to 1935, raising the percentage of Jews to 28% and

more than doubling the absolute number of the Jewish population.

The Palestinians now found themselves increasingly dispossessed in what had been their own land, and in 1936 attempted a massive general strike. When the strike was decisively broken, armed bands under the influence of Izz ad-Din al-Qassem (a Palestinian leader killed in late 1935 by Great Britain) launched an armed revolt in the hills of Palestine. The Arab Revolt lasted three years before it was finally crushed by the British, with some 19,000 Palestinian casualties. Scores were hanged by British military tribunals. In the course of the rebellion the British relied on and strengthened the Zionist paramilitary forces. The military correspondent for the Hebrew newspaper *Ha'aretz* wrote on April 15, 1966 that:

"...with respect to the events of 1936, it seems to us that had they not happened in
Continued on page 10

Ivan and Anya and Jim and Sally or . . .

What a Look at the Clock will Tell You

Just suppose with us for a moment that an everyday, average American president named Ron found himself face to face with a common, ordinary Soviet chairman of the central committee named Yuri. Suppose they had met in, oh, say, an average everyday hardened underground command bunker. Just say. And there were no hordes of press and live TV being beamed via satellite to oh, say, Europe just in time for the evening news, to bar the two from getting acquainted and speaking from their hearts.

Would they then feel free to sit down and compare notes on their hobbies, what they want for their children, and the problem of making ends meet? Would their common interests and dreams then cross all borders?

(Not likely.)

Often prone to speeches about a world that is not ruled by fear, a world that is not ruled by violence, what they each most deeply want and need is a world not ruled by the other.

Average, everyday Ron might say:

"Gee, Yuri, why is it that so many people seem to feel, well, *unsafe* on account of us? After we deployed all those Pershings and cruises, I thought the world was as safe as the corner bank."

And common, ordinary Yuri might answer:

"I don't know, tovarich! I thought we had assured the tranquility of the planet when you forced us to deploy a couple hundred more SS-20s. I know the underdeveloped nations and national liberation movements felt really secure after we launched our new nuclear-capable submarine that's only slightly larger than Philadelphia."

"One problem, Yuri, is that people don't seem convinced that, when all is said and done, peace is in our hearts."

"Heavens, why not?" Yuri asks.

"Beats me," Ron says. "Anyway now that we're alone — just you, me, and our 20,000 nuclear warheads — maybe we can level with each other. How come all those people sneered when we Americans reduced our nuclear stockpile to its lowest level in 25 years?"

"Perhaps," Yuri offers, "everyone knows that with all these new weapons, you can make war better with fewer. What gets *me* is why all these people guffawed when we Soviets vowed never to use nuclear weapons first?"

Fort Apache

Continued from page 9

the manner and at the time in which they did in fact occur, it is doubtful that the Jewish community could have waged a war for independence eight years later. The Jewish community emerged from these dangerous 1936 events in a stronger position as a result of the strong support it received from the British government and army in Palestine.

"The 1936 events actually involved a confrontation between two national movements, but the Arabs made the mistake of concentrating their attacks on the British government and army. . . . This confrontation with the British (and not with the Jews) caused the destruction of Arab military strength in Palestine, and was responsible for the partial elimination of Arab leadership in the country. After about three years of unequal warfare, Arab military power was destroyed; during this same period, however, the Jews, protected by the British, succeeded in building up their own strength. . . . British reprisals against the Arab armed groups and against the Arab population were much more severe than those against Jewish clandestine organizations a few years later" (Cited in Robinson, pp. 19-20).

Thus the British helped forge the Haganah while decimating the Palestinian resistance. But soon thereafter, British and Zionist interests clashed. (Some use this conflict to say that Israel

"Oh, I understand that completely. It's obvious that without nukes the battle in Europe could go your way faster than it takes to whistle 'I'm Sittin' On Top Of The World.' Promises, promises, like pie crust — made to be broken as the old Russian proverb goes. Now, what I'd like to hear from you is an answer on all those tension-reducing measures I called for on television the other night."

"Such as?"

"Such as you taking your missiles away from the Syrians and ceasing to fuel regional conflicts and exporting

violence."

"El Salvador!"

"Poland!"

"Chile!"

"Afghanistan!"

"007!"

"007!"

"Lebanon!"

"Lebanon!"

"Ah, Ron, we're both so similar. . . ."

"And yet so fundamentally opposed."

Yuri, let's talk turkey. Our working relationship is not what it should be. I'm sure you feel the same way. This has got to be

settled. You push here, we deploy there, you call it countermeasures, we call it deterrence, you call it potato, we call it potato, ditdadadida, dat dáda da da. . . . As Henry likes to say, it'll be a continuation of politics by other means.

"Clausewitz, Clausewitz said that."

"Then we understand each other."

"Completely."

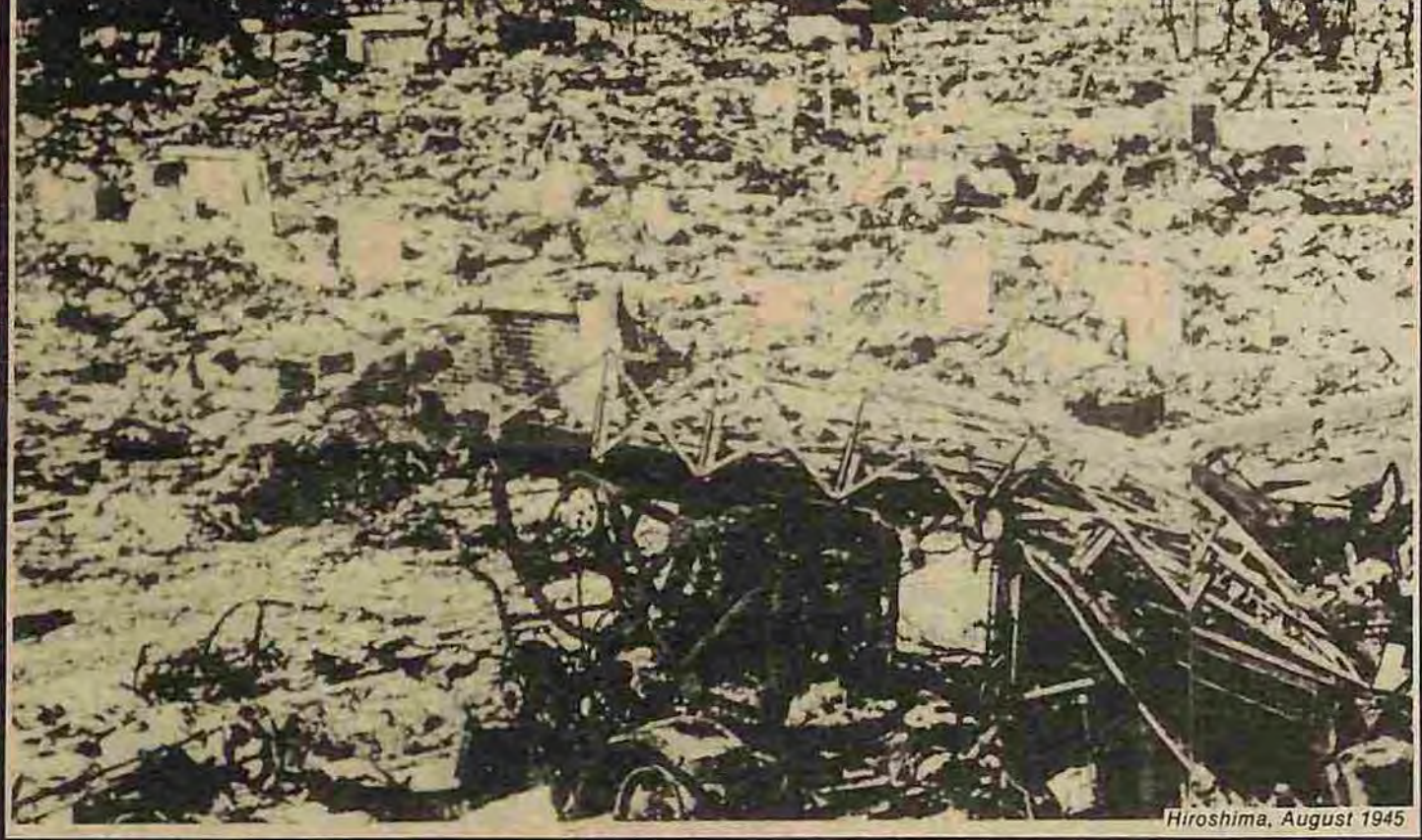
Editor's note: Any resemblance in the foregoing dialogue to recent speeches by Ronald Reagan is purely coincidental.

Thank you, Mr. Reagan!

"Our challenge is peaceful. It will bring out the best in us. It also calls for the best in the Soviet Union. We do not threaten the Soviet Union. Freedom poses no threat; it is the language of progress."

We proved this 35 years ago, when we had a monopoly on nuclear weapons and could have tried to dominate the world, but we didn't. Instead, we used our power to write a new chapter in the history of mankind."

Ronald Reagan
January 17, 1984



could not possibly be a settler state or gendarme for the British, since it found itself in sharp conflict with England; others go so far as to claim that Zionism was a national liberation movement against the British! This conveniently ignores an almost universal pattern in which settler states eventually come into conflict with the Mother Country: witness the Boer War, Ian Smith's Unilateral Declaration of Independence, the actions of the die-hard *pied-noirs* against De Gaulle, etc. (It also ignores U.S. backing of Zionism to advance American interests vis-à-vis Britain in the post-war period.) Having drowned the Arab Revolt in blood, the British were at the same time forced to grant some concessions to Arab national sentiments, both to head off another revolt developing while Britain was directly locked in combat with Germany and to counter budding German relations with anti-British Arabs. Hence Britain issued a White Paper limiting further Zionist emigration to Palestine to 75,000.

The Zionists were enraged. The Irgun — the extreme right-wing Zionist military group later to be led by Menachem Begin — reacted by murdering 27 Arabs who were celebrating the White Paper. The goal of an autonomous Jewish state in Palestine, hitherto unspoken by the mainstream Zionists, took hold, eventually culminating in the Biltmore Resolution of 1942. In 1944 what the

Zionists would today label "terrorist attacks" if done by the PLO were launched against British installations and troops and Arab citizens by both the Labor military arms (the Haganah and the Palmach) and the "revisionist" Irgun.

Much is made of the fact that the British limited emigration just as the war was approaching and with the Nazi regime growing ever more brutal towards German Jews. The *Kristallnacht* pogrom erupted in 1938 and shortly thereafter Hitler finally outlawed the Zionists and ended emigration from Germany to Palestine. (The Zionist record vis-à-vis the Nazis will be dealt with next week.) But the Zionists were not so much concerned with the continued ability of German Jews to flee as they were with where those Jews would go; hence no demand was raised for immigration to be allowed to Britain itself, for example.

But while the war was waged against the Third Reich, it was the British Empire which was broken apart and the American Century which picked up the pieces. A weakened Britain was confronted by U.S. challenges in almost every former sphere of influence, and by an overall challenge in which the U.S. claimed unrivaled hegemony over the imperialist powers *in toto*. In Palestine the U.S. backed the Zionists while the British, trying to hold on, threw their support to certain Arab forces in the first year or so following the war.

The U.S. aided the Zionists in a number of ways, not the least of which was their handling of the refugees from the concentration camps, the Displaced Persons (DPs). While legislation was passed waiving U.S. immigration quotas for refugees from the "Soviet-dominated" Baltic states, the DPs were forced to stay in refugee camps. Meanwhile, *Haganah* officers entered those camps to carry out training and drilling of the refugees — a charge routinely hurled by the Israelis today to explain why terror must be unleashed against *Palestinian* camps. In 1946 Truman used the scandalous conditions in these same camps to press the British to allow an extra 100,000 Jews into Palestine, and the U.S. began to support efforts to "smuggle" DPs into Palestine.

In 1947 the U.S. oversaw the UN vote which created the State of Israel and made official the British exit from the scene. The resolution partitioned Palestine in such a way as to create a "Jewish state" within it of 500,000 Jews and 450,000 Palestinians, and gerrymandered it to give the Jewish state the most productive land (including the best of the coastal land).

There was no way that the Palestinians would go along with this, and on the announcement of the partition they launched a general strike. Sporadic armed struggle between the Palestinians and the

Continued on page 14

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"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."

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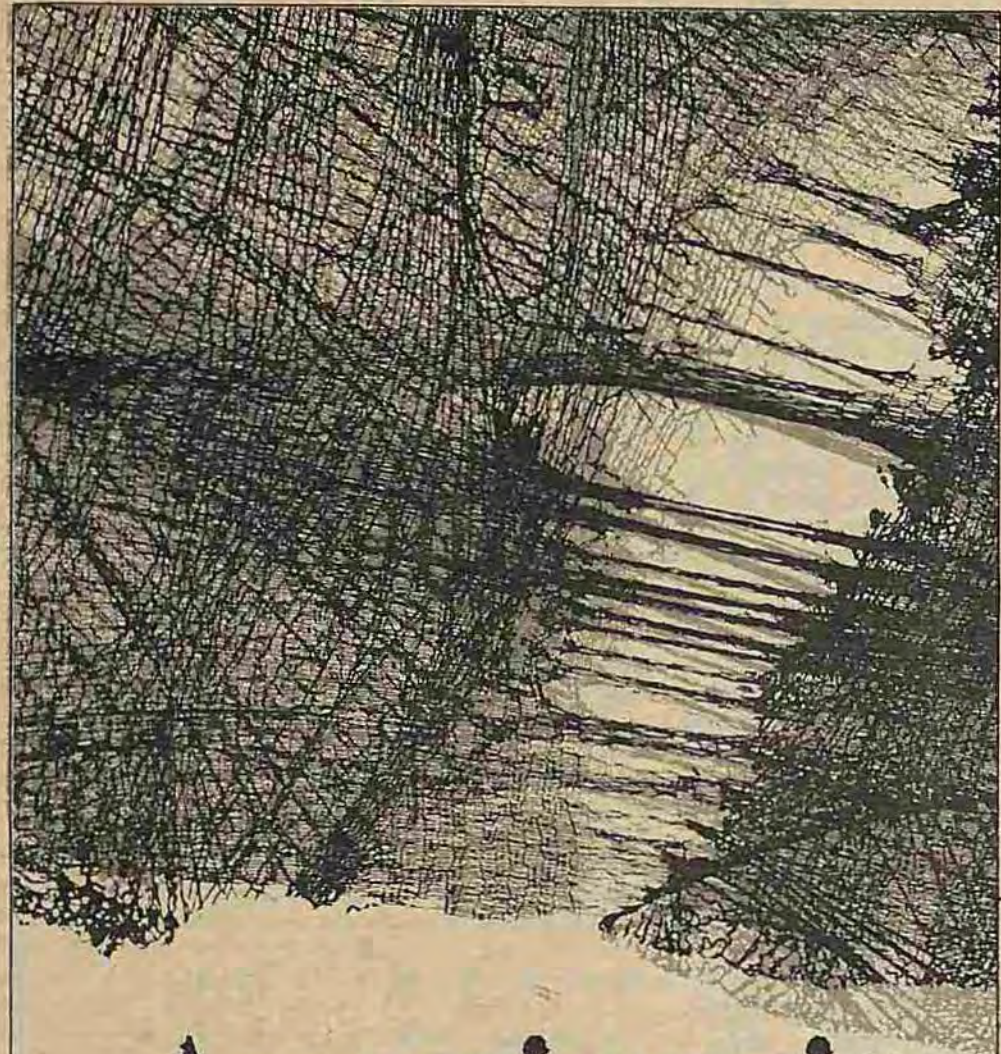
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of the Developments
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"Why Shouldn't We Shoot You?"

Continued from page 4

Bob Avakian: I learned that...

Barry Farber: Hold it! Hold it! I want you to tell me about it once we reconvene.

(Station Break)

Bob Avakian: ... But let's go back to the thing we were talking about earlier, the question of jail. You see, two things. First of all, as far as Israel goes generally, let's make clear our position: we are against any form of oppression of any people by capitalism or imperialism, including of course the Jewish people throughout Europe and other parts of the world. *But* — who set up Israel? The people who instigated the Zionist movement and who set up Israel were people who collaborated with all the various reactionary forces in the world, British imperialism, U.S. imperialism, even the German Nazis, in order to get that so-called homeland. And the head of Israel, Begin, is a member and leader of one of these terrorist gangs that drove the Palestinians out.

And let's go back to this question of jail. The reason that I think you are naive is that if you really believe — I was in jail, yes, for just thirty days, and I've talked to people who have been in jail a lot longer...

Barry Farber: That was an American jail?

Bob Avakian: Yeah, that's right. They only murder you there and then say it's freedom, so it's better than if they murder you there and don't say it's freedom, I suppose. When I was in jail, I was naive to a certain degree. I talked to many people in there and I said, "Listen, these conditions are intolerable. The guards throw water on you at night, they brutalize you for no reason. Doesn't this ever get investigated?" The guys in there said, "Oh yeah, they come in and investigate it a couple of times a year. They bring some big commission in here. They clean up the whole prison, everything is good for one day, and then they go right back to the same thing as soon as the commission is gone." You have to be extremely naive — maybe you should spend some time in jail. Cast aside some of your illusions, take away all your authority as a commentator, go in anonymously, and then tell me...

Barry Farber: When your Revolutionary Communist Party takes over America, I'm sure I will spend a little time in jail.

Bob Avakian: But one thing that will be different, even if you did have to be in jail to be re-educated, you would work, study, and you would not be brutalized, that's one thing. There's no need to brutalize people.

Barry Farber: I'm going to be re-educated by you?

Bob Avakian: You're going to be re-educated by the masses of people. You know something that's going to be fun? I think we will let the people you've been attempting to mislead do that. You know what's going to be really interesting? Not just you, because there are others much more vicious and powerful than you — the Cronkites and all the rest of them. You know what we're going to do with them? We're going to put them in front of politically aware workers and force them to read all this hackneyed ideological prostitution they've been putting out.

Barry Farber: Let's hear a little NBS news.

(News Report)

Barry Farber: Here is somebody who cannot see a thin man beside a fat man without concluding that the fat man got that way at the expense of the thin man. Bob Avakian is a communist. He says that America got prosperous enough to attract people from all over the world because it *milks* the riches of countries like Brazil, and I'm saying hugger-mugger, its the opposite. If it weren't for American business, thousands of people in Third World countries, instead of living in modern communities with clinics, schools, and libraries, would be living in grass huts fighting off alligators. And they know it.

Bob Avakian: Well, I would just say this: a capitalist flunkey is someone who sees a vampire with blood on his teeth and another person with fang marks on his neck but doesn't know the relationship between the one and the other, which is what you just expressed. See, the resources and labor of the people in those countries is there. It's a fact. Let's take for example the vaunted energy crisis that has hit this country and the world since 1973-1974. What has happened in response to that? The U.S. oil companies, and particularly the banks, have made a killing, forcing the poor countries of the world into greater and greater debt, strangling them, forcing them to adopt so-called austerity measures in order to viciously exploit the people even worse.

Barry Farber: You see, Bob...

Bob Avakian: That's your great charity.

Barry Farber: No, Bob...

Bob Avakian: Where you rip off millions and then you drip a few pennies and say "See how charitable we are."

Barry Farber: Now Bob, a lot of us suspect the oil companies, too, but you see here...

Bob Avakian: I didn't just say the oil companies. I said the banks and the whole imperialist system.

Barry Farber: Now look, get your fangs out of my throat. The difference between our democracy and other countries is that we have senators who investigate and reporters and newspapers and radio stations.

Bob Avakian: Has anything ever changed? No, it just gets worse.

Barry Farber: Also, well, have you ever heard of a president named Nixon?

Bob Avakian: Yeah (laughs), I've heard of him.

Barry Farber: Well, what happened to his fascist control over America if what you're...

Bob Avakian: Nixon is just another representative of the capitalist class, no better, no worse...

Barry Farber: Then why couldn't he...

Bob Avakian: ... than Carter, Kennedy and the rest of them.

Barry Farber: Now wait a minute, if he controlled a dictatorship, how did he let the press turn on him?

Bob Avakian: Wait, it isn't a personal dictatorship...

Barry Farber: How, why, did the press turn on him?

Bob Avakian: It is a dictatorship by class and they got rid of him and there's a perfect example of your so-called democracy. Let's examine that and the role of the media. Watergate, I think you'll have to agree, occurred — the break in — before the election, right?

Barry Farber: Right.

Bob Avakian: And yet it was nothing. The media cooled it out, it was a minor incident and nothing happened. Nixon was overwhelmingly elected. Then, when squabbles within the ruling class, in which gangsters always fall out among themselves, brewed up, then all of a sudden Watergate was revived and made a big issue and the media chimed right in playing its role and it was just one section of the gangsters getting rid of another. What does that prove except that they're all gangsters.

Barry Farber: If gangsters fall out among themselves, does that explain why China attacked Vietnam while Vietnam was attacking Cambodia, all the communist countries...

Bob Avakian: Yes, it does. Yes, it explains because China, as you know, has been taken over by people, even if you don't agree with what Mao did, you know that it's run by people who also don't agree with Mao and are no more communists than you are. And Vietnam is also run by people who are flunkeys of Russia, in this case. And there's a lot of things we're going to be talking about Saturday night, because it is a complicated world and you can't get over with just these little quips that don't really relate to what's going on. If people really want to know they should come to that meeting and get on with this.* Because yes, China's revolution has been turned around. That's why we were demonstrating against Deng Xiaoping and that's why we were attacked, because we were exposing that he was betraying China, delivering it into the hands of U.S. imperialism, putting the Chinese people back to being coolie labor — which they're now doing openly — bringing back prostitution, unemployment, inflation, all those glories of this country that you love, and in fact lining up China in the U.S. war bloc or attempting to, or talking about doing so in preparation for World War 3.

Barry Farber: If your communist countries were so great before they got taken over by gangsters, why did they need Iron Curtains to keep their people in place?

Bob Avakian: What Iron Curtain? What are you talking about?

Barry Farber: The Bamboo Curtain around Mao Tsetung's China, the Iron Curtain around Soviet Russia, the Iron Curtain around East Germany, the Iron Curtain around Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria...

Bob Avakian: Wait a minute. The U.S. ruling class erected those in the first place. The U.S. ruling class, when the Chinese Revolution succeeded, decided to back this little tin-horn dictator, Chiang Kai-shek, to whom it had given eight billion dollars of aid, to try to keep the Chinese people in enslavement and starvation. They pretended for years that the island province of Taiwan was the government of China. And for years the U.S. tried to suffocate China economically, as well as carried out aggression against it from the air and the sea and by other means. And when they were finally defeated in that and could no longer carry it out, then they finally had to admit the Chinese people had actually liberated themselves and that there really was a government on the mainland, even though they didn't like it. That's who erected your so-called curtains!

Barry Farber: Why should we not shoot you down in your tracks if you say that you are out to shoot us down in our tracks?

Bob Avakian: There's your so-called democracy right there.

Barry Farber: No, I'm asking you. We didn't start it. You are the one who started preaching violence.

Bob Avakian: People are being shot down every day. Look at this Puerto Rican man, Luis Báez, right here in New York City. They shot him down, reloaded their guns, and shot him again. People are being shot out here every day, and you want to say because I'm exposing that, because I tell people the only way to get rid of it is revolution, that I should be shot.

Barry Farber: No, because you said violence...

Bob Avakian: That shows you are a mouthpiece of the ruling class that is trying to kill me by putting me in jail and then doing away with me.

Barry Farber: The Communist Party, U.S.A. here preaches overthrow, but you preach violent overthrow.

Bob Avakian: No, they don't preach overthrow. They preach working within the system and peacefully changing things, and that's a sham and you know it as well as I do.

Barry Farber: One simple question. If you say this is war and you advocate the violent overthrow of those who actually love this country and believe in it the way it is...

Bob Avakian: No, no, of the government, the capitalists, the handful of exploiters. You're just someone who goes along with it and puts out their word for them.

Barry Farber: Well, would you explain why our forces should not pay their lackeys to repress you if you indeed preach violent overthrow of us and wear bullets around your neck to remind us?

Bob Avakian: That's the same thing as saying that a slavemaster will naturally hang and kill a slave who goes out to rile up the other slaves. Millions of people hate this system and are living a hell under it, no matter what you may think, and we're going out and riling them up, yes, to see the source of the problem and rise up to overthrow it.

Barry Farber: Bob, a lot of people are free to leave this country as others have come.

Bob Avakian: Oh yes, if you've got plenty of money to travel, you're free to leave. What about the people who work and make the money that others live off of?

Barry Farber: I want to thank you for what you'd like to thank me for someday. I think you have provided us a little negative educational example and I thank you very much.

Bob Avakian: Well, it is negative for the capitalist system and positive for the people and thank you.

Barry Farber: Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Revolutionary Communist Party, WMCA, New York. □

*This refers to Bob Avakian's major speech in New York City on the 1979 speaking tour — RW.

Kissinger

Continued from page 1

The *Journal* reported that the Nicaraguan intelligence chief briefing the commission members "used a large map filled with red lines and the symbols commonly used by Soviet bloc intelligence services... which included such details as the flight of U.S. aircraft in the area," and he continually referred to the U.S. as the "enemy." Lane Kirkland, head of the AFL-CIO, and Henry Cisneros, mayor of San Antonio, were in particular said to be "stunned" by this "extensive evidence of Soviet collaboration with Nicaragua," and were then pushed by Kissinger to concede the necessity of continuing and upping military aid to the Salvadoran government. (Somehow it's a little hard to imagine Lane Kirkland "stunned" by any of this since, for one thing, many of his own organizers in the region's American Institute for Free Labor are also CIA operatives.)

Here was Kissinger's forte, and the very reason he was chosen to head the commission in the first place. Henry Kissinger, anti-Soviet extraordinaire, was the ideal choice to lead the way in forging a consensus that America's regional difficulties should be located squarely within the context of developments toward a global confrontation with the Soviet Union, not to mention the confrontation proper. This, of course, is hardly a novel approach by the U.S. rulers these days and is clearly the salient point of the commission. In the section of the report on "Strategic Implications for the United States," the report draws the link between stability in the U.S.'s "own backyard" and broader global concerns: "The ability of the United States to sustain a tolerable balance of power on the global scene at a manageable cost depends on the inherent security of its land bases. This advantage is of crucial importance. It offsets an otherwise crucial liability: our distance from Europe, the Middle East and East Asia, which are also of strategic concern to the United States.... At the level of global strategy, therefore, the advance of Soviet and Cuban power on the American mainland effects the global balance...." The commission goes on to warn against the committal of major U.S. resources (i.e., a big ground war) to Central America since this would greatly weaken the ability to "defend" other strategic points, like the Mideast. Whether the U.S. can avoid such a committal remains to be seen, but in any event, the U.S. effecting "a tolerable balance of power" — in other words, positioning itself most favorably for confronting the Soviets — is itself greatly affected by the intolerable situation in Central America. And besides, *America is starting to look pretty feeble*: continued inability to straighten things out, the commission urges, would be widely read as a "sign of U.S. impotence." Not a prospect pleasing to true gritters.

"Seamless Web"

The report reflects the complexity of the situation the U.S. faces, deriving from the interaction of international and regional contradictions. On the one hand it is not a straight-line preparation for a military onslaught; the report discusses the necessity for more complicated maneuvering given that critical "non-communist forces," such as Guillermo Ungo, who are pro-Western, are in alliance with pro-Soviet elements. Those who consider it to be *nothing but* a military escalation could easily fall under the very influence of these various maneuvers and enticements, which are real. On the other hand, the treatment of the various components of the report as divisible — "the military aid stinks, but the economic aid will help" — fails to heed the underlying dark truth behind the commission's own warning that its recommendations form a "seamless web." What this means is not that there are not various components to the report, but that *all* are planned and shaped to advance strategic U.S. interests — and generally immediately, and forcefully — in that they work in tandem, operating in the various spheres to strengthen the lackey governments while squeezing and enticing the Ungos and thus neutralize and render ineffectual the pro-Soviets. In large part, this still falls along the lines of

building up Honduras as a military bastion of the U.S., surrounding and isolating Nicaragua (even while aid is offered Nicaragua, conditioned of course on Nicaragua implementing significant pro-U.S. measures) and dividing and then smashing the opposition in El Salvador. All of this is carried out along a multiplicity of tracks — some have called the report a "hodgepodge": but what is intended is the setting in motion of many measures on many fronts, which can be flexibly deployed or strengthened depending upon motion on one or another front. How much of all this will actually be implemented is undetermined, and a number of measures are still vague; already Reagan has indicated that he will take up the report in a piecemeal fashion. Nonetheless, the direction indicated by the commission will in the main be taken up — the U.S. position has eroded, and dangerously so. And the bottom line for the U.S. is still the bullet.

Much has been made of the "1985-1990 approach of the report." The time frame alone is revealing — nobody's really talking about long-range plans here, but rather immediate shoring-up measures in light of bigger preparations. Reagan is already using the report broadly to try and solidify support for quadrupling El Salvador's military aid for 1984 from its present \$65 million to \$240 million.

While many of the specific uses of the proposed increases in military aid are yet to be determined, several key measures are defined. One is the already much-discussed beefing up of the Salvadoran army. The current 4:1 ratio of government troops to opposition troops is considered to be too far below the 10:1 ratio which the imperialists hold to be the minimum needed by a puppet army to defeat the guerrilla-style force. The measure lends a certain perspective to the recent accomplishments in curtailing the death squads: three leaders are transferred abroad, and tens of thousands more U.S.-trained killers are let loose on the population.

Also discussed is the necessity of increasing the mobility of the Salvadoran troops, including through supplying them with helicopters. Again, much of the problem the U.S. is experiencing here has to do with the corrupt and demoralized nature of the puppet army: at this point in order to hold what they've got and avoid any kind of spectacular or humiliating losses (on the order of the overrunning of the army garrison at El Paraiso last month) the army has been forced to position three-quarters of its troops in what it calls "static defense," concentrating them at key points, in cities, etc. Only the remaining one-quarter of troops go on patrol. The recurrent nightmare arising from this situation is that frequently when the patrols are ambushed, the stationary troops have dragged their feet about going to the aid of the besieged patrols. What the report envisages is the use of helicopters to make use of allegedly more elite and disciplined troops for such emergencies. (A draft of the report discussed the formation of a Salvadoran Rapid Reaction Force consisting of 1,000 of the most elite troops, but this section of the final report was not available to the *RW*.)

The report goes on: "Another obstacle to the effective pursuit of anti-guerrilla strategy is a provision of current U.S. law under which no assistance can be provided to law enforcement agencies. This dates back to a previous period when it was believed that such aid was sometimes helping groups guilty of serious human rights abuses." "A previous period" indeed. But now things are so different: Reagan, in his human rights report delivered to Congress on January 17th, asserts that so much progress has been made that death squads are now killing 30 to 40 people a week (of course these figures pre-date the autumn killings which probably matched corpse for corpse any previous period). Supposedly renewing this "professional" training and assistance should really have the impact of improving human rights performance." We agree — the International Police Academy and CIA should most certainly be able to raise the efficiency and productivity of the Salvadoran security forces.

There are numerous other measures proposed here, including the establishment of a parallel organization and command structure "in the Pentagon and in

the field," presumably a measure which would prepare the U.S. high command to involve itself more directly in advising the Salvadoran troops — as well as for more drastic contingencies.

Butter

While virtually all U.S. spokesmen embrace the main plans of the multi-track U.S. strategy, it is on the allegedly concessionary elements of the commission's recommendations that the liberals really shine as they respond to the "demands of conscience" that cry out to them: "When our neighbors are in trouble, we cannot close our eyes and be true to ourselves." The commission then promises "bold initiatives" that will eradicate illiteracy and malnutrition, reduce infant mortality, provide health, education and housing to all, etc. It is tempting to simply dismiss this as incredibly up-front "pie in the sky" demagoguery — but that misses the point.

Administrators of the United States aid program put this moral posturing in a truer light when they remarked to one journalist that there would be little point in sending large amounts of economic aid to Central America if the aid did not serve a strategic end. "Should our aid programs not support the foreign policy goals of the United States?" asked a senior AID official in San Salvador.

There are proposals to revitalize the still largely ineffectual "land reform/pacification" program designed after Vietnam's notorious "Operation Phoenix." To help block some of the foot-dragging on this from the Salvadoran landholding oligarchy, the U.S. adds one measure that it had previously overlooked — a much-padded remuneration for anyone who loses land through the measures. Infrastructure development is a big priority: bridges, highways, power plants, etc. — again, these are key to the mobility of the Salvadoran troops, and had been heavily damaged by the opposition forces in the autumn offensive. Interestingly enough, chunks of what has heretofore gone under the human development rubric are now also mentioned in the section on "Problems of Guerrilla War," along with "counterinsurgency." But then this is not just any old "counterinsurgency" — this is "enlightened counterinsurgency," also called "humane anti-guerrilla strategy." Really.

New variations along these lines are set up too, such as establishing communication links along the Honduran-Nicaraguan border, patently useful to no one besides the U.S.-created *contra* forces there. As for the much publicized call for expanding the Peace Corps, establishing a Literacy Corps with Spanish-speaking volunteers from the U.S., etc., their plans for health care workers are indicative of the uses to which these people will be put: It turns out that health care workers will also be expected to carry out "paramilitary duties" — once they've gotten their foot firmly in the door as medical aid they can turn around and finger subversives.

One of the more widely hailed "human development" planks was the commission's call to provide scholarships for

10,000 Central American students to come to the U.S., as well as a general refurbishing of the educational structure in the region. These measures too are shaped by strategic interest: in parts of the report not reprinted by the press, the commission notes how the universities have become hotbeds of rebellion, how too much time is spent on subjects of "little practical application," like history, philosophy and law. In El Salvador the National University is virtually shut down and even at the Jesuit-run university set up as an alternative, the regime is generally despised. Beyond that, the Soviet bloc takes 7,500 students per year to be educated in its universities (mainly from Nicaragua); the commission decries the specter of Central America's "future leaders" receiving training in the evil empire. Hence the proposal to re-establish the Salvadoran universities, firmly grounded in a technical and professional orientation, and to bring thousands of students to the U.S.

This is not a call for a mass influx of Central American students into the U.S., even if passed in full: the program is tightly controlled, with guidelines for selection of "mature" students, who will be on government scholarship programs with many strings attached to hold them in line — half would be required to study technical and vocational subjects, and hundreds of slots are reserved for government officials.

It is worth returning to the comparison of the Kissinger recommendations with the Alliance for Progress. But this is not the '60s; dramatically different features are shaping the events of the '80s, and there are different specific political ends in the commission's schema, conditioned most especially by the contention between imperialists, West and East. In other words, the comparison is crummy. Even if the report were implemented in full, it would not set into motion that kind of infusion of capital, nor is it intended to, nor is this by any means even possible today for the U.S. as its rulers well know. Consider what is happening already: out of the \$1 billion or so envisioned by the report in 1985, Reagan has requested that nearly \$300 million of that be military aid to El Salvador alone, not even to mention military aid to the other countries. Another large chunk would — and most probably will — go to enable the Central American countries to continue to meet huge payments on their foreign debt, owned overwhelmingly to U.S. banks. As for the other above-mentioned elements of the "seamless web," these can hardly be seen as part of a program for a big transformation of the social and economic relations in the region — à la the Alliance for Progress — but rather as a carefully defined targeting of more limited U.S. aims designed to prop up the regional status quo, achieve some kind of temporary stability, and thwart the advance of Cuban and Soviet influence.

In short, the Kissinger commission's report is no testimony to a healthy, upbeat, strategically confident U.S. imperialism. The report's content, even its urgent tone, suggests all-around dire straights. □

Joint Communiqué of 13 Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organizations. Autumn 1980

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Palestinian fighters during the Arab Revolt of 1936-39.

Fort Apache

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Zionists erupted, punctuated by severe reprisals by the Zionists; it was during this period, in April 1948, that Deir Yassin occurred (more on this shortly). The Arab rulers of the area, under pressure from the Arab masses and badly underestimating the Zionists' international backing, then launched a poorly conceived invasion, which became the 1948-49 war. This war had two main effects: first, the Zionists considerably ex-

panded their territory beyond the UN mandate, and second, 850,000 Palestinians were driven into exile, and over 400 former Palestinian villages were razed to make room for Israeli settlements.

The Israeli victory owed much not only to Western economic and diplomatic support, but to direct military support as well. On May 22, 1959, the *Zionist Record* reported that Ben-Gurion, in his personal foreword to the IDF's *Official History of the War of Independence*, revealed that:

"— Israel had only 10,000 rifles and no heavy weapons when war started;

"— South Africa with its relatively small Jewish community, contributed more to the Israeli war effort in terms of

skilled volunteers than any other country in the world;

"— Whole Israeli regiments of volunteers were trained in Germany, Austria, France and Czechoslovakia in 1948; . . .

"— Without foreign volunteers, the establishment of Israeli air, naval, and armored forces, as well as of weapons development and military industry, would not have been possible. Since without these forces Israel could not have achieved victory in that war, according to the official history, it can thus be agreed that the War of Independence was won thanks to foreign volunteers who comprised one-fifth of Israel's total armed strength" (Cited in the *Revolutionary Worker*, November 12, 1982, p. 14).

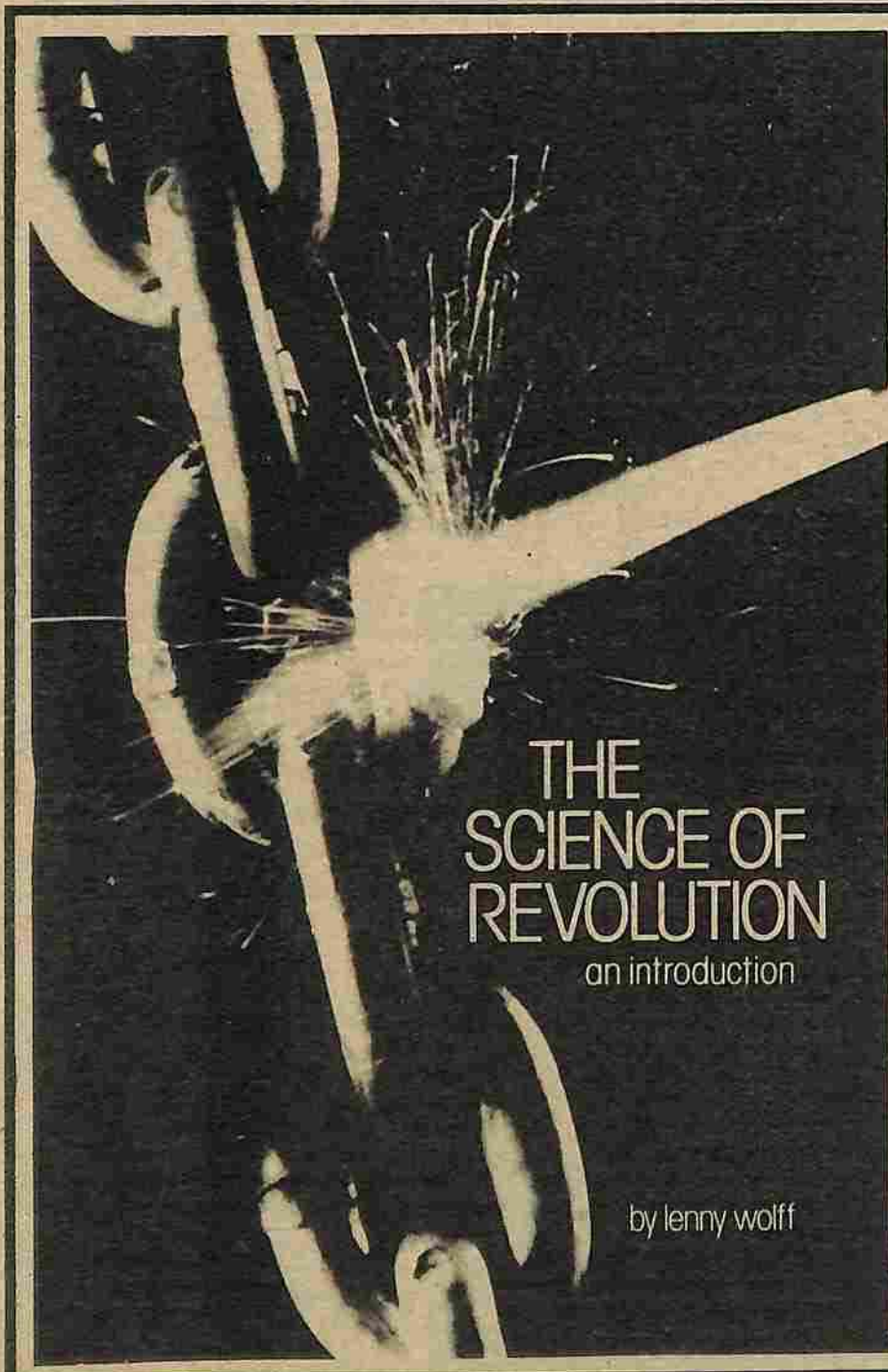
But the crucial moment of the war took place before it even began, at Deir Yassin on the night of April 9-10. On this night troops of the Irgun murdered 254 Palestinian noncombatants in the neutral village of Deir Yassin. All leading Zionists admitted that it was a massacre, except for Begin himself who nonetheless bragged in his book *The Revolt*: "All the Jewish forces proceeded to advance through Haifa like a knife through butter. The Arabs began fleeing in panic, shouting Deir Yassin!" (Cited in Rodinson, p. 114-115). Chomsky notes that "Colonel Meir Pail, who was communications officer for the Haganah in Deir Yassin and an eyewitness, describes how Begin's heroes loaded 25 survivors into a truck and drove them through Jewish neighborhoods of Jerusalem, then taking them to a quarry where they were murdered, while others were driven off to be expelled beyond Israeli lines" (p. 236). Though officially disavowed by the mainstream Zionists, Deir Yassin (combined with the earlier smashing of the Arab Revolt) nevertheless played a key role in the expulsion of the Palestinians from Palestine.

Throughout this entire period of the creation of the settler state the mainstream Zionist movement was synonymous with the Labor Party, and the Labor Party ruled Israel for its first 29 years, and the official Labor Party line for this time was summed up by Golda Meir: "It was not as though there was a Palestinian people in Palestine considering itself as a Palestinian people and we came and threw them out and took their country away from them. They did not exist" (*London Sunday Times*, June 15, 1969).

For the Palestinians, there has always been only one face of Israel. The Israeli dream remained a nightmare for them throughout the '50s. Israel pursued a dual policy of consolidating its state via terror against Palestinians within its borders and on the West Bank and Gaza while also fighting to become the predominant regional military power. The former was done through a series of vicious military raids, carried out by the Special Unit 101 led by Ariel Sharon; the latter through a tactic of provoking one-sided confrontations with the various Arab states, usually handily won by Israel. The systematic nature of these incidents is tellingly revealed in the secret diaries of Moshe Sharett, Israel's foreign minister and later its prime minister from 1953 to 1956.

Sharett's diaries have been called the Israeli Pentagon Papers; they reveal a great deal about the designs, thinking and inner workings of the Israeli ruling circle in the mid-'50s. The eight volumes of diaries were published in Israel by Sharett's son several years ago, despite pressure to withhold them. When Livia Rokach — herself the daughter of the

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Theodor Herzl with Kaiser Wilhelm II in Palestine, 1898.

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Israeli Minister of the Interior — translated portions of the diary in English and wrote a commentary on them which was published by Arab-American University Graduates in the U.S., Sharett's son (aided by the Israeli Foreign Office) filed suit and unsuccessfully attempted to block their publication. When that failed, the book was effectively blacked out by the mainstream U.S. press. Some key passages are cited below:

• From February and May 1954: "Then he [Ben-Gurion] passed on to another issue. This is the time, he said, to push Lebanon, that is, the Maronites in that country, to proclaim a Christian state...."

"According to him [Dayan] the only thing that's necessary is to find an officer, even just a major. We should either win his heart or buy him with money, to make him agree to declare himself the savior of the Maronite population. Then the Israeli army will enter Lebanon, will occupy the necessary territory, and will create a Christian regime which will ally itself with Israel. The territory from the Litani southward will be totally annexed to Israel and everything will be all right...." (Rokach, *Israel's Sacred Terrorism*, pp. 24, 29). Rokach notes that Israel's alliance with France, especially the crucial military aid begun in 1955, caused the postponement of the plan.

• Beginning in 1953 the IDF consciously invented provocations followed by massive, preplanned reprisals as a means to take over the Sinai. "Ben Zvi [the President of Israel at the time] raised as usual some inspired questions," Sharett wrote on October 11, 1953, "such as do we have a chance to occupy the Sinai and how wonderful it would be if the Egyptians started an offensive which we could defeat and follow with an invasion of that desert. He was very disappointed when I told him that the Egyptians show no tendency to facilitate us in this occupation task through a provocative challenge on their side." To this end the IDF seized on a minor border incident to launch an attack on the West Bank village of Qibya in which 66 Palestinians — nearly three-fourths women and children — were killed a scant four days after the above entry. Sharett, a dove, was horrified — though more of the reaction in the West than anything else: "... I was simply horrified by the description in Radio Ramallah's broadcast of the destruction of the Arab village. Tens of houses have been razed to the soil and tens of people killed. I can imagine the storm that will break out tomorrow in the Arab and Western capitals" (Ibid., pp. 14-15).

• As far back as 1955 Ben-Gurion presented a plan to the Cabinet to occupy

the Gaza Strip. This followed an Israeli reprisal operation against "Palestinian infiltration" which left 39 Egyptians dead and 30 wounded (including a 7-year-old boy).

The motivations for and the interests at stake in the 1956 war have already been touched on. Those who maintain that until the Lebanese invasion the IDF practiced "purity of arms" should ponder some of the events of that war: the slaughter on October 29 (the first day of the war) of 47 Arabs in the Israeli village of Kfar Kassem for violating a curfew that had been imposed on all Israeli Arabs — the villagers were returning home from work literally a few minutes past the 5 p.m. deadline (which they had not heard about) and Israeli troops killed almost all, including 15 olive pickers coming home in a truck, all but two who were women, one of them eight months pregnant; the murder of at least 275 Palestinians in the Gaza town of Khan Yunis in a house-to-house search for weapons and fedayeen; and yet another slaughter of 111 Palestinians on November 12 at the refugee camp at Rafah (also in the Gaza Strip) when the refugees resisted a round-up by the IDF for intelligence screenings. The head of UN forces in the Gaza, a U.S. colonel, wrote that "many key UNRWA (the UN agency in charge of refugee relief — RW) personnel are missing from the camps and are believed to have been executed by the Israelis. Many Israeli soldiers have robbed civilians, taking watches, rings, fountain pens, etc., away from the Arabs either in their homes or on the streets. Every vehicle and every bicycle has been confiscated. Private workshops and machine shops have been stripped of all mechanical tools. Many mules and horses have been taken and cloth has been taken from the stores" (Donald Neff, *Warriors At Suez* [NY: 1981], pp. 368, 418-420).

While some Arab heads of state during this period adopted an intransigent posture for public consumption, in reality they went to great lengths to avoid angering Israel. The U.S., Britain and France publicly claimed to follow the "Tripartite Agreement" which forbade arming either Israel or the Arab states, but France had built up the Israeli military machine through secret arms shipments and Israel had clear military superiority. Both Jordan and Egypt therefore suppressed attempts to organize fedayeen in the refugee camps up until 1955, and Nasser tightly controlled the fedayeen even afterwards (Rokach, p. 62). Israeli policy was far from "defensive" (which wouldn't have made Israel right, anyway: the question of "who shot first" has been continually used in this arena to cover over earlier



Following the massacre at Deir Yassin, thousands of Palestinians fled from the Zionist-controlled sections of Palestine.

Israeli provocations and more than that to mystify the underlying political roots of these wars — although Israel has in fact "fired first" in all but the 1973 war), but an offensive one aimed at setting very clearly the limits beyond which Arab regimes would not be allowed to venture.

The 1967 war was essentially more of the same, in trumps, and will not be dealt with in depth here, except to note that its outcome marked something of a turning point in the area. Four major effects flowed from the Israeli victory. First, the U.S. and Israel significantly deepened their relationship, as the U.S. pumped qualitatively greater aid to Israel in the years following 1967 than before the war. Israel had clearly won its spurs as the U.S. client in the area, at a time when the policy of increased U.S. reliance on surrogates to defend its interests in various regions was beginning to come into play. Second, the Israelis now occupied the West Bank, Gaza and all of Jerusalem, bringing 1.25 million additional Palestinians under their direct control. Third, the Arab nationalist regimes — Nasser's in particular — were discredited and their stranglehold on the Palestinian struggle broken, at least for a while. Fourth, the Palestinian resistance experienced a Phoenix-like resurgence, most dramatically signaled by the successful defense of the Fateh training camp near Karameh, Jordan, against the IDF in 1968.

These events flowed out of (and in turn reacted on) the overall determining international context of the day, which at that point was most conditioned by the rising challenge to U.S. domination from revolutionary-led national liberation struggles around the world. (Similarly both the ebb suffered by the Palestinian struggle in the '70s and the higher stakes — including far greater obstacles and far greater opportunities as well — can only be grasped in their relation to the shifting international contradictions of those periods; for more on this see Bob Avakian's discussion of "The '60s-'70s Shift," RW, April 2, 1982, p. 3.

As pointed out earlier, the official Labor Party line had for years maintain-

ed that not only had the Palestinians no rights, they didn't even exist. While the Israelis were no more ready to admit to their existence — the earlier Meir quote was from 1969 — they did in fact now have to deal with their resistance on a qualitatively higher level. Thus while Israel would be willing to return the Sinai to an Egypt that had been brought into the U.S. bloc as a pliant subordinate, the West Bank and Gaza were given a steady diet of blood and iron. Israeli troops and administration in the occupied territories were soon supplemented and backed up by settlers from the most fanatical and retrograde elements of Israeli (and Jewish-American) society. And while the chimera of a mini-state has been consistently held out to "get the Palestinians to listen to reason" — in fact, to gain ground for generally defeatist and capitulationist tendencies, and to weaken the resistance of the fedayeen — Israel in reality intensified its occupation of the West Bank.

The death grip on the West Bank tightened steadily from 1967 on, under both Labor and Likud, as did the attacks in Lebanon, the support for Hussein's bloody suppression, etc. The 1982 invasion of Lebanon marked a further turning point in the process. If the earlier one was conditioned by the contradiction between the U.S. and the liberation struggles of the Third World, in Lebanon we saw in microcosm many of the forces propelling things forward today: on the one hand, the intensifying conflict between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, which lent the invasion its frantic urgency and extreme brutality and which conditioned the direct U.S. military intervention with the peacekeeping force; and on the other, the determination of the oppressed to continue their resistance against imperialism, at a time when the stakes are far higher.

But the roots of today's horror are bound up with the origins and history, the intrinsic character of what has always been an imperialist project; the "old Israel" is not a dream to be redeemed but a bloodsoaked nightmare to be broken with. □

Correspondence On West Germany Conferences

Continued from page 7

whose previous comments on the situation in Germany had been enthusiastically received by several anarchists, said that a vanguard party is needed in West Germany. Right away, an anarchist disagreed, saying there are already eight communist parties who call themselves "the vanguard" and aren't worth a shit — what's needed is more militant action and unity between the anti-fascist movement in Europe and the national liberation struggles.

Throughout, the *Partizan* and RCP panelists entered the particulars of the discussion, putting forward their views of the developments towards interimperia-

list world war growing from fundamental crisis and decay; the heightening of all the contradictions on a world scale, including revolutionary possibilities, even in the imperialist countries. They pointed out that only revolution could prevent world war, or that world war would give rise to revolution.

The scene was too much, this cross-section of people from West Berlin and around the world grappling with these very pressing questions into the night. I think everyone involved had to step back and check it out.

Member of the RCYB

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