



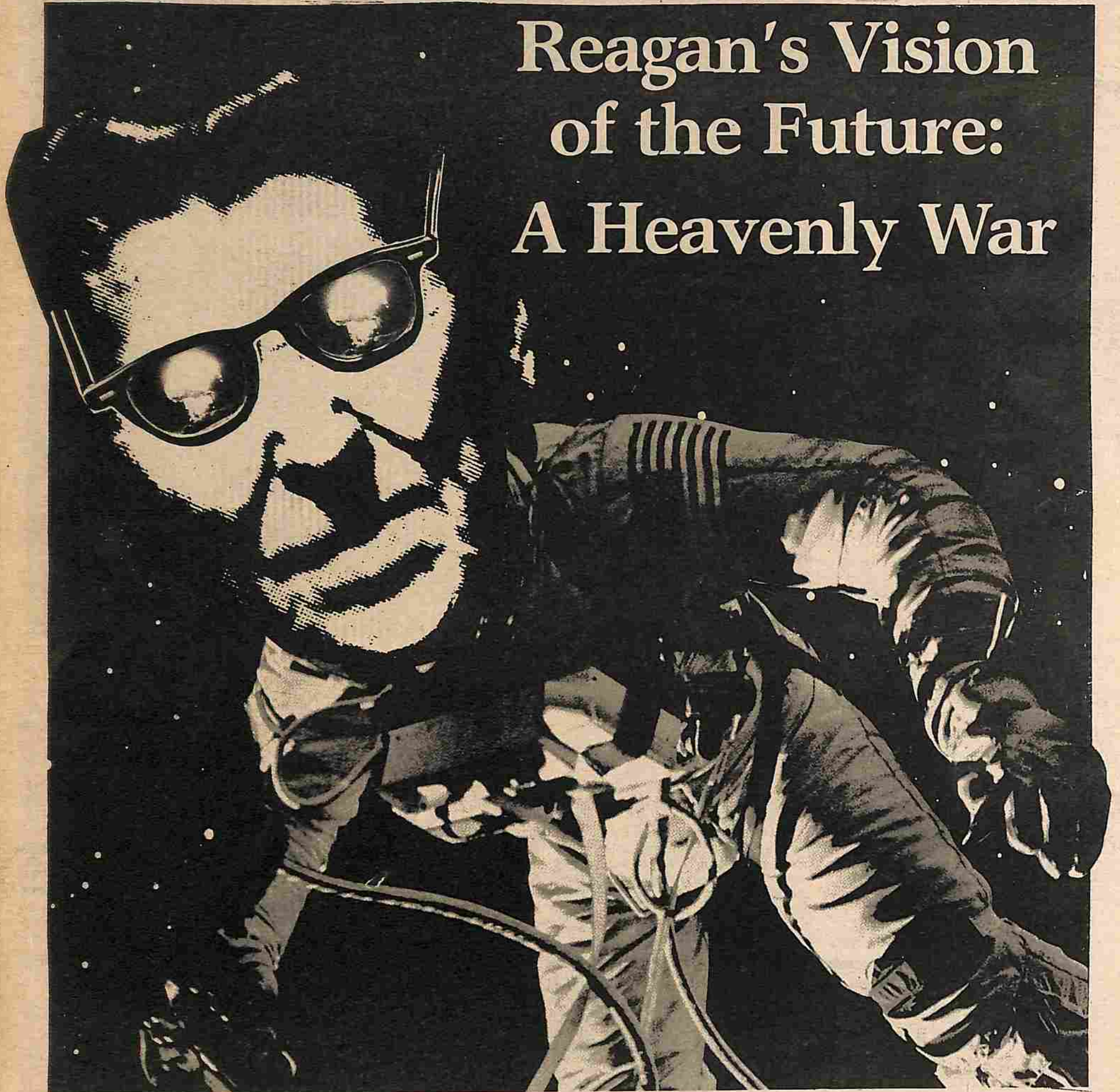
REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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Reagan's Vision of the Future: A Heavenly War

President Reagan's bizarre "Star Wars" speech of March 23 unveiled what he called "a vision of the future which offers hope." The plan, which Ronald painted as "changing the course of human history" calls for development of laser and sub-atomic particle-beam weapons into a satellite-based Anti-Ballistic Missile System... a veritable galaxy-full of missile-killing death rays. Inevitably we would have to infer, these would be countered by Soviet-made anti-death ray death rays, and so on and so forth... in short, this is a "vision" of the extension of imperialist wars of mass destruction out into the infinite.

The speech was of a piece with other recent "heavenly visions" of the imperialist chief executive, such as the bloodthirsty speech to Florida Evangelicals some weeks ago calling for a crusade against "the focus of evil in the modern world," and proclaiming:

"...the source of our strength in the quest for human freedom is not material but spiritual, and because it knows no limitation, it must terrify and ultimately triumph over those who would enslave their fellow man..."

For in the words of Isaiah:
...They that wait upon the Lord... shall mount up with wings as eagles..."

In the "Star Wars" speech we are given some material substance to this "high-flown" language, especially the "terrify and ultimately triumph" part. For the "hope" that's held out here is nothing less than the dream of world domination and the threat of blowing to smithereens anyone that stands in its way.

To be sure, some "liberal" imperialist spokesmen, while entirely agreeing with the need for a holy war against the Soviets, are not so taken with this imagery.

"While preparing incessantly for war, most Presidents since World War II have talked incessantly of peace," sniped Russell Baker of the *New York Times*. "Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon in fact talked incessantly of peace while waging war..."

"Perhaps President Reagan should be commended for being more forthright than the others." (NYT 3/30/83)

Reagan's honesty must be truly embarrassing to those who prefer a humanitarian window-dressing on their aggressive designs.

The Star Wars speech has also kicked up a furor among certain prominent scientists (in *Scientific American* magazine, for example), who question the feasibility of the proposed weapons, even into the next century.

But the immediate practicality of the

"visionary weapons" isn't really the point. Rather, the spectre of ABM death-rays was in fact a part of a very serious and very aggressive piece of sabre-rattling directed at the Soviets, and was taken precisely that way by the Russians who responded with some imperialist muscle-flexing of their own.

This was made explicit by a scientist of less liberal reputation, Dr. Edward Teller, who likes to be styled "The Father of the H-Bomb." Teller compared Reagan's "courageous" vision with that of Franklin Roosevelt in 1939, when that president decided on work to produce and use the first atomic bomb. At that time, Teller's designs for the vastly more destructive and murderous fusion bomb were also seen as "futuristic" and were shelved for a decade or so; here is indeed the perfect defender of Reagan and Isaiah.

The space weapons proposal actually

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Death Squad Queen Demands "Free Speech"

U.S. Ambassador to the UN Jeane Kirkpatrick, who to many has come to symbolize U.S. imperialism's presence in Latin America, has recently been the target of some righteously rude reception at various campuses around the country; and as a result of this harrowing experience has now become the celebrated cause of a new movement — the free-speech-for-imperialist-mouthpieces-movement.

On February 15, at UC Berkeley, Kirkpatrick was showered with jeers, hisses and shouts of "genocide!" "imperialism!" "40,000 dead!" as she stepped up to the podium before an audience of 800. The disruption was led by SAINTES (Students Against Intervention in El Salvador), a campus group linked to CISPES. Kirkpatrick was driven off the stage and cancelled a second speech that had been scheduled for the following day, despite offers by University officials to transmit the speech via TV. On March 2nd, protestors again disrupted her lecture, this time at the University of Minnesota. Kirkpatrick also decided not to deliver a May commencement address at Smith College after being told that the college could not guarantee order at the ceremony. A group of students, including the niece of one of the four church people murdered in El Salvador in 1980, were organizing against the choice of Kirkpatrick as the speaker, and half the faculty had signed a petition urging that she not be given an honorary degree as is customary.

Reaction was swift. In a March 10 editorial deploring this series of incidents, the *Wall Street Journal* cautioned "those walking around in innocent happiness thinking that the days of the counter-culture were over" that they'd "better wake up and look again" because "the '60s are back." *Newsweek* magazine cried, "The rude and repressive treatment of Kirkpatrick — an articulate spokesman of the Reagan administration's Latin American policies — harked back to the anti-war days of the late 1960s and early '70s, when military recruiters and administration policymakers were routinely hounded off campus. Now, as then, the protestors were neither silenced nor disciplined." (Horrors, ladies and gentlemen, those quiet campuses we have been bragging about — if nervously-watching — are beginning to stir — it may not look like the '60s now, but with what is shaping up in the '80s, the first sign of trouble is not too soon to act. An American civics lesson is in order: the subject for today is free speech. Now



class, it's time to stand reality on its head. Target: Berkeley — world renowned as a center of radical students and revolutionary upheaval in the '60s and birthplace of the radical "Free Speech Movement" in 1964 — which was linked to the struggle against the oppression of Black people.)

As soon as Kirkpatrick was unceremoniously driven off the Berkeley campus, University officials began their counter-offensive. Their method was to distort the past to attack the present and head off the future and their tactic was to claim the tumultuous movement which shook the campus in the early '60s as their own. The Vice-Chancellor of the University issued a statement saying, "Free inquiry and reasoned debate, as assured by the First

Amendment, are at the center of the university life. When free speech is denied by mindless hecklers and anger, we have turned our backs on the intent of the movement begun at Berkeley 20 years ago." *Newsweek* agreed, "That behavior is particularly ironic at Berkeley, birthplace 19 years ago of the Free Speech Movement." And the *San Francisco Chronicle* which in 1964 described the scene in Berkeley as "anarchy" and praised the jailing of 800 sit-in protestors, also took up the free speech refrain.

Response on the campus varied. A number of letters to the Berkeley student newspaper *The Daily Cal* blasted away at this hypocrisy. One wrote: "The battle in those years was not for the right to give abstract speeches on the U.S.' mythical

historical commitment to human rights." Another protestor wrote: "Every day on campus, professors present ideas I find even more repugnant than Ms. Kirkpatrick's, and I would certainly never dream of attending their classes to 'heckle'. But Ms. Kirkpatrick is not just some professor giving a lecture with which I disagree. She is a criminal who happens also to be a political scientist. And it was this criminal whom I confronted..." Struggle broke out in the Student Senate where backward students tried to push through a proposal which called for cutting off student funds to SAINTES and placing them on probation and also for the Senate to issue a formal apology to Kirkpatrick. In the end, no punitive ac-

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More Reflections & Sketches

We Want In . . .

During the latter part of last year, the Revolutionary Worker ran a series of articles, Reflections and Sketches, edited from a tape by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the RCP, USA. We are currently printing a new series of articles, More Reflections and Sketches, by Bob Avakian.

There is a trend which insists that the very essence of the struggle against oppression and inequality — speaking specifically of the oppressed nationalities and women — is the right to be not only equally bourgeois as the big bourgeoisie but equally reactionary as well. It must be said that this trend has a lot of influence because it corresponds to the class position and aspirations of more privileged, bourgeois or would-be bourgeois, strata among the oppressed and because it is vigorously promoted by that ruling big bourgeoisie (in the main — all except the “equally” part). You know the types I am talking about — the Blacks pictured in ads on the back of *Ebony* in polo uniforms, standing next to a prize horse, etc., and the Barbara Walters clones or *Rollover* role models. These are the ones who, whenever and wherever the next heinous crime is about to be committed by imperialism, insist on having their rightful share in it. And this goes as well for those among the most oppressed who strive to make it by stepping on the backs of the others.

This is well illustrated in two fairly recent movies — and in particular the roles played by Lou Gossett, Jr. and Goldie Hawn in *An Officer and a Gentleman* and *Private Benjamin* respectively — where, adding insult to outrage, they attempt to portray all this with “dignity”! Gossett plays a tough but tender father figure for the main character, a white supposedly “prolo” youth who seeks to “become somebody” by becoming a naval jet pilot; at one point Gossett actually screams at this youth and the other trainees lined up under Gossett’s command: if any of you don’t have what it takes to drop napalm, I’m going to find it out. This is an obvious reference to U.S. actions in Vietnam and a no less obvious, even crude attempt to reverse the verdict on all that, seeking to remove the justly-deserved label of “criminal” and make all this somehow “heroic” and “manly.” Hawn plays a spoiled-brat princess, pampered and suffocated, isolated from the trials and challenges of life, who blossoms into a tough, independent, equal-for-any-man human being by joining the army and becoming a willing, proud, well-oiled cog in the U.S. imperialist military machine (!?). *Private Benjamin* now (and during an important scene in the movie she insists on her military identification even in a private — or should I say personal — conversation), only a private so far, but there are all kinds of opportunities being opened for women, if only they can develop the guts and gumption to go out and get them. . . who knows how high up this ladder to hell she can crawl?

It is not too hard to see that movies with messages like this are playing a part — and these particular movies, which were quite popular, apparently, play an important part — in the war preparations of the imperialists, specifically in the realm of public opinion and ideologically conditioning the future troops (as well as “the public” generally). It is also not too hard to see that the view of equality and dignity presented here is thoroughly, insidiously reactionary (and this is true regardless of the intent of the actors involved and even if somehow we could believe — which is very difficult — that they really didn’t understand what propaganda they were peddling: artists’ role is not dependent mainly on their intent, though that matters, but mainly on the content and social effect of what they produce, and they must assume responsibility for that).

The stand and the sentiments of the masses who suffer oppression and inequality — in a qualitatively more intense and all-around way than the privileged strata we’ve examined — have a qualitatively different character. The masses of the oppressed want an end to the oppression and inequality that the masses suffer and they gravitate toward the outlook of abolishing all oppression and social inequality and the basis for them. In opposition to the trend among those privileged strata which, when viewing the degradation the system deals out to millions and millions of people, insistently demands, “we want in on it,” these millions and millions have the urgent feeling “we want out — we want an end to this.”

I say gravitate toward the outlook of abolishing all oppression and social inequality and the basis for them because their position in society inclines them toward that viewpoint but there are also powerful forces in society pulling them in the other direction, they are influenced not only by bourgeois ideology in general but even the kinds of trends among the privileged strata discussed before. To firmly take up, and act upon, that outlook — in order to finally realize that goal of putting an end to all this and creating a new and higher form of society where such things will be abolished — means to take up the stand, viewpoint, method and program of the proletariat, the one force in society whose interests fully conform to this goal. It is only this international proletariat which needs no excuses or apologies, in some form or other, for exploitation, the oppression of women, nations and national minorities, war and a thousand other monstrosities; it is only the class-conscious revolutionary proletariat that insists that all these things can and will be eliminated from the earth. When this outlook and this leadership is combined with the anger and burning desire of the masses of oppressed to put an end to all this — then an unconquerable force is forged. □

Next Week: A Message on Hearing “The Message”

We Want Out—

Opposite Views on Discrimination and Degradation

By Bob Avakian



LA. High's Troublesome "Vandalism"

When we last left the scene of the May Day '83 battles at L.A. High, students there had widely distributed an "essay" written by one of the students. School administrators had told the student, an RCYB member, to write an essay on "Why I shouldn't be expelled" after they attempted to frame him for an alleged fire in a trash can, after May Day slogans had mysteriously blossomed on the walls of the school. Instead, the essay was an exposure of the administration, and agitation for May Day (see *RW* No. 198). A few Black students joined in this action with the mainly Central American May Day activists, boldly distributing the essay in hallways during class breaks and

then slipping off unseen by the authorities. The administrators spent the next two days trying to find out who these Black students were. After all, they've invested a good deal of energy trying to drive a wedge between the various nationalities at the school, especially when it comes to revolutionary politics.

The administrators then made some quick moves, dropping their attempt to expell the May Day activist and instead making it a temporary suspension. These same administrators then appeared in a class where some May Day activists are students with a petition opposing "vandalism" — i.e., the revolutionary graffiti! The administrator stood there and

watched the students as their petition was passed around the class. It isn't now known whether this classic lesson in the principles of American democracy has as yet been extended to other classes. But if the administrators are planning to open up debate in a battle for public opinion, the May Day activists are thirsting for the opportunity.

The class to which the petition was brought is on "International Relations" and features a slick, reactionary teacher who likes to promote the "international relations" of such countries as South Africa and Israel whenever possible. (Also in this class is a student who is an outspoken reactionary supporter of

Soldier of Fortune magazine.) The teacher had an announcement of his own, saying the next two weeks of class will be spent on "Marxism around the world." One of his main theses will be that Marxism just doesn't work in spite of having "good ideals" (etc., etc.), and that therefore people should stay away from it. An important by-product of his lesson, he says, will be to show that "these people (the May Day activists) are not Marxists at all but are just vandals." The spring break is providing an opportunity for "these people" to hit the books in preparation for what should be some very interesting struggles ahead. □

The Day "The Woman Question" Hit the Park



"Those people are here to teach us politics!" shouted one woman, carrying a baby in her arms, to her woman companion as they stepped off a bus and rushed towards a gathering crowd in MacArthur Park on a Sunday in early March, debating the line of the RCP and the call for the proletarians of MacArthur Park to take up the major Party Fund Drive. At the heart of the debate that day was the woman question and whether or not the proletariat, led by its vanguard party, could break all the chains but one — whether the proletariat and its party could lead without leading the struggle against the oppression of women as well as against all other forms of exploitation and oppression. Copies of the International Women's Day issue of the *RW* (No. 195) were alternately snatched up by some, while others who normally buy the *RW*, would not touch *this* IWD issue with a ten foot pole! "I think you guys are right. Uh, I'll get the paper *next* week," was the reaction of many proletarian men as they refused to even discuss "the woman question."

Struggle sharpened up quickly as an agitator stepped forward to call on proletarians to take up the Party Fund Drive. He focused on the woman question and what kind of revolutionary vanguard this party is and what kind of revolution the proletariat must lead. At one point he opened the *RW* to the centerfold with quotes from the Bible on women, pointing to the reactionary ideology it spews and what must be broken with. A Salvadoran youth, a member of the RCYB, had mobilized 6 or 7 of his friends to come out that day to help build for the Party Fund Drive and do some revolutionary work. But as he listened to the agitation, his mouth dropped. When Christ himself was quoted on women, he jumped out, demanding to see where this was in print. Seeing the quote, he had little to say and quickly excused himself from "revolutionary" duty for the day — suddenly he had other things to do, and a lot to rethink!

Other men, who consider themselves revolutionaries, tried to pull their wives away from the discussion, but more than a few women insisted on stopping to buy a paper, contribute to the Party Fund Drive and listen intently to the debate. Though most were hesitant to speak up, in fact substantially more women than ever were a part of the debate that day than the usual crowd that gathers to discuss revolutionary politics in the park.

As this developed, evangelists who descend on the park every Sunday began to strike up their loudspeaker and roadshow, complete with busloads of "faithful" and a traveling band. A Chicano man, who practically lives in the park, snatched up an *RW* and went right into the crowd of Jesus freaks — right up in the face of the head evangelist. He opened the *RW* to the centerfold and began reading quotes from the Bible — quotes that straight up reveal the reactionary and disgusting ideology of the inferiority of

women and the property relations the "Holy Word" is meant to reinforce. When the head evangelist feebly tried to say the *RW* had misquoted the Bible he was challenged repeatedly by the Chicano guy and several Latino youth to open his own Bible and read the same quote! Finally this slick, well-paid sheepherder scurried off through the crowd rather than be forced to read the self-exposing passages on women to the hoots of laughter and bitter curses of men and women who refused to live as sheep in his flock! (Even some of the women evangelists stepped out to buy a copy of the *RW*.)

Cheers went up as the evangelists were silenced and literally hundreds gathered in groupings to continue the debate. "Aren't women here in this country liberated?" one Salvadoran asked. Others read parts from the front page article describing conditions for the women of "La Costura," the Los Angeles garment district, with many of the women voicing their agreement. An *RW* seller pointed to the article on "Electroshock." Many had never heard of electroshock and were horrified, calling this torture — where women, for refusing to be passive, were literally shocked into submission. The Salvadoran's face grew solemn as he shook his head in agreement and disgust. "It's even worse for many women here." He consciously considered for the first time the mighty force for revolution that exists in the fury of women, bought a paper and made a donation to the Party Fund Drive. A Nicaraguan man who regularly has sold the paper took a *bundle* of papers and sold two on the spot. He especially liked the exposure of the Bible and conditions of the garment workers, and was very excited to see the CC report in the same issue.

It was noticeable, and not that surprising, that the all-the-way revolutionary outlook and programme on the liberation of women was welcomed and seriously dealt with by a number of proletarian guys who also were more advanced on a number of key questions, such as the role of Soviet revisionism in the world today and the necessity for a vanguard party based on proletarian internationalism, all of which was hotly debated in the park that day. And it was a significant, if *beginning*, development among the proletarians gathered in the park that, as numerous small donations were made to the fund drive, one young Salvadoran pulled aside an agitator and said he wanted to join the party, several copies of the RCP *Constitution* were bought by groups of people to study together, and several people took up the task of fund-raising themselves.

A Honduran immigrant who has only been in the U.S. about one month pointed to the billboards and porno shops on Alvarado St. and said, "Women here are so degraded, all this must be changed." He told a party member: "I was a student in Honduras. There is a lot of mass debate among the students there. The Maoist line has a lot

more influence among the students in Honduras. The pro-Soviets have more influence among the workers and petty bourgeoisie. Many Maoists fell apart when China invaded Vietnam. We struggled to understand what this represented and the most we could determine is that something changed in China after Mao died. Many like myself still uphold Mao and the Cultural Revolution, but Mao is banned in our country and we are eager to read Mao and understand what went on. Also there was a lot of debate among the students when Cuban troops were sent to Angola. Was this 'internationalism' or was this in the interests of imperialism?" A Cuban proletarian, struck by the revolutionary line on women, explained also that he upholds Mao and sees the Soviet Union as imperialist, and after discussing Lenin's article "Results of Six Months Work" with a comrade, set a date to pull together other revolutionary Cubans to raise funds for the party. The following week, again people gathered in the park and an older Salvadoran who has been in the U.S. for ten years took off his hat, put the last money he had in his pocket into it, and called on people in the park to contribute to the party. When heavy rains broke up the crowd, he went along with *RW* sellers into the hotels of the area. Many of those who came to the door were women. Some had gotten the IWD issue of the *RW* and quickly disappeared to collect money for the latest issue. The Salvadoran guy was surprised to see so many women taking up revolutionary politics. Soon he was jumping into the discussions if he heard anyone starting to say "no" to an *RW* seller. "You have to look at this," he would say, "you have to check this out. It is calling for this fund drive and it is something we have to support."

Also of significance are the growing whispers and awakening among the proletarians of "La Costura" themselves and the repercussions of this more broadly. The IWD issue of the paper circulated at the lunch table inside one of the shops, as several women read aloud the quotes from the Bible on women and giggled: such sacrilege, and so liberating to see "The Word" for what it is. Other women thought this was going *too far*, and touching on sacred things. Some of the proletarians in the park that week work in the garment district and four or five different groups of women pooled their money for papers and donations to the party. One group of four women who work together discussed how they could support the party since they didn't have much money. They decided to go in together and buy a "Break the Chains" t-shirt which they would share and together savored the thought of the reaction the t-shirt would get from their husbands and boyfriends. Later in the week, as one of the proletarians of "La Costura" reached for a new issue of the paper, she said that what she really liked about the IWD article was that, "It was talking about the untalkable." □

May Day in MacArthur Park, 1982.

Breathing National Oppression

"My mother lived in Rockwell Gardens housing project on the West Side. About two years ago she started to cough a lot, coughing up all that green phlegm all the time. She was real weak and used to lie down a lot, but she didn't go to a doctor because she thought she had a cold and didn't trust doctors. When she got real bad, she put off going because she had to take care of her sister's kids while she was in the hospital. When her sister got out she finally went to the hospital. They admitted her for tuberculosis but she died a week later. I'm at the TB clinic because I was exposed by my cousin, who is 34. He's had TB for three years and now he's down to 110 pounds. He's confined to my aunt's apartment and is plugged up to oxygen tanks. Sometimes he can get out of bed but most of the time he can't. He just lies there coughing up this green phlegm."

"I'm no animal," says Charles Webb, another TB victim. "But I sure as hell live like one here. It's a hell bomb here." Webb caught TB last year at the Arcade, one of the many transient hotels which together with many abandoned buildings on Chicago's near West Side has been called "a breeding ground for TB." The Arcade itself had 30 cases of TB this past year alone. After spending two weeks being treated at Cook County Hospital, Webb was released and moved into another nearby building. He pays \$125 a month for a room where water drips from the ceilings when it rains, paint peels from the floor, and the building has no heat — perfect conditions for the spread of tuberculosis.

TB is commonly — and mistakenly — thought to be a rare disease in countries like the U.S. But reported cases of TB in Chicago alone, for example, jumped 20% in 1981 and another 15% in 1982 to 1500 reported cases. This figure doesn't even include the fact that each person who carries TB exposes about 35 other people according to doctors at Cook County Hospital. This stunning indict-

ment of health care for the basic masses under imperialism is compounded by the fact that the TB rate is *five times* higher for nonwhites than whites. In America, national oppression is even in your *lungs*.

"A lot of Blacks have TB," one TB patient told the *RW*, "but they don't know that they have it because it might not take a bad enough effect on you that you know that you've got it. There's a lot of people walking around right today with it who don't know it. I was exposed to it by someone, I believe a friend or someone on the job, and if I hadn't come to the clinic to be tested I could have developed TB over a period of months. It is becoming a big epidemic now, a lot of people have TB."

Such stunning medical advances imperialism is capable of! This disease is basically a relic from the past, similar to the bubonic plague or smallpox. In the late 1940s it was called "the greatest contagious disease" in the U.S., but by the early 1970s, with new drug treatment and better sanitation, it was considered nearly eradicated. Ten years later TB is again ravaging oppressed areas in cities like Chicago. Why?

The *RW* called Dr. K.T. Reddi, the head administrator of TB Control for the Chicago Health Department, for an official explanation. It was after all the city's health department, along with the state, that closed numerous TB facilities in the 1970s, declaring the disease "cornered." "Modern care" had supposedly made it possible to treat most TB patients as outpatients continuing to live in the general population (this "up-to-date" approach to TB has included private hospitals dumping chronically ill TB patients who are unable to pay for long-term hospitalization). Just one example of such "enlightened" medical treatment is that at least one highly infectious TB patient a day enters Cook County Hospital by waiting in line with hundreds of others in the emergency room. Up to 36 TB patients at once are hospitalized there, even

though there are facilities for only a dozen, resulting in TB patients being placed in open wards with 30-60 other people, with a mask supposedly placed over their face.

"That we are seeing an increase from 1979 simply indicates to me," Dr. Reddi said, "that maybe there has been a slight increase in the cases itself, but I think it is mainly better reporting by hospitals and health care people to us. . . ." (This no doubt explains last year's increase from 300 to 600 TB patients at Cook County Hospital alone!)

"There is also an increase in TB from the people who have been coming from Vietnam or similar countries," continued Reddi. "A substantial number of these people have settled in cities like Los Angeles, New York and Chicago that are experiencing a similar increase in TB. There are Mexicans who have been coming into the country illegally. These are some factors for the increase." Ah, yes — the "illegal immigrants."

We would like to point out to this head administrator for TB control that people don't necessarily have to contract TB from imperialist oppression of their native countries; people can just as easily get it right here. "I saw a couple of dudes arguing over the right to eat out of a garbage can — and this was in the Loop," one person told the *RW*. Massive malnutrition; tens of thousands of people homeless, many riding public transportation at night just to stay warm or sleeping in garbage containers; unemployment in some areas of 65-70%, and many turning in desperation to alcohol; rampant overcrowding with families doubling and tripling up in tiny apartments or stacked on top of each other in 18-story housing projects (overcrowding perfect for the spread of such a contagious disease); vast areas where the oppressed masses live where there is only one private doctor practicing for every 10-15,000 people — all these conditions speak for themselves. And as for any immigrants who have TB, the fact

is that most hospitals *won't even accept* green card patients, and what few clinics there are for such sick people are overcrowded, dirty, understaffed and under-equipped!

One Black woman who had been exposed to TB told the *RW*: "Look at these old run-down areas. There's germs. I think the problem is more or less that people are dwelling in these old raggedy buildings, you know filth, people don't eat like they should, they don't have the right clothes to wear, then all it takes is exposure, especially if your resistance is low. Germs build in these old buildings. They're so old and decrepit they should be torn down; some of them aren't fit to live in. All those things have a lot to do with it. The masses of people living in there, one can be a carrier and just spread this disease around. You've got to get to the source of a problem before you can do anything about it. That's where the problem is."

There is good reason for the health department to attempt to obscure both the real source and the scope of the problem and point the finger of blame any place except where it belongs. A 1982 study in the Proceedings of the Institute of Medicine of Chicago revealed that TB could make "a major comeback" and pointed to "many a school outbreak" and the appearance of the disease among many "non-indigent families." And the worry here is certainly *not* about people being sick or dying. The entire health system for the basic masses is proof enough that *that* has never been their concern. The real concern here is that the rapid rise in TB cases is *already* a tremendous indictment of the system.

One *RW* reader summed it up this way: "This shit is totally barbaric. Here they have all this modern technology to help people but they won't do it. Hunger in Africa, hunger in Chicago. People eating out of garbage cans. This is totally insane." □

Atlanta Teach-In Opens

For the more than 100 people who came to the first evening of the 2 day teach-in on the Atlanta Black youth murders, March 30, the exposure and analysis that was brought to life that night held the hearts and minds of the audience at a level of political and emotional intensity that many had not felt before. Most people had come to the teach-in with a profound hatred for what they already knew about the murders, hating it all the more, the more they were to learn. It was a powerful indictment of the system, indeed, in the content of the speeches as well as from comments and questions from the floor. A full year after the ruling class had officially declared itself innocent with the verdict against Wayne Williams, this teach-in is vivid testimony to the deep and determined thirst for the truth that has continued to flourish beneath the stifling and oppressive official line that this case is closed. In fact **NOTHING IS CLOSED** — as the call for the teach-in itself had put it.

Among the audience were students of many political viewpoints from several Atlanta area colleges, Black proletarians and others from the inner city projects, people from various political trends, revolutionary nationalists, feminists, community activists, revolutionary communists, and anarchists. Those only recently awakening to political life were particularly moved by the teach-in as were the group of parents of the murdered youth victims, nine of whom

sat in on the panel discussion and contributed some of the most jolting exposure that night.

A detailed list was presented of the barbaric mutilations done to the bodies of at least five of the murdered Black youth (from castration on several of the boys and young men to the hideous knife markings on others) and along with this, the treatment of several of these parents by the police and FBI was revealed — official treatment that almost matched the barbarism that was committed by the murderers. And many of these parents spoke directly of the recent escalation of attacks coming down on them, from death threats, to being followed wherever they go, to actual police harassment and arrests of their other children. One of the mothers spoke with intense anger at what had come down in Atlanta, "The truth has got to come out. They can't do anything else to us."

The presence of these parents at the teach-in was a powerful statement that no matter how savage this system can get, the will of the people is indomitable. It was a presence that had a deep felt impact on the rest of the audience, who gave these parents a standing ovation when the parents moved up to the panel. Much of the power of this first night of the teach-in was centered around concrete exposure of the brutal details of both official and unofficial terror that had made the very word Atlanta a battle cry. This got further unleashed by the speech by a

spokesman for the Revolutionary Communist Party, a speech that blasted the role of the state, going into the development of the Black bourgeoisie and its particular role as the "city fathers" who aided and abetted the murderers. It was a very controversial question at this teach-in as well as at the last teach-in on February 23rd last year during the trial of Wayne Williams. At the question and answer period after the speeches, the last question in fact was directed at the RCP spokesman by a young man disagreeing vehemently with this point. A question that had hardly left the youth's mouth when one of the most vocal of the mothers of the murdered children broke in to answer it herself, "They crucified us!"

In the week building up to the teach-in, it was this question that led the administration of Morris Brown College to attempt to cancel the use of their auditorium. A special emergency meeting with the college president was held where he put his cards out on the table: "We're not here to second guess the country's legal process. Hasn't this thing already been tried in the courts. Haven't they proven that this guy is guilty. And won't this open a whole can of worms." The president went on to claim that "his" students wouldn't support a program anyway with a communist speaker. Shortly afterwards, this president was presented with a petition that was signed by 170 of "his" 900 students demanding

that the teach-in be allowed to be held on campus. A can of worms had been opened that the administration never anticipated, and the teach-in was on as planned.

The first evening session was, as one person described, "It's so good! I've never heard all this before." For the first time in a long time it was on the agenda to "open a can of worms" — to ask questions again, to answer questions again, and to dig into the deeper political debate of what the Atlanta murders were really all about — and why. Not only who were the murderers, but more significantly, how could all of this have happened the way it did, and what is the real nature of this system of oppression that was so starkly revealed through these murders. It was an evening where it was on the agenda to debate this "solution" to the crimes like these murders in Atlanta. A solution that was so eloquently put by a revolutionary minded Black proletarian when he first heard of the teach-in, "This has left a deep scar in people's consciousness. . . and when people finally do rise up to make revolution, this will be one of the reasons why." □

The second session of the teach-in, scheduled for March 31st will include 6 more speakers as well as more lengthy debate and the *Revolutionary Worker* will have a fuller report in next week's issue. □

As all *RW* readers well know, phrases such as "externally supported aggression" and "arms flow" from "outside sources" are only intended to be used in cases where the cited military activity might not benefit the U.S. But, there should be no confusion about the recent wave of bombings, sneak attacks, assassinations and so forth that have been taking place in Nicaragua. According to U.S. ambassador to the UN, Jeane Kirkpatrick, this is simply a manifestation of "Nicaragua's internal problems (which feature Nicaraguans fighting Nicaraguans on Nicaraguan soil)." The fact that they also feature pro-U.S. mercenaries and death-squadders from around Latin America in combination with the former Somoza national guardsmen who make up the main body of the terror — oops, that is, the "rebels" (as they have come to be known in the U.S. press) — and that they have been financed, trained, armed with weapons and ammunition, and given their marching orders by U.S. officials — cannot in any way diminish the highly "internal" nature of their activity. And those who cry "invasion" from across the Honduras border just don't understand U.S. geography. That border has long been superseded by another — for all this activity is taking place well within the parameters of the U.S.'s "fourth border," as Ronald Reagan so bluntly put it. It is unclear exactly how many Nicaraguan soldiers and civilians have been killed in the past few weeks from this reactionary assault (different Nicaraguan officials have given estimates ranging from 50 to over 200), but there is absolutely no doubt as to the murderer. *Time* magazine reported that while there are 3 military general staffs in the current campaign, the main one — "the brains of the insurgency" — is "an all-American body." "It is composed of CIA experts and representatives of the U.S. Army's Southern Command, based in Panama," *Time* boasted, crediting its sources among the Somocistas for the information. In addition, a second military staff group (which apparently takes its orders from the first) is made up of Honduran officers, a military representative from Argentina (whose "advisors" have also been quite active in training and arming the attackers), a former Somoza national guard colonel and someone mysteriously known as "Carlos" — the CIA station chief in Tegucigalpa, Honduras. Given its composition, this operation may rank right up there with other U.S.-sponsored international peacekeeping missions.

According to *Time*, the third (and end-of-the-line) general staff is made up of former national guard officers who carried out the U.S.'s counter-insurgency dictates during the murderous reign of Anastasio Somoza, the notorious U.S. lackey in Nicaragua who was overthrown in 1979. However, *Time* hastens to report that the "most brutal elements" are no longer involved, having been "purged" thanks to the request of the CIA, an organization that is well known for its gentility. In fact, some of the most exposed of Somoza's vast array of torturers and executioners are not currently running the operations, since they would be a political liability to the U.S.; rather, they are stationed in the vicinity of Miami awaiting a decisive change in the situation in Nicaragua.

U.S. Moves in Nicaragua

A very un-secret "secret war"



A Honduran paratrooper trainee jumps right behind his American advisor.

For obvious reasons, the U.S. has made somewhat of an effort to downplay the Somoza connection in the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN), the main group currently carrying out the assaults. However, former national guardsmen — a highly privileged lot under Somoza — do indeed make up the main body of the "rebels." In addition, the number one military leader of the operation is Col. Enrique Bermúdez Varela, the Nicaraguan military attaché to Washington, D.C. under Somoza and a graduate of the U.S.'s Inter-American Defense College.

Other leaders include: Somoza's vice president, the former head of the superior council of private enterprise, and the recently resigned former manager of the Coca Cola plant in Nicaragua, who just happened to abscond with some necessary funds shortly before the new wave of attacks. Nevertheless, Ronald Reagan managed to say with as straight a face as he could muster that these exiles were "other revolutionary factions" (in addition to the Sandinistas) that "were all opposed to the dictatorial Somoza rule."

However, the traditional lies, hypocrisy and overall doublespeak of U.S. impe-

rialism has been overshadowed in this instance by the sheer blatancy of its aggression. As was the case with the "revelations" last year that the U.S. was conducting a "secret war" against Nicaragua and supporting and maintaining base camps of mercenaries in Honduras, the current onslaught has also been accompanied by a conspicuous refusal to deny U.S. involvement. Everybody knows that the U.S. is behind this assault, and that's just fine with the hemisphere's principal landlord. The *New York Times* reported that one anonymous U.S. official said that "The administration hoped to cause problems for the Nicaraguan leadership and to persuade it to diminish its backing for guerrilla forces in El Salvador." *Newsweek* reported it another way, also relying on an anonymous official: "What is important is whether the Sandinistas are perceived by their neighbors to be winners or losers. If the leftists win in El Salvador, with help from Nicaragua, there is a danger that others will perceive the inevitability of leftist victories throughout Central America. But if the Sandinistas themselves are fighting to survive then the pressure is on them."

What is being referred to here are further efforts on the part of the U.S. to break up "historic compromise" opposition coalitions in Central America, and particularly to send a message to all those social-democratic and bourgeois-nationalist forces that have found it to their advantage, so far, to unite with pro-Soviet revisionist forces. In the midst of intensifying moves toward world war, this trend in the "U.S.'s hemisphere" is really quite intolerable. Thus, the message must be signed in blood and there must be no mistaking the sender.

At the same time, the U.S. is moving to take every advantage of growing dissatisfaction with Soviet/Cuban/revisionist leadership in Nicaragua. Of course, the U.S.'s thoroughly isolated Somocistas are not in any position to garner any support; in fact there are some in the U.S. bourgeoisie who are uptight about the current U.S.-sponsored assaults because they fear that this will only turn off restive Nicaraguans and increase support for the Sandinistas. But it is undoubtedly not a coincidence that just prior to the new round of attacks, Edén Pastora, the former Sandinista Commander Zero, slipped away from his home in Costa Rica (on the other side of Nicaragua from Honduras), reportedly to set up operations somewhere in Nicaragua. Pastora has been very careful to publicly avoid the CIA-Somocista taint, and is surely preparing to offer himself as a less-exposed "revolutionary" alternative. He has been openly seeking "internal" Nicaraguan support through such measures as a tour of Western Europe and numerous meetings with leaders of the Socialist International, and he has also been courting many U.S. Congressmen. Indeed, it must be admitted that Jeane Kirkpatrick had a point — imperialism is certainly *internal* to Nicaragua. □

Vandenberg Offenders Remain Defiant

The U.S. government was deeply stunned by last week's powerful occupation/blockade of Vandenberg Air Force Base. One week after Base Commander General Jack Watkins moaned at a press conference about waves of anti-nuke invaders penetrating highly-sensitive areas of the base including the MX assembly building, Vandenberg authorities were still trying to break the determination and unity of hundreds of demonstrators still in federal custody. Women have been strip-searched, some prisoners have been kept handcuffed overnight for up to 17 hours, in one case raw sewage poured from overflowing toilets onto the floor of a room where 100 women were held. Demonstrators were shipped to 5 different jails, including a group of 30 men who were flown to a federal prison in Florence, Arizona. And still 255 activists refused to even give their names to authorities. Of this number, about one-half were second offenders the Air Force

identified from booking photos taken at the first Vandenberg occupation/blockade in January. The other half were people maintaining solidarity with the second offenders, demanding equal treatment regardless of previous record.

The government is clearly gravely concerned about setting a precedent of harsher penalties for "repeat offenders" — both to up the ante for those who have been at the core of both Vandenberg actions, and to send out a broader warning to those contemplating similar action. The defiant non-cooperation of those in the various jails has forced the authorities to threaten some steep penalties. The U.S. Attorney in Los Angeles threatened to bring all the non-cooperators before a federal judge in L.A. and have them found in contempt and jailed until they gave their real names. He also said that if these cases go to trial, he would ask one to six months sentences.

The *RW* has also recently learned more

about some of the efforts local authorities took against the action itself. A group of feminists hiking into the backcountry to occupy the silos on Tuesday, the second day of the action (after at least 80 had made it to various targets inside the base on Monday), were approached and threatened by three "cowboys" on horseback. These three reactionaries (whom the feminists referred to as the "prime beef group") played with the ropes hanging from their saddles and said that if they caught anyone on their land they'd "put you on the end of our rope." Two days later they made good on their threats by lassoing two members of a group entering the base on Thursday, and dragged them one-half mile. The whole thing was watched with approval by the Santa Barbara County Sheriff, who made statements to the local press approving the cowboys' work.

As word of the authorities' continued jailing threat spread, networks and ac-

tivists in the anti-nuke organizations held demonstrations on Monday, March 28th in the San Francisco Bay Area, San Diego, Santa Cruz, and Los Angeles. In the Bay Area, between 250 and 300 people gathered at the Federal Building in San Francisco to demand immediate release of the prisoners. Adding to the anger of those gathering in San Francisco was the minor, back page coverage in the local press of the action and the almost total press blackout of authorities' treatment of demonstrators.

As we go to press, authorities are finally releasing the prisoners. A few were released on Tuesday, with more scheduled for arraignment on Wednesday, Thursday and Friday. Sentences for second offenders ranged from 7 to 10 to 14 days depending on the arraignment site and the presiding magistrate. In many cases, people are then released and time served now equals or exceeds the sentence. □

Revisionist "Internationalism"

The Cuban Boot in Angola

Article 12 of the 1976 Cuban Constitution states that Cuba "espouses the principles of proletarian internationalism and the combative solidarity of the peoples" and further, that Cuba "considers its help to those under attack and to the peoples for their liberation constitutes its internationalist right and duty." Under this banner Cuban combat troops were dispatched on their first major overseas expedition in Angola in 1975-76. In September of 1975 Cuba began sending thousands of advisers and troops, leaving Cuba at a rate of three plane loads a day, to frontline combat in Angola on the side of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) and against South Africa and other U.S. sponsored guerrilla organizations. By February of 1976 the Cuban troops in Angola numbered at least 15,000 and had succeeded in pushing back the pro-U.S. forces and installing the pro-Soviet MPLA in power. Today, more than 20,000 Cuban troops remain in Angola. But the Cuban role in Angola was not a one-time affair, in fact, it marked a major turning point in the role played by Cuba in service to the Soviet social-imperialists. Less than 2 years after Angola, Cuban combat troops were again called into action in Africa, only this time it was to protect the pro-Soviet Mengistu regime in Ethiopia from a U.S.-backed attack by Somalia and to free Mengistu's own army for use against the liberation struggles of the Tigrayan,

Eritrean and Oromo peoples. After this action 15,000 Cuban troops were permanently stationed in Ethiopia.

Although the Cubans and their Soviet sponsors have attempted to wrap the mantle of internationalism around these and other military maneuvers, the stench of imperialist aggression can not be so easily eliminated. In fact, the Cubans themselves have spoken eloquently to what the real content of their internationalism actually is. Following a month-long African safari in March of 1977, Fidel Castro stated in a speech in Somalia (which was then under the wing of Soviet imperialism) that: "The revolutionary peoples must struggle together, the revolutionary peoples, who for centuries were subjected to colonial oppression, must strengthen our alliance with the world revolutionary movement, the socialist countries and especially with the great Soviet Union. . . The Soviet people is the firmest and most loyal ally of those of us who struggle for independence and revolution, the firmest and most loyal ally of Somalia and Cuba and other independent countries." With this as the starting point, the Cuban military forces have bent every effort to advance the interest of Soviet imperialism around the world with a special emphasis on Africa. The Cuban troops not only play an important political role for the Soviets in Africa, helping to paint Soviet moves in contention with the U.S. as "revolutionary" and the actions of the "natural

ally of the oppressed," but today they also play an important part in the positioning of Soviet bloc troops, and in anchoring the Soviet imperialists in strategically crucial areas of Africa in preparation for world war.

Beginning in the 1970s, with the increased contention between the U.S. and Soviet imperialists and as the Soviet Union found it not only necessary to challenge the U.S. around the world but also possible to actually seize and hold power in a few strategically important countries in Africa as part of their overall strategy, the role of the Cuban military in Africa took on a whole new dimension. Before the 1970s Cuba's military activity in Africa was limited to sending advisers and technicians to a few select countries and offering training to a handful of pro-Soviet guerrilla organizations. Politically the Cubans promoted "focoism" as a short cut to "liberation" and as a substitute for the political and military mobilization of the masses of people. In the 1970s however, the needs of Soviet imperialism dictated a greater and more direct role for the Cuban military forces, especially in Africa. Towards this end the Soviets began a massive buildup of Cuba's armed forces. While part of this involved further shoring up the internal economy in Cuba through increased subsidies and economic cooperation agreements, the Soviets also stepped up their training, financing and equipping of the Cuban military to the point where today it is highly professionalized, highly mobile and among the largest and best equipped in the neo-colonial and dependent world. The Cuban military is tied in every way to the dictates of Soviet imperialism — even their ability to function is bound up with the needs of the Soviets. In addition to getting all of their training and weaponry from the Soviets, the Cubans are also totally dependent on the Soviets for all major spare parts and even for the ability to transport their troops from Cuba to another country.

The role of the Cubans in Angola, both at the time of the Angolan war and their continuing role today, provides an excellent example of just how the Cubans carry out the task assigned to them by the Soviet imperialists. In order to bring the MPLA into power and keep them there the Soviets dispatched the Cubans to carry out a two-fold task, both aspects of which centered on maintaining the political stability of the MPLA regime and Angola's status as a Soviet neo-colony. The Cuban troops were to protect the MPLA from all of the various pro-Western forces inside Angola and within the region, as well as aid in carrying out the ruthless suppression of the masses of Angolan people.

One of the primary functions of the Cubans in Angola involved the training and organizing of the Angolan armed forces and all of the various agencies concerned with internal security and police work. While the Soviets and the East Germans both played major roles in setting up and equipping these police agencies, the Cubans by far had the most direct and important role. The Cuban contribution extended from organizing the Angolan secret police, the Directorate of Internal Security in Angola (DISA), to providing the personal bodyguards for Angola's president and organizing and training the People's Defense Organization (ODP), the so-called "peoples militia" which, in the context of neo-colonial Angola, amounts to little more than a paramilitary auxiliary police force. In a speech given on the anniversary of the founding of the National Police Force, the police commandant credited the Cubans with invaluable assistance in advising Angola's police forces at all levels and providing the faculty for police training academies. According to *African Contemporary Record*, an important aspect of the curriculum offered by the Cubans in these academies was training the Angolans in methods of crowd control.

Even before the first massive wave of Cuban troops arrived in Angola in 1975, and especially before the South Africans and other pro-Western forces were, or could be taken on in battle, the Cuban and Soviet-organized DISA began the full-scale suppression of the revolutionary activity of the Angolan people. No sooner had DISA been organized, around September of 1975, than it launched an all-out assault on the slums of Luwanda and the organizations based in those areas. These organizations had quite a bit of influence among the working class and urban poor who inhabited the slums and included some groups who were influenced at the time by the line of revolutionary China as well as more strictly nationalist groupings, including factions of the MPLA itself like the Active Revolt Group. Many of these groups expressly opposed the domination of the Soviet Union within the MPLA and the growing role of Soviet and Cuban advisers inside Angola. All newspapers and literature from these organizations were immediately banned and thousands of Angolan people were rounded up and thrown into jail. Even old-time leading members of the MPLA, such as Mario de Andrade and his brother Joaquin Pinto de Andrade, the honorary president of the MPLA, were imprisoned. And, beyond the assault on these organizations and the attempt to uproot their influence, an important aspect of this attack involved the straight-up disarming of the Angolan people — many of whom originally received their weapons as part of an early attempt by the MPLA to combat the influence of the U.S.-backed groups within Luwanda. The fact that the MPLA and their Cuban advisers found it necessary to assault and disarm the masses of Angolan people in the period immediately before — in fact according to the Cubans, even as the South Africans were beginning to invade Angola — is indicative of the content of the "liberation" that the Cubans were supposedly fighting for.

After being placed in power the MPLA then invited the Cuban combat troops to remain stationed in Angola in order to protect the new regime from its enemies, especially South Africa. Based on this invitation the Cubans have parked somewhere between 20,000 and 30,000 troops in Angola and the Soviets have attained a military garrison in an area of vital strategic importance to the U.S., a garrison which includes no less than one-sixth of the standing Cuban army, the 30,000 man Angolan army and approximately 6,000 mercenaries known as the Katanganese gendarmes (although since selling their services to the Soviet imperialists these mercenaries have changed their name to the National Front for the Liberation of the Congo — NFLC. Stationed in the key areas of the country — including guarding Gulf Oil operations in the Cabinda Province and maintaining a guard over the main towns along the major north-south highway from Luwanda to the Namibian border — it is clearly the Cuban troops who are the most important element of this garrison and the "protection" of Angola.

By all accounts, including the MPLA's, it was the Cuban troops battling against South Africa and the other pro-U.S. forces that were key to putting the MPLA into power in the first place. Since that time, however, any kind of battle at all between the South Africans and the Cubans has been rare. Although South Africa has flown daily bombing runs over Angolan towns, has carried out more than 100 armed raids into Angola since 1976 and has literally occupied a large portion of southern and central Angola since the summer of 1981, the Cuban troops have only engaged South Africans in battle once or twice since 1976 — and then it was only because they were directly attacked by the South Africans. The usual pattern is that when South Africa invades, the Cubans withdraw to posi-

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A Conference and Debate on the Nature and Role of THE SOVIET UNION: SOCIALIST OR SOCIAL-IMPERIALIST?



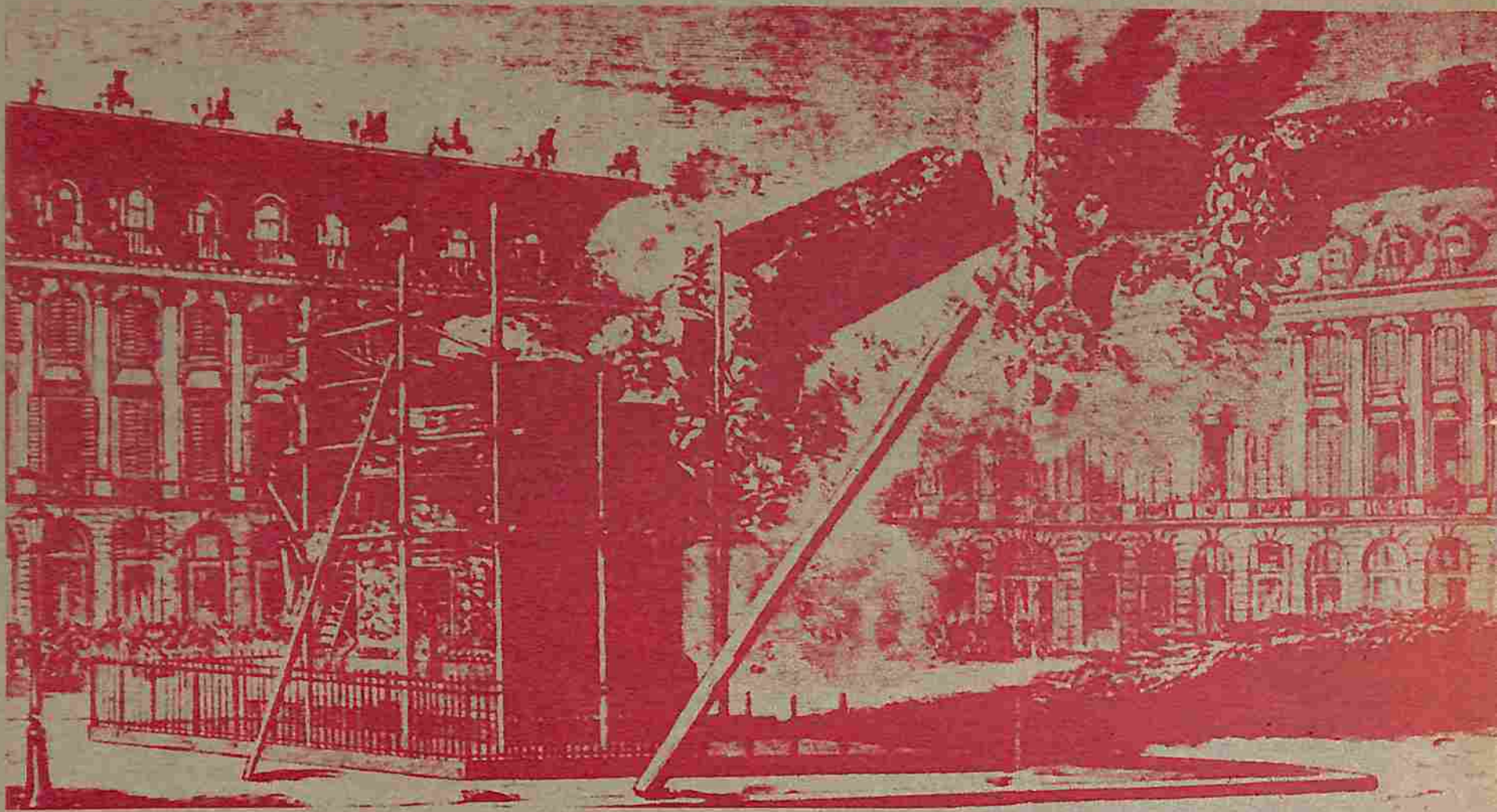
New York City

The formal debate will occur Sunday, May 22, featuring major spokesmen for the view that the Soviet Union is today a genuine socialist country vs. the analysis that capitalist relations have in fact been restored. The presentations will deal not only with the bases of their opposing analyses but the global political implications which flow from them.

The main debate will be preceded by sessions Thursday and Friday evenings and during the day Saturday devoted to particular topics of Soviet social relations and international involvement, such as "Soviet Aid, Loans, and Capital Investment in the Third World," "The Soviet Role in Various Liberation Struggles Around the World," "Women in the Soviet Union," and "Workers and Management in the Soviet Economy." These sessions will feature speakers presenting diverse views, audience participation, and will be conducted in English and Spanish.

For further information and to become part of the organizing committee, write:

Soviet Union Conference
P.O. Box 924
Cooper Station, New York, NY 10276
or call (212) 685-3120
Funds are urgently needed
(Checks should be made payable to "Soviet Union Conference")



On May 16, 1871, by Decree of the Commune, the Imperial

The Whole of Society Sp

March 14 marked the centennial of the death of Karl Marx. We continue observation of this occasion with the following excerpt on Marx's view of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is taken from the book Mao Tsetung's Immortal Contributions, by Bob Avakian (RCP Publications, 1979).

Theory of Proletarian Dictatorship

As to myself, no credit is due to me for discovering the existence of classes in modern society or the struggle between them. Long before me bourgeois historians had described the historical development of this class struggle and bourgeois economists the economic anatomy of the classes. What I did that was new was to prove: 1) that the existence of classes is only bound up with particular historical phases in the development of production, 2) that the class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat, 3) that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the abolition of all classes and to a classless society.

—Karl Marx¹

It should be noted that this was written before Marx had done his great and systematic work in political economy, and that what he is talking about here is his contribution to the discovery of the general laws of the historical development of human society, and not about his contributions in the field of political economy. And, with regard to this field of the laws of historical development, what Marx emphasizes in the statement above is a basic principle first elaborated and continually stressed by Marx and Engels, as for example at the end of the second chapter of the *Communist Manifesto*:

Political power, properly so called, is merely the organized power of one class for oppressing another. If the proletariat during its contest with the bourgeoisie is compelled, by the force of circumstances, to organize itself as a class, if, by means of a revolution, it makes itself the ruling class, and, as such, sweeps away by force the old conditions of production, then it will, along with these conditions, have swept away the conditions for the existence of class antagonisms and of classes generally, and will thereby have abolished its own supremacy as a class.²

What Marx and Engels emphasize is that the dictatorship of the proletariat is a means, not an end in itself, a means of transition to communism, to classless society. This does not make the rule of the proletariat one bit less necessary, but it underlines the fact that it is necessary exactly for the achievement of the real goal of the proletarian revolution—the wiping out of all class distinctions. As Marx emphatically states in a famous passage:

This Socialism is the declaration of the permanence of the revolution, the class dictatorship of the proletariat as the necessary transit point to the abolition of class distinctions generally, to the abolition of all the relations of production on which they rest, to the abolition of all the social relations that correspond to these relations of production, to the revolutionizing of all the ideas that result from these social relations.³

Upholding the dictatorship of the proletariat is a cardinal question and a touchstone of Marxism. For without establishing and exercising this dictatorship it is impossible for the proletariat to achieve its historic mission of communism. "We want the abolition of classes," Engels said. "What is the means of achieving it? The only means is political domination of the proletariat."⁴

The Paris Commune

But, although the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat was an integral part of Marxism right from the beginning, this does not mean that this doctrine, any more than any other part of Marxism, could be developed all at once and in abstraction from the actual class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. At first, in the 1850s, Marx simply recognized the necessity of the class rule (the dictatorship) of the proletariat, without trying to speculate on exactly what form it would take. Even this initial recognition was the product of summing up the class struggle. As Lenin pointed out:

Marx deduced from the whole history of Socialism and of the political struggle that the state was bound to disappear, and that the transitional form of its disappearance (the transition from state to non-state) would be the "proletariat organized as the ruling class." But Marx did not set out to discover the political forms of this future stage. He limited himself to precisely observing French history, to analyzing it, and to drawing the conclusion

to which the year 1851 had led, viz., that matters were moving towards the smashing of the bourgeois state machine.⁵

But as the actual revolutionary practice of the working class went forward, it was possible and necessary for Marx's theoretical understanding to progress also. And the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat did go forward, making a qualitative leap in 1871 with the first seizure of power by the working class — the Paris Commune.

The Paris Commune came into being at the end of the Franco-Prussian War when the French bourgeoisie surrendered to Prussia. But the workers of Paris were still armed to fight the war, and they rose up and seized power in Paris, vowing to defend the city both against the Prussian invaders and the French bourgeoisie, who fled to Versailles, set up a reactionary government, and proceeded to collaborate with the Prussian army in attacking Paris. As the Central Committee of the workers' National Guard proclaimed, in its manifesto of March 18, 1871:

The proletarians of Paris, amidst the failures and treasons of the ruling classes, have understood that the hour has struck for them to save the situation by taking into their own hands the direction of public affairs. . . . They have understood that it is their imperious duty and their absolute right to render themselves masters of their own destinies, by seizing upon the governmental power.⁶

Marx believed that the Commune would not be successful in holding on to its power. In the previous year he had pointed out that conditions were not ready for an uprising by French workers, and he thought after the seizure of power that the proletariat would be defeated after a time. But when the workers did rise and "stormed heaven" (as Marx termed it), he gave them full and absolute support, mobilizing the International Working Men's Association in behalf of the Commune, declaring, "What flexibility, what historical initiative, what a capacity for sacrifice in these Parisians! . . . History has no comparable example of similar greatness!"⁷

At the same time as he hailed it as the most glorious height yet attained by the working class in its revolutionary struggle, Marx also eagerly studied the Commune in order to grasp its great historic lessons, especially concerning the form

which the rule of the proletariat would take. As Lenin said:

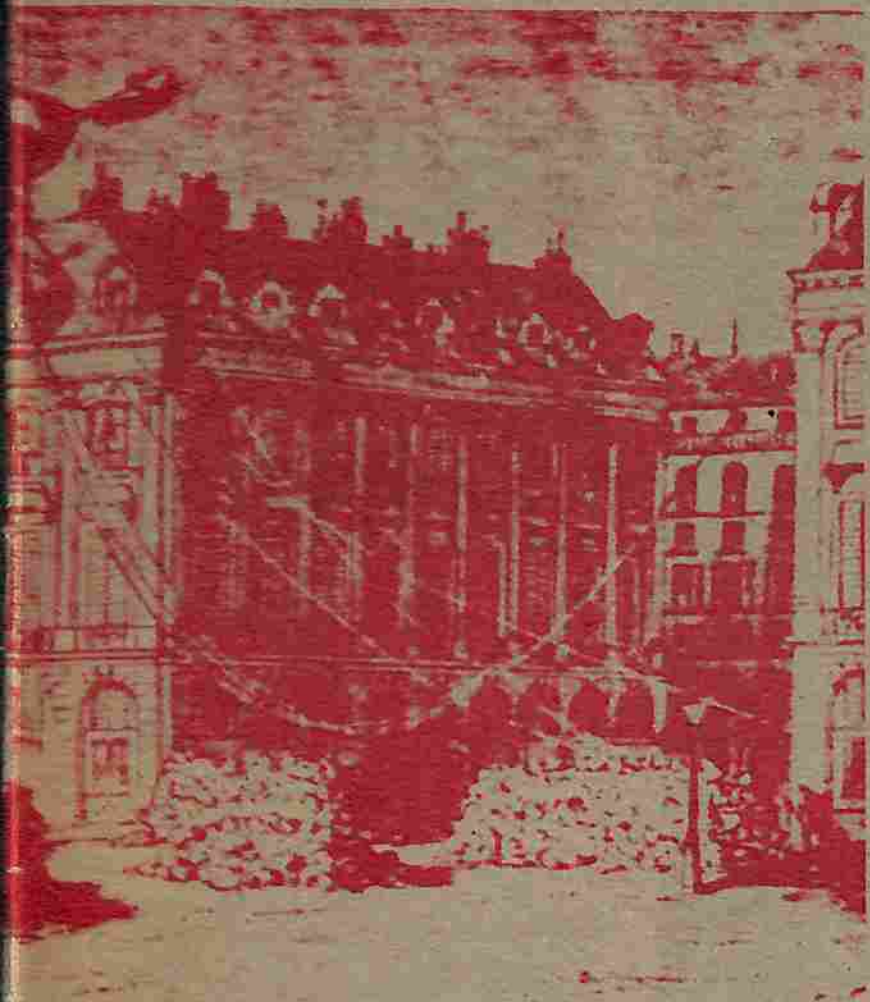
And when the mass revolutionary movement of the proletariat burst forth, Marx, in spite of the failure of that movement, in spite of its short life and its patent weakness, began to study what forms it had discovered.⁸

These forms were many, rich and vital. The Commune itself was composed, as Marx pointed out, mainly of "working men, or acknowledged representatives of the working class." Further, "the Commune was to be a working, not a parliamentary, body, executive and legislative at the same time."⁹ All Commune members and officials received workers' wages.

The army and police force were done away with, and in their place the National Guard enrolled all able-bodied citizens. The state subsidy for the church was swept away. Pawn shops were closed down. Crime was met with the iron force of the armed workers themselves, and the streets became safe for the ordinary citizens. Rent was cancelled. The Vendôme Column, a monument to France's chauvinist wars of aggression, was pulled down. Schooling was made free and open to all. The factories, whose capitalist owners had fled, were seized and run cooperatively by the workers. The night shift was abolished.

There were other new forms developed by the proletariat in its brief but glorious dictatorship in Paris, before it was crushed with the utmost savagery and revengeful cruelties by the French bourgeoisie. Not all of these forms, of course, were of equal value. Some were "false starts," others were quite correct in the immediate circumstances but were not necessarily models for a long-term socialist society, while others would indeed be features of any society which could really be called socialist. But regardless of all the details of particular features of the Commune, one fact stood out, which Marx summarized as follows:

It was essentially a working-class government, the produce of the struggle of the producing against the appropriating class, the political form at last discovered under which to work out the economic emancipation of labour . . . The Commune was therefore to serve as a lever for uprooting the economical foundations upon which rests the existence of classes, and therefore of class-rule. With labour emancipated, every man becomes a working man,



Column of the Place Vendôme, symbol of the French empire, was demolished.

"All the preceding classes that got the upper hand, sought to fortify their already acquired status by subjecting society at large to their conditions of appropriation. The proletarians cannot become masters of the productive forces of society, except by abolishing their own previous mode of appropriation, and thereby also every other previous mode of appropriation. They have nothing of their own to secure and to fortify; their mission is to destroy all previous securities for, and insurances of, individual property.

"All previous historical movements were movements of minorities, or in the interests of minorities. The proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interests of the immense majority. The proletariat, the lowest stratum of our present society, cannot stir, cannot raise itself up, without the whole super-encumbant strata of official society being sprung into the air."

The Communist Manifesto, Marx and Engels

Spring Into The Air

and productive labour ceases to be a class attribute.¹⁰

Once again, in other words, the main thing about the dictatorship of the proletariat is its character as a *transitional form* to communism. And in order first to consolidate its rule and advance to communism, the working class must *smash* the old bourgeois state machinery, with its governmental bureaucracy, its police and army, its judicial and prison

system, etc. As Marx and Engels noted in their preface to a new German edition of the *Communist Manifesto* in 1872:

One thing especially was proved by the Commune, viz., that "the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery, and wield it for its own purposes."¹¹

Critique of the Gotha Programme

These same themes come to the fore
Continued on page 12



Youth distributing revolutionary literature.



Women Communards wage a fierce battle at The Barricades in La Place Blanche.



New York City 1871, The International Workingmen's Association march in support of the Paris Commune.

"World history would indeed be very easy to make if the struggle were taken up only on condition of infallibly favorable chances."

Marx to L. Kugelmann, April 17, 1871



Israelis Poison Palestinian Children

Outbreaks have erupted once again in the Israeli-occupied West Bank in the wake of the poisoning of hundreds of Palestinian schoolgirls in at least six different schools in the past two weeks. On March 21, about 52 school children became ill at the Araba school near the town of Jenin. The following Saturday, some 80 were stricken at the Asahara School in Jenin, and the next day 400 were reported taken to hospitals in the Nablus-Jenin area, with symptoms that included headaches, dizziness, fainting spells, nausea, partial blindness, and heart palpitations. The Israeli radio, in an early report, said that samples of a yellow powder found on the window sills of some of the schools were found to contain a high concentration of sulphur and were emitting gas vapors. Wafa, the Palestinian press service, reported that the schools had been "systematically sprayed with a poisonous gas." And there was no question among Palestinian residents of the area that these vicious attacks were the work of Israeli settlers, who have increasingly been unleashed to terrorize and murder Palestinians on the West Bank as part of the Israelis' stepped-up settlement program — that is, if they weren't the work of Israeli government forces themselves.

At first, Israeli officials had the audacity to speculate that the poisonings were possibly carried out by "radical Palestinian factions" in an effort to "provoke strikes and demonstrations" on March 30, Land Day — a traditional day of demonstrations against Israeli occupation which commemorates the anniversary of the killing of six Arabs in 1976 during protests against the Israeli confiscation of Arab land in Galilee. The next day, however, they apparently decided to come up with a more "believable" story. After an "intensive investigation," 15 experts from the Israeli army, the police, the Health Ministry and the West Bank Civil Administration, announced that no traces of toxins or chemicals had been found and agreed that the illnesses were not due to poisoning in any way, shape or form. After noting "similar cases" of mass symptoms in other countries where children had supposedly overreacted to "certain events," according to the *New York Times*, the Israeli Health Ministry's director general, Baruch Modan, "said in an interview with the Israeli radio that he could not discount the possibility that the children had a psychosomatic illness"! Attempted murder of Palestinian children is a *state of mind*!

The response to the Israeli poisonings and attendant outrageous slanders was not long in coming, as crowds of furious Palestinian parents and youth throwing stones and hurling burning tires inundated the center of Jenin, forcing Israeli authorities to put the town under a military curfew. The cars of the police chiefs of the towns of Nablus and Samaria were righteously pelted with stones in the vicinity of the schools.

On Land Day, dozens of arrests and one killing by Israeli troops were reported as demonstrations erupted throughout the occupied territories. In Galilee, thousands of Palestinians marched, chanting "We will redeem the Galilee in blood and fire." In the West Bank, stones and molotov cocktails (and two hand grenades) greeted Israeli security forces. And in Beirut, hundreds of demonstrating Palestinians clashed with Lebanese army troops. □

Cuban Boot

Continued from page 7

tions that insure the least possibility of a face-to-face confrontation. During the summer of 1981 invasion, the largest and most expansive South African attack against Angola since 1975-76, the *Washington Post* reported that the number of Cuban troops in Angola was actually reduced by 2,000 and only increased a few months later when the invasion had definitely ebbed.

Contrary to what it seems, all of this does not prove that the Cubans "are not doing their job" in Angola. In fact, what it reflects is just the opposite and it provides a revealing indication of just what that job really is. As Castro himself put it in a recent speech, the Cuban troops are "the last leg of defense" in Angola. Concretely what this means is that the role of the Cuban troops is to anchor Soviet imperialism in Angola by securing it in an all-around way as a strategic outpost of the Soviets pending and crucial to a redivision of the world in favor of the Soviet Union. More than anything, the armed presence of large numbers of Cuban troops in Angola today is intended to put the U.S. and its allies on notice. While the Soviets may temporarily tolerate the U.S./South African forays into Angola, and may even be willing to concede some territory, if the U.S. and its allies make any attempt to gun their way full-force into Angola and militarily rip it out of the hands of the Soviets, then, from the Soviets' standpoint, the stakes would be raised to an extremely high level.

The Soviet "Peace Corps"

Still another aspect of the Cuban role in Angola that further illuminates the nature of their "fraternal" foreign and military aid is the activity of the thousands of Cuban doctors, technicians and teachers that have flooded into Angola since 1976. While this activity has been highly touted throughout the world, in reality there is much more involved here than the simple good Samaritanism of healing the sick and teaching the illiterate to read. In fact, it is a crucial ingredient for the maintenance of Angola as a Soviet neo-colony. The whole program is very similar to what the U.S., under Kennedy, did with the Peace Corps. The activity of the Peace Corps was integrally bound up with the expansion of U.S. imperialism in the 1960s and in addition to its primarily ideological functions the Peace Corps also aided the U.S. imperialists through counter-insurgency work and building up the necessary neo-colonial infrastructures within the various countries. Through the Peace Corps the message conveyed was: "Where else could these kinds of benefits be obtained other than under this kind of domination and enslavement." This very same logic was often used to gain support for the U.S. imperialists as they ushered old-line colonialism out of many countries in order to replace it with their own neo-colonialism. And, just as the Peace Corps extolled the "American way of life," the Cuban version extols the "Soviet road to liberation." Just as the U.S. Peace Corps had its military aspect, so too does the Cuban rendition. Many of the doctors, techni-

cians and teachers assigned to Angola (as well as every other country where the Cubans maintain this type of activity) are either recently demobilized military men or civilians directly under military command, commonly known in Cuba as "civic soldiers." In Angola, many of these "good Samaritans" were immediately mobilized into the military and were among the first to take part in front-line combat pending the arrival of reinforcements when South Africa first invaded in 1975. As a secondary aspect of all this, it should also be pointed out that none of this Cuban "humanitarianism" comes without reciprocity in the form of "hard currency" — that is, Angola pays \$600 per month for each Cuban technician, doctor or teacher.

Beginning with Cuba's operations in Angola, and since then, Cuba's military role in Africa has been a point of sharp debate between revisionist supporters and apologists for Soviet social-imperialism worldwide and genuine proletarian internationalist forces. But, the struggle does not hinge on whether or not Cuba violated some sacred moral principle against interfering in the internal affairs of another country to promote revolutionary interests. In fact, if that had been the case, Cuba's involvement in Angola, or anywhere else for that matter, would have been welcomed by revolutionaries around the world. However, this was not, and is not, the case. Instead the struggle focuses on exactly what interests, and whose interests, were being advanced through Cuba's version of "internationalism." □

The *Economist*, in a Feb. 26 editorial, called the recent national election in West Germany "Europe's most important in the present generation." Pretty strong stuff. Just exactly why this election was so important can be found in the magazine's description of West Germany's present geographical (or better said, geopolitical) location, "in the centre of Europe, on the fault line between east and west." And we all know what happens along a "fault line" — EARTHQUAKES. In this case they are referring to the man-made variety.

More than a routine exercise in the "democratic process," this election specifically concerned the task of earthquake preparation and all this involves. The election itself was the subject of intensive and intense press coverage in West Germany and internationally. Its outcome was reported as so crucial that both the U.S. and the Soviet Union had to make moves and countermoves, one after the other, in what were described as efforts to influence German public opinion in favor of either the CDU/CSU's Helmut Kohl (true-blue friend of the U.S., faithful NATO ally, and unwavering backer of the new NATO missiles), or for the SPD's Hans-Jochen Vogel (the Soviets' supposed horse in the race, the weak-kneed neutralist who was allegedly backing away from the new missiles and, it was said, if elected would refuse the missiles altogether). The future of Western democracy and peace hung in the balance.

But never fear, when the smoke cleared the West German voters had come to their senses — put aside their aversion to nuclear annihilation and voted to remain a part of the Western Alliance.

Washington breathed a sigh of relief, the German press called it a "landslide for Kohl," *Newsweek* headlined it "West Germany swings right"; Reagan could go back to cutting brush and riding horses untroubled by thoughts of creeping neutralism across the Atlantic.

So much for the fairy tales designed strictly for public consumption. Let's peel off the veneer and take a closer look at what earthquake preparations along the "fault line between east and west" are really all about.

First off it was not a contest between a pro-missile, pro-NATO Kohl and a wavering neutralist Vogel. There was and is absolutely no difference between the major bourgeois parties — CDU/CSU (Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union), SPD (Social Democrats), FDP (Free Democrats) — on the question of the missiles and the necessity of putting them on German and other European soil. There may be a few tactical differences over how to handle public opinion on this; there is certainly a very clear bourgeois division of labor in the joint effort to defuse mounting public opposition to this particular as well as other earthquake preparations.

Just for the record, the SPD's Helmut Schmidt was chancellor when the NATO countries unanimously agreed on the new missiles. In fact the *Economist* itself noted that Schmidt was the original author of the proposal whose purpose, from the European imperialists' point of view, is to force any nuclear exchange in Europe as quickly as possible into a strategic nuclear exchange between the U.S. and USSR — over European heads. This is what is called the "coupling/decoupling" issue. The recent warnings from Moscow that any missiles fired from Europe and hitting the Soviet Union would result in retaliation against both European and American targets shows how this theory would operate in practice.

At the same time the U.S. ruling class's view of this is that the whole alliance must share the risk of deploying the new missiles (which they all agree are necessary for the war build-up) by agreeing to put them on European soil. The "risk" involved is that these missiles, like the U.S.-based ICBM's, are prime targets for any Soviet strike. In addition, the U.S. hopes that by putting the missiles in Europe they will be able to confine any nuclear exchanges during the next earthquake to the territories of others (including its own "allies"). This murderous logic — that of trying to make each other the bigger target in a nuclear war — reveals the true essence of the "shared beliefs in democracy" that bind the Western imperialist war bloc.

In the campaign itself, Kohl and the other CDU/CSU representatives took

W. German Elections

Democracy

on the "Faultline"

great opportunity to point out in every televised debate that their support for the missiles was only a continuation of the policy started by the SPD. Vogel and his SPD cohorts looked more than a little foolish attempting to deny history — or at least bend it.

For all their posturing as the anti-missile party (or better said — the "maybe missile party"), the SPD's actual position as put forward in black and white in their campaign literature was, "It is the view of the SPD that the Soviet Union and USA must negotiate in Geneva with the goal of dismantling the Soviet missiles so that the introduction of the new American missiles is superfluous."

Now just exactly where this position deviates from Reagan's so-called "zero solution" would be hard for even the best bourgeois demagogue to explain. In the next sentence of this particular brochure they fully reek with "neutrality" when they say, "The SPD demands that the Soviet and American sides move from their opening positions to a compromise." Here is the art of bourgeois electioneering at its best. The actual logic of the SPD's position was to prepare people to accept some type of "interim" solution, exactly of the type that is being so loudly talked about now.

As for the "pro-missile" candidate Kohl, not only had he both before and since the election been talking about some kind of "compromise" — but no less a wavering neutralist than George Bush was dispatched to Europe, before the election, to reassure all that just such a compromise was in the works — a "compromise" whose purpose is to cool out opposition to the extent possible while at the same time getting at least some of the missiles in place.

The SPD brochure from which the above quotes were taken features as its headline the overall slogan of the SPD campaign: "IN GERMAN INTERESTS." Vogel was fond of saying things like, "Reagan looks out for American interests, I look out for German interests."

This more than anything reveals how the bourgeoisie in W. Germany tried to use this election: as far as the bourgeois parties go, it was a classic con game. While having the same essential position on the key questions, through the demagoguery of their politicians and layers of double-talk from the "free and critical" press — everyone was supposed to believe there was a choice. When Reagan criticized Vogel as soft on the missiles, this actually helped to build up Vogel's credentials as an "anti-missile liberal."

A "liberal" was needed to oppose the "conservative" Kohl. After 13 years in office, Helmut Schmidt's "liberal" credentials were a bit worn — so here comes the "liberal" Vogel. We can conveniently forget that his career in the SPD has been as one of the leaders of its right wing. The *Economist* said of him, "Mr. Vogel's record as a tough justice minister in the 1970s hardly suggests that he is a man of the left." What they are referring to is Vogel's role in carrying out widespread suppression of the social protest movements that swept Germany in the early '70s. (It is interesting to note that the SPD saw it as so important to pose as the "liberal" alternative, that they dumped Schmidt as their candidate and ran the refurbished Vogel, even though their own polls showed that Schmidt would pull the most votes.)

For his part, the "conservative" Kohl, while always making his ritual statements about supporting the missile deployment and NATO, etc., etc. — came up with a new "peace slogan" that he repeated almost as often — "Frieden Schaffen mit immer weniger Waffen — Make Peace With Fewer and Fewer Weapons." This was a calculated copy of the well-known

slogan popularized by German pacifists — "Frieden Schaffen ohne Waffen — Make Peace Without Weapons." If the SPD's fine print let you know that they were in fact as solidly behind the missiles (and all the other war preparations) as anyone else — then the CDU's fine words let you know they were just as much for "peace" as anyone else. Yes indeed — democracy!

In fact just to bolster his "reasonable pro-missile" credentials a bit, the Kohl government leaked a story to the press that when the W. German defense minister was in the U.S. for talks with the Pentagon, he was secretly asked if West Germany would take 2 of the new Pershing II missiles for every one publicly admitted to. Of course, we were told, the Kohl government turned this secret offer down because this government was not going to put one more missile on German soil than had been previously agreed to.

"In German Interests . . . For the Fatherland"

This election was aimed at preparation of the masses for war. To go along with Vogel's battle cry of "In German Interests," Kohl reminded his audience at every campaign stop of their duty to "the German Fatherland," as he put it over and over again. Here was the real lesson, electorate: the future and destiny of the masses of people is inseparable from that of German imperialist capital, the interests of which, at this time in history, can only be pursued within the Western bloc.

Kohl was unequivocal on this point. Vogel may at times have been a bit confusing — at least to the uninitiated. This was of course for internal consumption and by design. But to dispel any fears among the other allies that the SPD had some crazy ideas about leaving the bloc, the former chancellor Schmidt wrote a major article two weeks before the election that was ostensibly about his views on the world economic situation and his prescription for curing a system that he says "is increasingly in danger of breaking down." The significance of this article lies not in its analysis or proposed solutions, but in Schmidt's repeated assertions that the U.S. must take the lead in the bloc: "Economic strength, as well as political and military power, predetermines the United States to take the lead."

That this was a major position paper from the SPD as a whole (indeed from the West German bourgeoisie as a whole) was underscored by the fact that it was billed as "compiled with substantial help from Manfred Lahnstein" (Schmidt's former finance minister) and that it appeared simultaneously in the *Economist* from London, *Le Monde* in Paris, *Die Zeit* in Hamburg, *Nihon Keizai Shimbun* in Tokyo and *Panorama* in Milan.

The whole way this election went down has everything to do with the particular contradictions faced by the West German rulers, and actually reflects the relative positions of the U.S. and German imperialists within the bloc as a whole. The U.S. is leading the bloc and seeking to do so as much as possible on its own terms. The West Germans are the second most powerful member and are trying to deal with living on the "fault line." Strategy here must comprehend not only an increasingly aroused public opinion (one that includes memories of destruction of the last war): even the "conservative" Kohl had to come out for continuing "détente," reducing weapons, etc., etc. In other words, "cowboy" types, à la Reagan, are hardly appropriate — one shouldn't yell "Start the earthquake!" while standing on the "fault line." Strategy must also comprehend problems like

the Soviet gas pipeline (and East-West trade generally) in which the Germans have more at stake in the short run than the U.S. Therefore, West German/U.S. views occasionally differ, giving rise to the various well-publicized "marital" spats.

The overall approach is to carry out the military preparations while politically it is a question of preparing the *fait accompli*. That is, once war breaks out (or just before), the W. German imperialists will be telling people: "We didn't want this, we didn't start it," etc. There might even be some condemnation of the "two evil superpowers." But the point will be: "What can we do? It's started, and now we have no other choice than to fight" for German democracy. And here is where all the "liberal" education about "In German Interests" and the "conservative" talk about "duty to the German Fatherland" will play its role.

The revival of the "2 Germanies" question during the election revealed yet another look at the kind of earthquake expected in the '80s. In the '70s the SPD presided over the introduction of the "Ostpolitik." This was the opening to the East. Involved was a tremendous expansion of trade with and investment in Eastern Europe. In addition to extending huge amounts of credit to the Soviet Union and its bloc (with interest of course), there was a certain political relaxation that accompanied this, including a limited recognition of the post-WWII borders in Europe. The Helsinki Agreements were sort of the high point of this — although they never included a formal recognition of East Germany by West Germany.

Although they defend all these policies today and promise to continue them, at the time they were first implemented, the CDU/CSU jumped up and down about how this was a sell-out of the German nation (referring to the fact that it is by law the official position of the West German government that not only East Germany, but also a large part of what is today Poland, in fact all belongs to them).

During the election, this "German question" was revived and built up as it has not been since the cold war days. It started with blasts from the "right," with certain politicians including the present interior minister making noises about reunification and condemning the SPD as being soft on the question. The SPD never denies that this is a worthy and important goal, only that the only hope is to work at this through "Entspannung" — or relaxation of tensions.

But whether you have the "liberal" or "conservative" approach to this question, the only way this goal can be achieved is through an imperialist war. In fact during the campaign the coverage in the U.S. press often remarked about the growing signs of the revival of "German nationalism." Though they portray this as a troublesome development — responsible for Germany not being as suppliant a partner as it should be from the U.S.'s point of view — this nationalism is in fact a very important component of the West German bourgeoisie's desperate attempts at holding together what *Time* called the "broad national consensus on defense, foreign policy and even, to a considerable degree, economic management."

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Reagan

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came at the end of a long televised address by the president which featured "declassified" photos of airstrips in Grenada, and Soviet helicopters in Nicaragua. These were essentially stage props, designed to recall the "Cuban Missile Crisis" atmosphere of 1962. (For example, during the Pope's recent visit to Nicaragua, he was flown around in one of the very helicopters "discovered" by the intrepid American spy satellites.) The bulk of the speech conjured up the menace of Soviet military strength, and defended the U.S. plans for a two-trillion dollar military buildup.

If this sounds gimmicky, bear in mind that it is not easy to picture the development of fantastic new weapons of mass destruction as "defensive and peaceful." Undoubtedly there are those among Reagan's following gullible and chauvinist enough to buy the idea of "peace through strength and fuck the rest of the world." But this speech was not intended to be "defensive." In introducing the notion of space-born ABM's, Reagan spoke of the "bleak future" posed by the old-fashioned balance of terror: "the notion that no rational nation would launch an attack that would inevitably result in unacceptable losses to themselves."

With the space weapons: presto! No more "unacceptable losses!" — which is just another way of saying that the "unthinkable" is quite thinkable, because what is really "unthinkable" for U.S. imperialism is not being No. 1!

The issue of ABM's of any sort is extremely touchy for just this reason; it injects the possibility of decisive nuclear superiority, and even first-strike; far from a question of "defense" it has always been seen as an extremely serious form of aggressive intent. Reagan's speech in fact admits as much later on, and the Soviets, in their response, jumped

right on it.

Of course, the whole proposal flies in the face of U.S.-Soviet treaties which now ban both large-scale ABM systems and the use of outer space for "weapons of mass destruction" (which both the U.S. and Soviet Union have been researching ever since they signed the treaty). The Reagan administration, while making *pro forma* declarations that the "treaties still stand" has on the contrary made clear that the treaties don't mean a damn thing. Reagan gave them not a mention in the Star Wars speech, and Casper Weinberger said in Madrid that "the ABM Treaty might have to be amended when the proposed system was actually deployed." We should say!

(Well now, the *NY Times* "explained," actually the outer space treaty probably meant nuclear weapons of mass destruction and lasers aren't nuclear weapons so... so the U.S. will do what it damn pleases and it's full steam ahead in preparing for a showdown with the Soviets.)

There is yet another form of pressure against the Soviets contained in Reagan's stinking chauvinist call to "turn to the very strengths in technology that spawned our great industrial base and have given us the quality of life we enjoy today." True, this "quality of life" is more accurately traced to America's systematic world-wide plunder — but this point about the U.S. "industrial base" is more than simple flag-waving. For the space-weapons proposal would amount to a major new phase in the arms race, and as such seems to be partly aimed at straining and pressing the Soviets economically. This is based on an assessment, popular in some quarters of the Reagan administration and elsewhere in the U.S. security establishment, that the Soviet Union is already showing considerable economic and political strain from its military buildup and, while an arms escalation would also pose risks and

strains for the U.S., it would be far harder to bear for the Soviets' smaller economic base.

In sum, practicable or not, the space weapons speech summoned all loyal Americans toward the glorious future when imperialist America will once again, unchallenged and safe from nuclear attack, be free to nuke and threaten to nuke anyone it wants.

The March 23rd speech was also part of a "one-two punch" having to do with the red-hot issue of new missile deployments in Europe. The speech came only days before a new announcement on a "compromise proposal" for a new "interim agreement limiting, but not eliminating intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Europe..." No specific number of reductions was officially announced although it was privately stated later that Soviet and American sides would be limited to 100 missile launchers with a total of 300 warheads. All in all, this was advertised as a "concession" to the Europeans, a supposed statement of "peaceful intention" of the U.S. aimed at the European masses.

But let us here in the USA not let the supposed "concession" detract from our glorious and overriding goal—vanquishing of the evil Soviet monster in the East. For domestic consumption, then, and for the Soviets' benefit as well, there is the Space Wars speech, clearly timed to coincide with the new "compromise."

This timing, this "one-two punch" does help to put the so-called compromise in perspective: it is a meaningless variation on the so-called "zero option," the U.S. scheme which calls for the dismantling of the Soviet SS-20 missile force west of the Ural Mountains. The willingness to "budge a little" or "appear flexible" on the zero option is the latest maneuver; aimed not at seriously coming up with an idea to obviate the deployment of the U.S. missiles, but at making it possible to deploy them with the least op-

position.

The new "compromise," like the zero option, calls for equality of U.S. and Soviet missile strength, but leaves out of its calculations, the 162 French and British missiles now aimed at the Soviets. Furthermore, the U.S. now includes in the Soviet totals, those SS-20s in Asia (aimed mainly at China). The practical impact of this plan would be that the Soviets would *tear down* hundreds of missile emplacements in Europe and Asia while the U.S. would *add* a hundred or so. Mr. Andropov is not likely to jump at the chance.

So cynical was the proposal that front page *NY Times* analysis openly stated that "Reagan administration officials and European diplomats acknowledged today that President Reagan's compromise offer on medium range missiles would almost certainly be rejected by Moscow, but they felt that it was nonetheless essential in the battle for political support of the Western Europeans."

A French diplomat put it most succinctly: the basic idea is "To appear sincere in efforts to reach an arms treaty."

Meanwhile, while giving America's European allies some useful propaganda, lies, and doublespeak, as well as an opportunity to look even more sincere by comparison to his own space war scenario, Reagan again put U.S. bloc relations in their proper perspective:

"As we pursue our goal of defensive technologies," the space-weapons speech continued, "we recognize that our allies rely upon our strategic offensive power to deter attacks against them. Their vital interests and ours are inextricably linked..."

Just remember—America's imperialist partners are told—we're all in this together, and don't think you will get off scot-free while the missiles cross above your heads...

All in all a vision of the future which typifies the heart and soul of imperialism.

Sprung Into The Air

Continued from page 8

even more explicitly in Marx's other main work on this subject, his *Critique of the Gotha Programme*. This was his criticism (at first sent privately and only published after Marx's death) of the draft programme for the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany (later the German Social-Democratic Party), which was the product of the unification of two working class parties in Germany, one under the leadership of followers of Ferdinand Lasalle, the other led by followers (more or less) of Marx.

In this work Marx marked off clearly what he called the two "phases of communist society," which since that time have come to be called socialism, on the one hand, and communism, on the other. He emphasized that

Between capitalist and communist society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. Corresponding to this is also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but the *revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat*.¹²

But, besides emphasizing again the transitional nature of socialism, and the fact that politically this transition must be marked by working class dictatorship, Marx also showed what the crucial difference is between socialism and communism in terms of economic organization. This difference can be expressed in the form of two maxims or slogans.

The maxim of socialist society is: from each according to his ability, to each according to his work. This corresponds to the general level of development of production relations that characterizes socialist society (which in turn is ultimately determined by the level of development of the productive forces). This means that, while provision is made for those actually unable to work, etc., and after a certain amount is set aside for accumulation, public services, and so on, generally each person gets back in the way of con-

sumer goods an equivalent to what his labor has contributed. In all socialist societies that have existed, the exchange of labor for consumer goods has taken place so far through the medium of money — that is, workers receive money-wages with which they buy these consumer goods. This is itself a commodity relation and is an aspect of the situation where commodity relations have not been eliminated in society as a whole. To the degree that this is the case the law of value continues to operate (the law that the value of commodities is determined by the socially necessary labor time required to produce them) and exerts an influence on the distribution of means of production and still more so in the distribution of means of consumption (consumer goods).

Under socialism, because of the transformation of the ownership system from capitalist to socialist, the operation of the commodity system and the law of value is restricted. And labor power itself is no longer a commodity under socialism—no longer can some people appropriate wealth from the labor of others on the basis of private ownership of the means of production, and instead each person's income is acquired solely from the labor he or she contributes—so long as socialist relations of production actually exist. But even so the persistence of commodity relations represents both a remnant of capitalist economic relations and a contradiction which can be seized on by bourgeois elements in attempting to restore capitalism.

And, even if the distribution of consumer goods under socialism were no longer literally in the commodity form, so long as it was based on exchange of equal values, as Marx explains, the "same principle prevails as that which regulates the exchange of commodities..."¹³ And this principle is one which indicates that society has not yet completely transcended the confines of capitalist relations, although it has made a qualitative leap beyond capitalism with the achievement of socialist ownership. "Hence," Marx says, "equal right here [under socialism — B.A.] is still in principle — *bourgeois right*..."¹⁴

This equality is also bourgeois in that it is still a formal equality. As Marx says: "This equal right is an unequal right for unequal labour... It is, therefore, a right of inequality, in its content, like every right."¹⁵ Different people will differ in their skills, in natural endowments, in how many others they may have to support, and so on. So in actual fact, despite

formal equality, one person will be getting more than another, one will be richer than another.

It is this bourgeois right—this equality which is still formal, bourgeois, and hence really still inequality—which will be overcome in advancing to communist society, a society in which, as Marx puts it, the principle prevails: from each according to his ability, to each according to his need.

But this transition to communism cannot be achieved immediately or all at once. As Marx points out trenchantly:

What we have to deal with here is a communist society, [Marx means communism in its first stage, socialism—B.A.] not as it has developed on its own foundations, but, on the contrary, just as it emerges from capitalist society; which is thus in every respect, economically, morally and intellectually, still stamped with the birth marks of the old society from whose womb it emerges.¹⁶

Thus Marx sketches here the basic difference between socialism and communism, and therefore what socialism must be in motion toward. And it follows from Marx's analysis that the general objective of the dictatorship of the proletariat could be summed up in one phrase: the elimination of bourgeois right. Marx presented this as a question both of overcoming the social distinctions and ideological influences left over from capitalism and of achieving the necessary material abundance for communism, with these two things obviously closely inter-related. As he put it:

In a higher phase of communist society, after the enslaving subordination of the individual to the division of labour, and therewith also the antithesis between mental and physical labour, has vanished; after labour has become not only a means of life but life's prime want; after the productive forces have also increased with the all-round development of the individual, and all the springs of cooperative wealth flow more abundantly — only then can the narrow horizon of bourgeois right be crossed in its entirety and society inscribe on its banners: From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs!¹⁷

But the fact that the "birth marks of the old society" would not only continue to exist under socialism for a long time but also give rise constantly to a new bourgeoisie, that the transition to communism would be a very long one, throughout which there would be classes and class struggle, and that the driving

force in moving society forward to communism would be the class struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie—that, as Mao was to explain it, the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie would be the principal one all throughout socialism and the class struggle between them the key link—all this was not grasped by Marx, who had only the short-lived experience of the Paris Commune as a concrete instance of working class rule from which to develop theoretical conclusions (in addition to the general lessons he drew from capitalism and previous class societies) concerning the nature of the state in general and the dictatorship of the proletariat in particular. This understanding was developed only later, especially by Lenin and Mao—the former in an embryonic and partial way and the latter as a systematic line—on the basis of further experience in the actual practice of the dictatorship of the proletariat and with Marx's conclusions as a foundation. □

1. Marx, "Marx to J. Weydemeyer in New York," *Selected Works of Marx and Engels (MESW)*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1973. Vol. 1, p. 528.
2. Marx and Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, pp. 60-61.
3. Marx, "The Class Struggle in France 1848-1850," *MESW*, Vol. 1, p. 282.
4. Engels, "Apropos of Working-Class Political Action," *MESW*, Vol. 2, p. 245.
5. Lenin, *The State and Revolution*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1970, p. 66.
6. Marx, "The Civil War in France," *MESW*, Vol. 2, p. 217.
7. Marx, "Marx to Ludwig Kugelmann," *Selected Correspondence of Marx and Engels*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1975, p. 247.
8. Lenin, *The State and Revolution*, p. 66.
9. Marx, "The Civil War in France," *MESW*, Vol. 2, p. 220.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 223.
11. Marx and Engels, *Manifesto*, p. 2 (the quote within this quotation is from *The Civil War in France*).
12. Marx, "Critique of the Gotha Programme," *MESW*, Vol. 3, p. 26.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 18.
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*
16. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 19.

Imperialism Vs. American Principles?

No Contradiction Here!

The Spanish-American War of 1898 pitted the old-guard colonialists of Spain against the up and coming imperialists of the U.S., whose lightning-like victory gave them a beginning taste of empire: possession of Cuba, Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines. In the Philippines, a determined armed resistance against Spain had taken place for years prior to the Spanish-American War. In true "imperialist liberator" fashion, the U.S. encouraged the resistance to the Spanish oppressors during the war, and it was through a combined effort of U.S. troops and Filipino guerrillas that the Spanish garrison in Manila surrendered on August 13. But when the Filipino people attempted in 1899 to set up an independent republic, modeled expressly on the American Constitution of 1776, the reality behind that glorious document embodying such rich democratic tradition was subsequently revealed. The "liberators" now became occupiers. More than 120,000 U.S. troops carried out a bloody suppression of the islands as the Filipinos rebelled against their new imperialist overlords. In three years of fighting untold thousands of Filipinos were slaughtered and even after this sporadic guerrilla outbreaks continued (the Philippines were not declared officially "pacified" until 1916).

However, in the prevailing climate of rabid, jingoistic calls and justifications for America's imperial expansion, isolationist sentiment still ran high in certain U.S. ruling circles (the notorious industrialist and robber baron Andrew Carnegie was, for example, a noted "anti-imperialist" of the time). For varied reasons, a small but vocal section of the U.S. rulers opposed the annexation of the Philippines and other far-flung colonies (in many cases feeling the U.S. was biting off more than it could chew), and played off the genuine anti-imperialist sentiments erupting among the masses in the U.S. Perhaps the most common argument they raised against annexation was that it violated the spirit of American democratic principles.

They were bluntly answered in a speech by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge on the Philippines issue, delivered before the U.S. Senate on March 7, 1900, in which he laid waste to such specious arguments, and did so with bloodthirsty eloquence. Some excerpts follow.

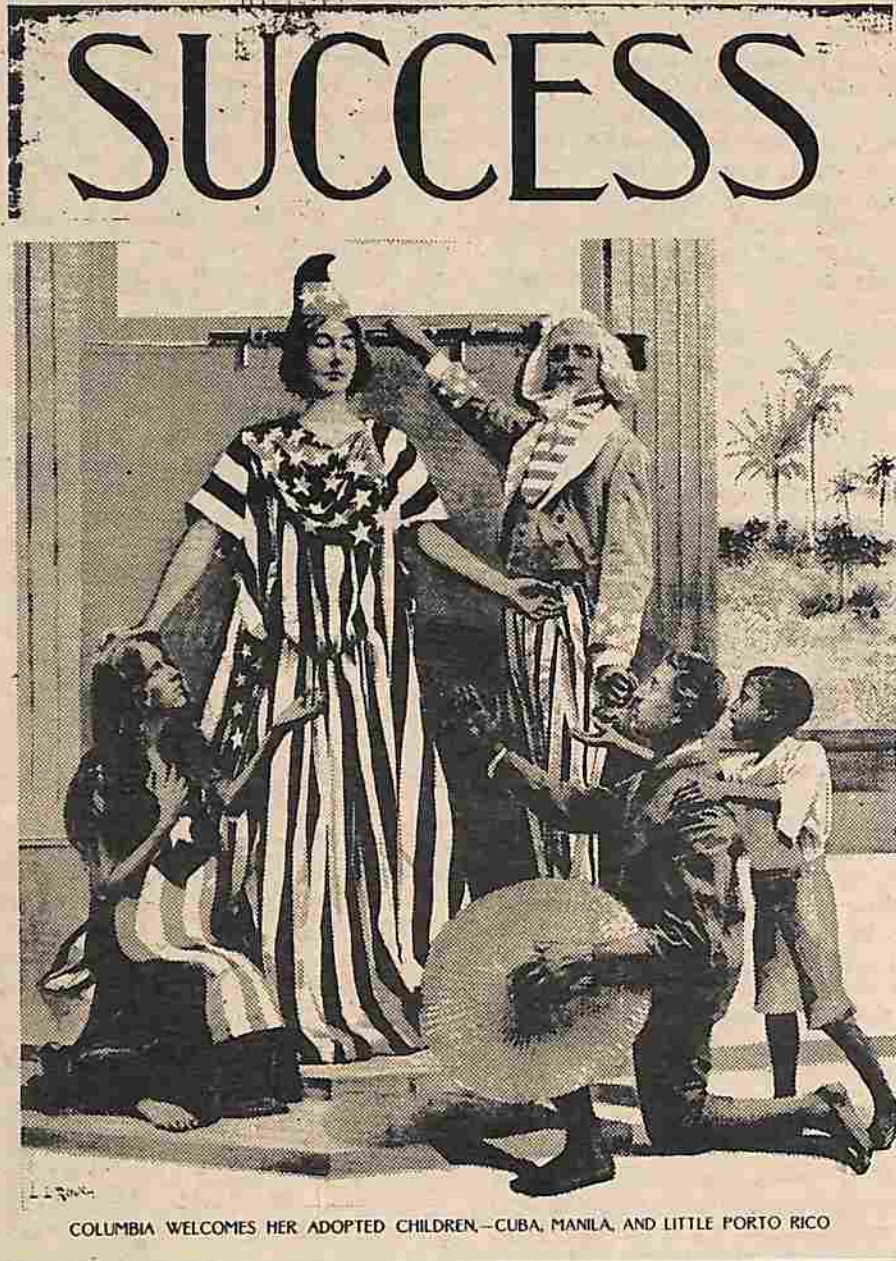
"We believe in the frank acceptance of existing facts, and in dealing with them as they are and not on a theory of what they might or ought to be. We accept the fact that the Philippine Islands are ours today...."

"Our opponents put forward as their chief objection that we have robbed these people of their liberty and have taken them and hold them in defiance of the doctrine of the Declaration of Independence in regard to the consent of the governed. As to liberty, they have never had it, and have none now, except when we give it to them protected by the flag and the armies of the United States. Their insurrection against Spain, confined to one island, had been utterly abortive and could never have revived or been successful while Spain controlled the sea. We have given them all the liberty they ever had. We could not have robbed them of it, for they had none to lose.

"The second objection as to the consent of the governed requires more careful examination. We must go a step farther and see how the American people throughout their history have applied this principle to the vast territory which they have acquired. Under the guidance of Thomas Jefferson, and with a Congress obedient to his slightest behest, we took Louisiana without the consent of the governed, and ruled it without their consent so long as we saw fit.

"A few years more passed, and, in 1819, we bought Florida from Spain without the consent of the governed. Then came the Mexican war, and by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo we received a great cession of territory from Mexico, including all the California coast; and although we paid Mexico twenty millions as indemnity I think it has been held that the cession was one of conquest. There were many Mexicans living within the

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COLUMBIA WELCOMES HER ADOPTED CHILDREN.—CUBA, MANILA, AND LITTLE PORTO RICO

A magazine cover from the Spanish-American War.

ceded territory. We never asked their consent. In 1867 we purchased Alaska from Russia, territory, people and all. It will be observed that to the white inhabitants we allow the liberty of returning to Russia, but we except the uncivilized tribes specifically. They are to be governed without their consent, and they are not even to be allowed to become citizens.

"If the arguments which have been offered against our taking the Philippine Islands because we have not the consent of the inhabitants be just, then our whole past record of expansion is a crime. I do not think that we violated in that record the principles of the Declaration of Independence. On the contrary, I think we spread them over regions where they were unknown...."

"The next argument of the opponents of the Republican policy is that we are denying self-government to the Filipinos. Our reply is that to give independent self-government at once, as we understand it, to a people who have no just conception of it and no fitness for it, is to dower them with a curse instead of a blessing. To do this would be to entirely arrest their progress instead of advancing them on the road to the liberty and free government which we wish them to achieve and enjoy. This contention rests, of course, on the proposition that the Filipinos are not today in the least fitted for self-government, as we understand it.

"The form of government natural to the Asiatic has always been a despotism. . . . to abandon those islands is to leave them to anarchy, to short-lived military dictatorships, to the struggle of factions, and, in a very brief time, to their seizure by some great Western power who will not be at all desirous to train them in the principles of freedom, as we are, but who will take them because the world is no longer large enough to permit some of its most valuable portions to lie barren and ruined, the miserable results of foolish political experiments.

"I come now to a consideration of the

advantages to the United States involved in our acquisition and retention of the Philippine Islands. Whatever duty to others might seem to demand, I should pause long before supporting any policy if there were the slightest suspicion that it was not for the benefit of the people of the United States. I conceive my first duty to be always to the American people, and I have ever considered it the cardinal principle of American statesmanship to advocate policies which would operate for the benefit of the people of the United States, and most particularly for the ad-

vantage of our farmers and our workmen, upon whose well-being, and upon whose full employment at the highest wages, our entire fabric of society and government rests. In a policy which gives us a foothold in the East, which will open a new market in the Philippines, and enable us to increase our commerce with China, I see great advantages to all our people, and more especially to our farmers and our workmen.

"The disadvantages which are put forward seem to me unreal or at best trivial. Dark pictures are drawn of the enormously increased expense of the Navy and of the Army which will be necessitated by these new possessions. . . ."

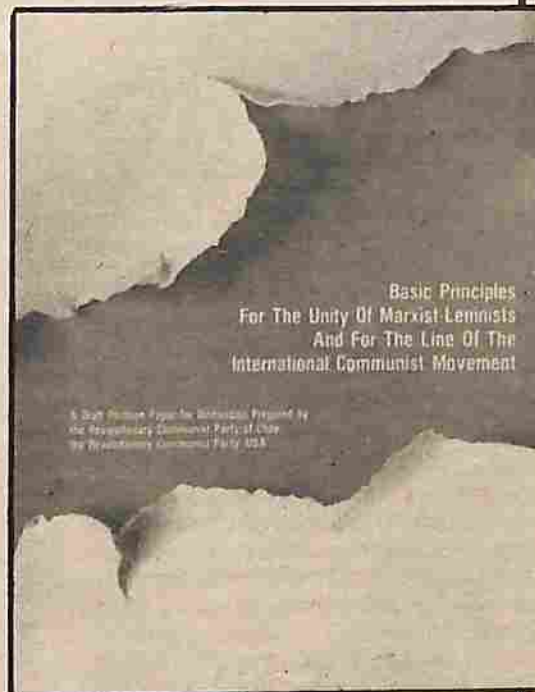
"(But) the Philippines will entail upon us no naval expenses that we should not have in any event with a proper naval establishment. . . . There is no reason to doubt that in a comparatively short time peace and order will be restored, and when we are considering what burden the possession of the islands will impose upon us as we must proceed upon the normal conditions of peace. Spain found less than 15,000 men sufficient, and I think it is safe to say that if Spain was able to manage with 15,000 men, the same number of American soldiers would be enough to do very well what Spain did very badly.

"So much for the objections commonly made to our Philippine policy . . . (a) policy which finds in our possession of these islands not only advantages to their inhabitants, but an expansion of trade of great profit and value to American labor and American industry. . . . The possession of the Philippines made us an Eastern power, with the right and, what was equally important, the force behind the right to speak. . . . Manila, with its magnificent bay, is the prize and the pearl of the East. In our hands it will become one of the greatest distributing points, one of the richest emporiums of the world's commerce. Rich in itself, with all its fertile islands behind it, it will keep open to us the markets of China and enable American enterprise and intelligence to take a master share in all the trade of the Orient.

"We have been told that arguments like these are sordid. Sordid indeed! Then what arguments are worthy of consideration? . . . we shall stand in the front rank of the world powers; we shall give to our labor and our industry new and larger and better opportunities; we shall prosper ourselves; we shall benefit mankind. What we have done was inevitable because it was in accordance with the laws of our being as a nation, in the defiance and disregard of which lie ruin and retreat."

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

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"Faultline"

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This is no small problem. The underlying forces that are resulting in the increased inter-imperialist competition, the deepening world-wide crisis and the mounting preparations for and danger of war are *not* under their control, nor can they be. The imperialists may be playing poker, but they are *not* holding all the cards. Already, these basic forces have given rise to social movements that are disrupting the "national consensus." For all their well-planned and well-practiced election games — even if they did for now meet with some temporary success — the question of social unrest and a breakdown of the "consensus" is far from under control.

The Greens

One very important sign of this fact is the emergence of the Green Party and their successful entry into Parliament. The *Economist* warned in no uncertain terms as to the danger faced here:

"The emergence of the neo-Nazi National Democratic Party in West Germany in the late 1960s sent a shiver through Europe . . . In the election on March 6th the Germans face a different but equally serious danger — from the anti-nuclear, anti-so-many-things Green Party. The Green challenge is more insidious because it is more seductive. The Greens stand for peace, a cleaner environment, and an end to industrial rat-race . . ."

Leaving aside the reference to the Nazis — with whom the gentlemen from the *Economist* have only tactical differences — one is tempted to ask: What the hell is so dangerous about peace, a cleaner environment and an end to the "industrial rat-race"? The answer is that the Greens really are against nukes, pollution, and the new missiles. They are a petty-bourgeois party which draws its support mainly from people under 35 with a better than average education and from middle and upper middle class backgrounds. As such the Greens' program very much reflects the position and outlook of this section of the population. On the one hand they see the horrors of the imperialist system and its workings: the exploitation of the third world, the bloody suppression of liberation struggles, the destruction and poisoning of the environment, the time bombs known as nuclear power plants and above all the growing danger of and preparations for war.

On the other hand, and also reflective of their class position, the Greens are prone toward illusory schemes which appeal to a desire to maintain a privileged position made possible by the parasitism of imperialism. The result is a "love/hate" relationship with the system: opposition to imperialism, but an inability to break with imperialism, and especially with nationalist ideology. This can be seen in the utopian economic reforms the Greens agitate for, such as conversion to solar power (which would allegedly create one million jobs alone). But more importantly, all this is reflected in the very viewpoint of the Greens toward the question of the missiles and war. Opposition to the missiles is programmatically expressed in the demand for an "atomic-free Europe" — an atomic-free *Europe*, and in particular an atomic-free *Germany*. The Greens also have a program for the neutralization and reunification of Germany. Clearly, the national outlook sticks out here; and this is a life-and-death question since it is precisely on the basis of nationalism that the German (in this case) imperialists are preparing public opinion for war.

Their make-up and class character make the Greens a very volatile political force, one that is loaded with contradictions. But at this time they are clearly outside the "broad national consensus," and this is a real problem for the overlords of the Western alliance. Having identified the "threat," the *Economist* pointed out that, "In order to combat the Greens, the entire Social Democratic Party, formerly so sensible, is having to paint itself green."

This is exactly what the SPD did. In fact, their efforts were much more designed "to steal votes from the Greens" than to beat the CDU/CSU-FDP coalition. An example was the very candidacy of Vogel — the "tough justice minister" turned ecology-minded, neutralist libe-

ral. The SPD was not, however, successful in trumping the Greens with their Vogel card.

The Greens' success in getting over 5% of the nationwide vote total (5.6%) and thereby gaining 27 seats in the Parliament is a reflection of the all-around heightening and development of the world situation. Despite massive efforts against them (and the fact that the Greens themselves are more of a loosely organized coalition of regional organizations — with many widely differing political stands and without any central apparatus or structure), the Greens were successful in being the first party outside the established bourgeois parties to get into the parliament since the old KPD (revisionist CP) was banned in the 1950s.

The ability of the established bourgeois parties to hold the allegiance of those who make up the Greens' social base has clearly eroded. Despite persistent appeals to "make your vote count" by choosing the SPD as the "lesser of two evils" (a vote for the Greens taking votes away from the SPD), they could not keep the Greens under the 5% level. Clearly, a much larger percentage than voted for the Greens have a good deal of sympathy for their position and have lost faith in the bourgeois parties' ability to solve the ever-mounting problems being generated by the crisis.

There was a good deal of controversy among the Greens themselves over whether or not they should build either a formal or *de facto* coalition with the SPD. The more radical sections were against this and basing themselves on a view that all the established bourgeois parties are bankrupt, said that such a coalition would be a betrayal of the Greens' overall tradition and principle of being an "out of Parliament" opposition. They said that elections should just be used as a way to influence public opinion.

There were strong forces — those who see themselves as "practical politicians" — who openly campaigned for some sort of alliance with the SPD as the only way to achieve any "results." For its part the SPD flirted for a time with the idea, with various spokesmen making vague and/or contradictory declarations on the question. In the end, when it became clear that the Greens would not hold the balance of power in the Parliament, the SPD came out against any coalition. The purpose of the SPD's "maybe" act was to strengthen the right within the Greens and move the Greens as a whole more in the direction of the "national consensus" by promoting the hope that perhaps you could "work through the system with the reasonable voices in the SPD." At the same time the SPD pursued its overall strategy of trying to put on enough "green spots" to push the Greens under the 5% mark.

In the end the Greens wound up with a position that said they would not join in an official coalition with the SPD, but would vote for an SPD chancellor if certain conditions were met, including refusal to station the new missiles. Given their contradictory and vacillating stand on joining with the SPD — the Greens did not do what you would call stinging and sharp exposure of the fact that both bourgeois parties represent the same set of interests. Although they would talk about "the established parties" in one breath, their stand on the SPD clearly told people that there must be some difference between the SPD and the others that made the SPD better.

Contradictory, to be sure. But it is exactly the contradictory character of the Greens and the class they represent that has the bourgeoisie so upset about their arrival in the West German Parliament. This was not wanted, because the Greens and their activities are going to add further fuel to the fires of social controversy and rebellion that are going to grow very hot as the missiles are in fact put in place at the end of this year.

The Greens are already talking about organizing mass civil disobedience to prevent the missiles from being stationed. As a related action they have floated out the idea of a hunger strike in the Parliament itself at the same time the mass actions are going on. They have also, for instance, called for a boycott of next month's national census, which in reality is nothing more than a nationwide house-to-house

search for subversive elements.

The fact that a political party has come out of the petty bourgeoisie with a line and program that generally reflects the material position of the petty bourgeoisie in society is a further sign of the maturing situation internationally. The significance of this party has obviously not been lost on the German and other Western rulers — nor, we should add, is it lost on the Soviet revisionists who are working on this party from "the other side." The line of the Greens will lead a large section of the party and its base to support imperialism ideologically and *programmatically* with the advent of any great crisis. But just how large a section depends on developments internationally, and this includes the relative strength of the revolutionary forces representing the international proletariat and the influence of these forces on the strata the Greens represent.

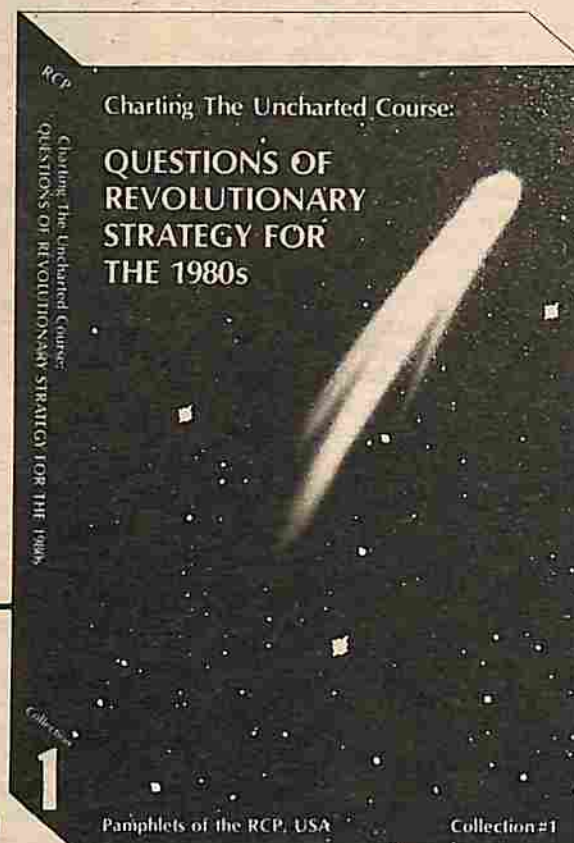
For its part, the bourgeoisie is well aware that the allegiance of large sections of the petty bourgeoisie is something that

can be won or lost. The *Economist* in its editorial makes it very clear that this was exactly the crucial question both in the recent election and beyond. They end up on this very theme:

"If the Kohl government has to install cruise and Pershing-2 missiles on German soil, it may face a wave of violent opposition . . . If a Kohl government is to keep public opinion on its side in the face of such violence, it will need to maintain as broad a consensus for its policy as possible."

Translated from imperialist newspeak they are saying quite openly that there will be missiles — there will be broad opposition and they will move to crush it. All of this is bound to tear a few new holes in their already somewhat threadbare "democratic" mask.

They are exactly right. The stationing of the new missiles is sure to be just one of a whole series of tremors and preliminary shocks before the anticipated earthquake. □



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Death Squad Queen

Continued from page 2

tion was taken against SAINTES. The Senate did write a letter to Kirkpatrick stating that "a great many people on this campus feel that the protest action... was inappropriate." But the letter went on to say: "We cannot help but find it somewhat inconsistent that you feel such great concern for your own freedom of speech while blithely accepting and even promoting, through your policies, so much misery and lack of freedom throughout the world. If you continue to pursue policies which implicitly endorse torture, murder and repression as legitimate tools of government action, you should fully expect to be greeted by angry and heart-felt protest." SAINTES defended herself by saying, "It was our intention to confront Ambassador Kirkpatrick, but it was not our intention to keep her from speaking," and argued that they were "exercising our constitutional rights to alter the course of what we feel is an unjust foreign policy" and were acting as "concerned individuals trying to meet our obligations as citizens in a democracy."

In the view of the "experts," this was not a satisfactory situation — clearly even the most timid protestors did not understand the essence of American democracy and free speech. The *Wall Street Journal* cleared the air, stating that "more hateful by far" than the unruly students is what they termed the failure of the universities: "They, of all institutions in this society, are supposed to be fierce in their defense of free speech." And the *Journal* goes on to clarify what this means: "They ought to know how to make sure only students get into student lectures. The universities should be able to make arrangements for kicking out disruptors and should certainly know how to discipline a student who has been violating the rules." Crying — like a murderer who accuses those who come to the aid of his victim of attacking him — Kirkpatrick complained that, "It is politically very dangerous for our society... Certain kinds of permissiveness lead to repressiveness." Exactly who was going to be repressing whom was the issue at hand, and the implied threat behind these bloody crocodile tears.

Really in all fairness to the University administration, they were certainly in basic agreement that the situation was deplorable. The committee on academic freedom for the faculty senate at Berkeley passed a resolution denouncing the incident and calling on the administration to review regulations protecting free speech. The regents set up a meeting to discuss the incident and possible punishment of the students involved. *The Daily Cal* quoted one U.C. regent as saying that White House officials had contacted the Board of Regents' Chair Glenn Campbell and "told him to do something to punish the demonstrators."

Campbell himself is no small fry. Besides being the Chair of the Regents, a powerful position in itself because of the importance of the U.C. system to the U.S. politically, ideologically and militarily, Campbell is also the Chair of the President's Intelligence Oversight Board, a member of the Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board and the Director of the Hoover Institution, a major bourgeois think-tank which has provided the Reagan administration with many of its top personnel.

Campbell and several other Regents criticized U.C. chancellor Heyman for "simple failure to act responsibly" by not having taken measures to prevent disruption of the Kirkpatrick speech and requested that Heyman draw up a report detailing why the disruption occurred, what steps were being taken to "impose appropriate punishment on the protestors," and what steps were being taken to prevent such things from happening in the future. Apparently some tactical differences surfaced and Heyman (who had certainly done his part raving about "mob rule" in the student newspaper) and several other Regents fought against imposing disciplinary action — this time around. The Regents finally voted to instruct Heyman to "take whatever steps necessary" to protect the ABC's of free speech. (All students have the right to sit quietly and listen to reactionaries. Better

yet if they parrot imperialist logic themselves. Cause if they don't behave, they may soon find that behind the podium of American democracy is a dictatorship as vicious as the world has ever seen.)

Because the Regents did not call for specific actions against the students, there were those like *The Daily Cal* who applauded Heyman for defending university autonomy and academic freedom from high level and high-handed government intervention. While there may well have been some real tactical differences over how to best to proceed to get the situation in hand, there may also have been some good cop/bad cop tactics here, which the U.S. imperialists are rather skilled at. Indeed, one wonders if the fact that all this was "leaked" to the student newspaper was not precisely to play upon the prejudices of the great majority of students and fuel the "free speech" debate — while loudly advertising the consequences if good cop Heyman failed to "get cooperation." (This view was echoed in the *Newsweek* coverage of the disturbance at the University of Minnesota. There, according to *Newsweek*, "The Minnesota Civil Liberties Union denounced the hecklers as fascist and said that they should be disciplined, but university president C. Peter Macgrath defended the no-harm-no-foul policy. 'I think our judgment was correct,' he said. 'It was a close call, but Kirkpatrick did get through her speech.'" It must be said that such self-

congratulations that a major ruling class figure "did get through her speech" are not what you would call brimming with confidence.) And it must also be said that Heyman has done rather well in taking steps to implement the arrived at consensus of the Regents and provide another lesson in academic freedom. Heyman promised to issue a document "which will define acceptable behavior. What may be acceptable on Sproul Plaza may not be acceptable for academic lectures." He mentioned several possible measures such as limiting attendance at controversial talks to an invitation only group with remote TV monitors for the uninvited. Or recruiting faculty and students to police lectures and control disruptors. Heyman also revealed what kind of "controversial" lectures he meant when he remarked that a "major concern" at Berkeley is that speakers who have the philosophy and opinion of the "right" are seldom invited to appear on the campus for fear of disturbances.

One interesting case of a speaker widely cited by the press as a victim of "mob rule" is Eldridge Cleaver, whose Moonie roadshow has been exposed and shut down at both Berkeley and the University of Wisconsin. What is interesting about Cleaver is not that he is a former revolutionary whose born-again belly-crawling for the U.S. government has earned him an honorary degree at Yale, but rather the exposure he affords in assessing "academic freedom" as it is practiced in the real world. As a leading figure in the

Black Panther Party in 1968, Cleaver was officially scheduled to teach a course at U.C. Berkeley — a sign of the times; he was also abruptly banned by the Regents and hundreds of students protesting the ban were arrested by police. Now that he is a walking example of rule (Better yet to parrot imperialist logic — and better still if you're a former revolutionary), he has freedom of speech and the students have the freedom to keep their mouths shut and listen.

In the latest development related to the Kirkpatrick affair, several academic organizations, including the American Council on Education which represents the presidents of half of the U.S. universities and colleges, issued a joint statement titled "Invited Speakers and Academic Freedom — A Call to Action" which urges the academic community to "respect the right of others to listen to those who have been invited to speak on campuses." According to the *New York Times*, academic officials "fear a dangerous precedent would be set if dissenters continued to impede Mrs. Kirkpatrick and other speakers, especially with the wave of commencement addresses that will soon begin." While maintaining the decorum of graduation ceremonies coming up this spring is certainly an immediate worry, the ruling class has clearly demonstrated broader and long-term concerns about what may commence in the '80s. □

Shine the Light of Revolution Behind the Prison Walls



Contribute to the Prisoners Revolutionary Literature Fund

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

Prisoners Revolutionary Literature Fund
Box 3486, Merchandise Mart
Chicago, IL 60654

Greetings Comrades,

Since I realize and understand the forcefulness of all of RCP publications, I have taken this opportunity to request for issues No. 1 and 2 of *A World To Win*. I have organized a group of young Brothers here in XX Correctional Facility and I have been educating them on the Lenin and Marxist Thought. It is young energy like this that will cause us to be victorious in this revolution. We have attempted to send what funds we were able to raise, but the authorities here have thwarted our purpose, but due to the hopefully soon release of one of our comrades we hope to have some funds for the Prisoners fund shortly. Anyway we will be grateful for the requested material and we will forever keep the spirit of revolution alive wherever we are. So yours in the struggle that will "win the world" I say Peace!

Freedom By Any Means Necessary

Dear RCP,

I am writing this to appeal to the readers of the *RW*. I would like for everyone out there to try to contribute to the fund drive out there and especially to the prisoners literature fund. If it were not for your contributions there is a lot of progress that would not of been possible. Such as the prisoners literature that arranges for us to receive subscriptions, and books, since we can't afford on being incarcerated. Since we happen to be in these torture chambers. I think the RCP has some good goals for expanding to educate, influence the masses to awaken the people to the dangers and threat of imperialism and this rotten system. So the working people has to rise up off its knees and Rebel in order to overthrow this system.

Power to the People
Westville, Indiana

Comrades,

I'm writing to inform the people who put together the paper *Revolutionary Worker* that it is a very down piece of information.

It is very important for a person who is behind walls to know that there are people out there who still care about our faith.

I have been exposed to your paper by another inmate here and found it to be very informing. I'm hoping that someone on your end could help me by sending me a copy by mail while I'm here. At the moment I'm not receiving any type of money from the outside world but I understand that this doesn't stop one from getting knowledge about the wrong doing all over the world. If possible I would love to be added to your list of subscribers while here at this hell-hole. When I get on my feet by working I will donate what I can.

Sincerely Yours,
Jackson, Michigan
"Power to the People"

I apologize for not replying any sooner to your correspondence pertaining to the Fundraising drive by RCP. Unfortunately, I have no monetary contributions to make at this time, but as soon as I do I will definitely contribute. Nevertheless, I have spread the word about the fund drive and hopefully some of the other comrades will do so. Please send me the *New Programme and New Constitution, Introduction to the Science of Revolution*, and the pamphlet *If There is to be a Revolution, There Must be a Revolutionary Party*; also please send X (a female prisoner — Ed.) the *New Programme and New Constitution, Break the Chains*, and place her on *RW's* mailing list. I will cover for all these later. Thank you.

In the spirit of Internationalism
Tennessee Colony, Texas

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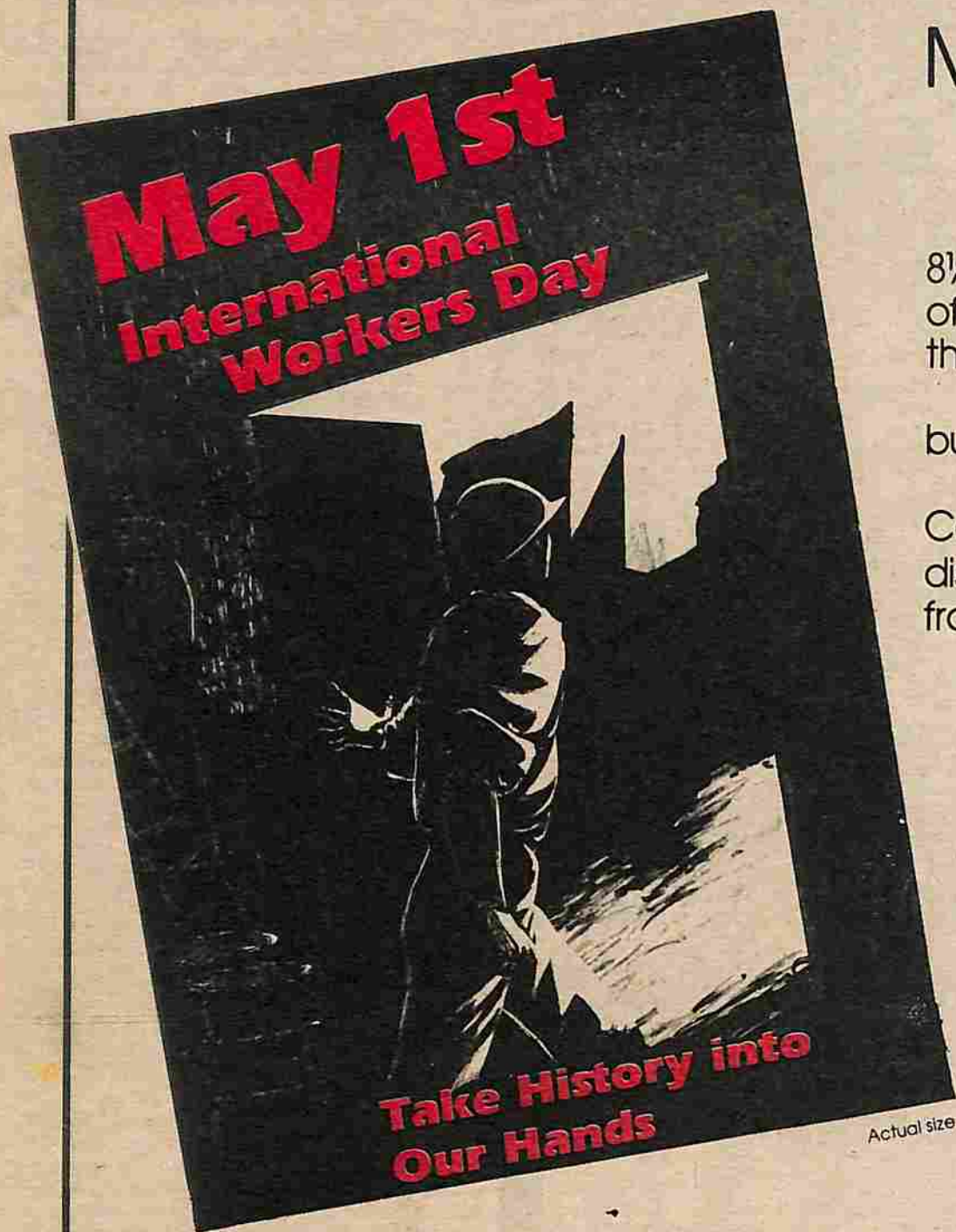
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