



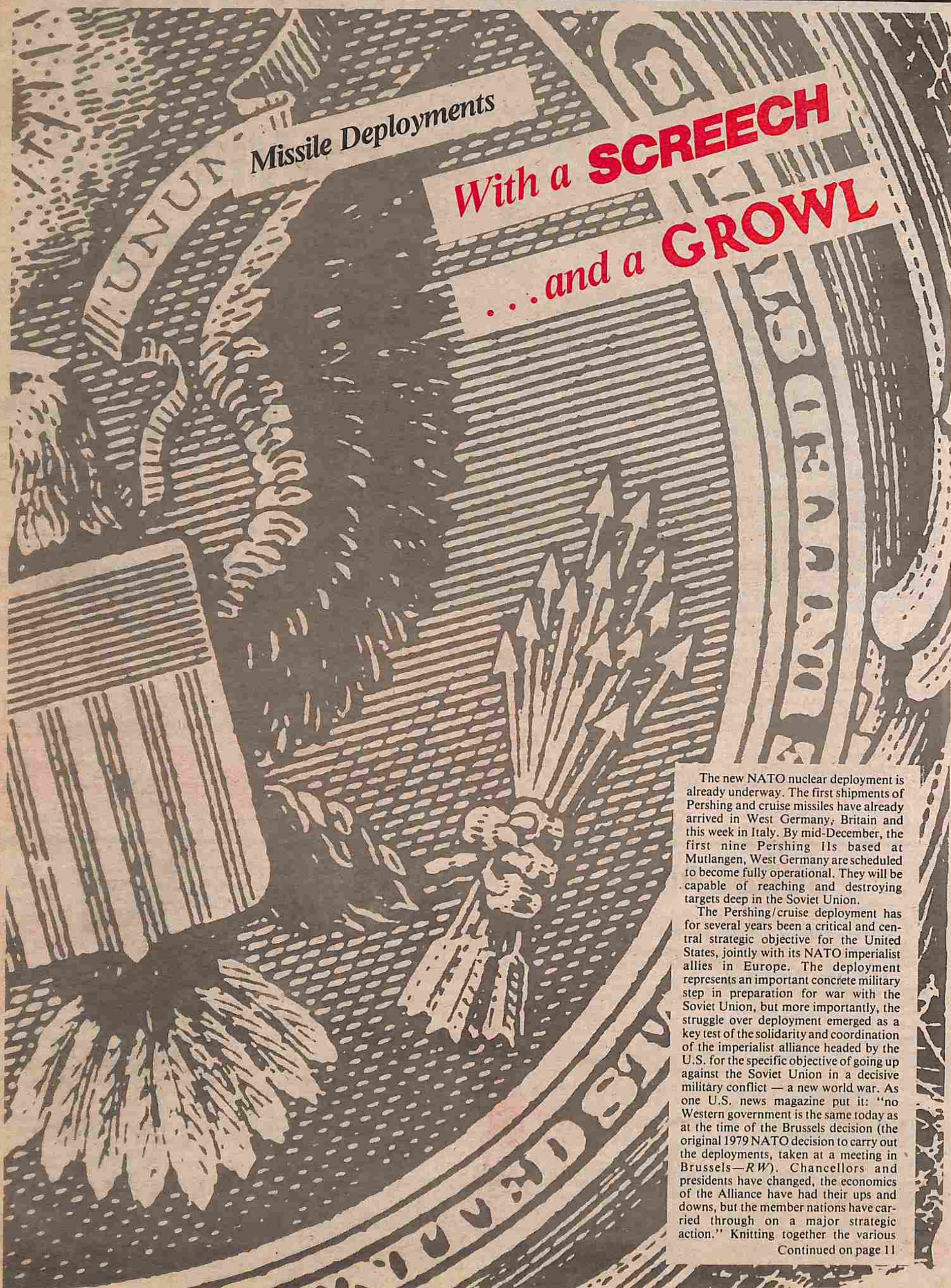
REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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

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Missile Deployments

With a **SCREECH**
... and a **GROWL**

The new NATO nuclear deployment is already underway. The first shipments of Pershing and cruise missiles have already arrived in West Germany, Britain and this week in Italy. By mid-December, the first nine Pershing IIs based at Mutlangen, West Germany are scheduled to become fully operational. They will be capable of reaching and destroying targets deep in the Soviet Union.

The Pershing/cruise deployment has for several years been a critical and central strategic objective for the United States, jointly with its NATO imperialist allies in Europe. The deployment represents an important concrete military step in preparation for war with the Soviet Union, but more importantly, the struggle over deployment emerged as a key test of the solidarity and coordination of the imperialist alliance headed by the U.S. for the specific objective of going up against the Soviet Union in a decisive military conflict — a new world war. As one U.S. news magazine put it: "no Western government is the same today as at the time of the Brussels decision (the original 1979 NATO decision to carry out the deployments, taken at a meeting in Brussels—RW). Chancellors and presidents have changed, the economics of the Alliance have had their ups and downs, but the member nations have carried through on a major strategic action." Knitting together the various

Continued on page 11

From the

“Western Civilization Will Not Tolerate Barbarism” Department

Just a few weeks ago, according to an article in the *Village Voice*, even as Western media and politicians continued to castigate the Soviet “barbarians” for their “unparalleled brutality,” their “horrible act of violence” and “senseless downing” of KAL Flight 007, etc., yet another civilian airliner was blown out of the sky. One hundred and twenty six people — men, women, children, the entire crew — were blown out of the sky, apparently blasted by a surface-to-air missile. There was not a single survivor.

Where was the groundswell of condemnation? Where the thundering denunciations of brutality, where indeed even the *slightest mention* of the incident in the U.S. press? Where was the requisite *Nightline* special with one of the humane and thoughtful Mr. Koppel's typical expressions of regret that *some* governments remained in such a sorry state of savagery? Would not one of those who raced to the defense of civilization then now rise to this new, equally horrible threat?

No indeed, they would not. For the self-proclaimed perpetrators of this act of wanton violence — who in fact *proudly* claim responsibility — were none other than the U.S.-armed, U.S.-allied hope of the West in Angola — Mr. Jonas Savimbi and his UNITA forces.

For years, Savimbi and UNITA have functioned as unofficial yet important frontmen for the U.S. in southern Africa, maintaining constant military pressure on the pro-Soviet Angolan government. They have been openly financed by and collaborating with the South African government, and have received covert aid from the U.S. similar to that of the *Contras* in Nicaragua. In December 1981, Savimbi, on a trip to the U.S. sponsored by the New York-based Freedom House, met with the acting Secretary of State, Walter Stoessel, and with Chester Crocker, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, in order to affirm and highlight their working relationship. Since then this alliance has borne its fruit:

there are military raids into Angolan territory where South African armor leads the way, blasting anything in its path, followed by Mr. Savimbi and UNITA, mopping up and then erecting their pro-Western regime; these raids are combined with terror strikes on civilian installations like oil refineries — and now an airliner, with 126 people dead, all apparently Africans.

Savimbi's U.S.-bloc mentors even had a certain opportunity to distance themselves from his action. The Angolan government press reported that the airliner crashed because of technical fault. Apparently, threatened by Savimbi and his South African partners, and squeezed between them and U.S. puppet Mobutu's Zairean army in the north, the Angolan government perhaps chose not to press the issue and simply helped to downplay Savimbi's threat to their own territory. But rather than seize the chance to go along with the Angolan story and deny that a U.S. thug had committed a 007-scope atrocity, another tact was chosen: “high-ranking Western military officials” are quoted in the London *Daily Telegraph* as stating that yes, indeed, Mr. Savimbi probably did destroy the Angolan Airline (TAAG) airliner, using a missile captured from his Angolan opponents — “that's our boy” — and so a blood price is extracted from Angola, and the U.S. screws tighten.

Simultaneously, in the U.S. itself this murderous diplomacy is met by a media silence every bit as pervasive and orchestrated as was the chorus of denunciation of the Soviets a few weeks earlier. After all, weren't we told countless times that the Soviets' shooting down of a civilian airliner was a barbarism “unprecedented” and “unparalleled” in history — so how could an incident involving the U.S. even be mentioned in the same breath?! The 126 African dead, on a flight number no one even knows, are stark reminders that when it comes to barbarism and hypocrisy the U.S. has yet to be surpassed by anyone. □

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OVERRULE THIS, MOTHERFUCKER

by Bob Avakian

Who Is Going To Do The Shitwork?

Man: I just wanted to ask you, after we fight the revolution and it's all over, how will you put everyone in their class? How will you choose the people to do the shit jobs? Because everybody will want the good jobs, how will you get people to do the shitwork?

Bob Avakian: Well, one thing we will have to do is start breaking down the divisions so that people are not just stuck with one job all the time. But there will be some things, for example, you might have a sewer system that backs up and runs all over the place. Okay, you are going to have to get the communists to step to the forefront and go out and clean that up.

Man: What about the Rockefellers, why not them?

Bob Avakian: No, we are going to have to get the communists to do it. You know why? Because otherwise everybody is going to say, "Hell, I'm not going to do that. Let somebody else do it." You are going to have to mobilize first the people who have the highest consciousness and can see that this has got to get done. By them stepping forward, then we will be able to mobilize other people to say, "Look, we've got to do this job, not because we like it, but because this society belongs to *our* class now. If it is going to get cleaned up, we are going to have to clean it up. If it is going to get changed, we are going to have to change it."

Of course you can drag some of the old exploiters down and make them do that, but you certainly can't rely on them. A communist has to be willing to go wherever the situation is the most difficult because otherwise you cannot break out of the bourgeois thing of, "I've had it rough all my life; let somebody else do it." Then you get into all the arguments about who has had it harder and you can't resolve that. You are going to have to bring forward the most class-conscious people to go to the forefront. Then people will say, "Hey, these communists are different. They don't just sit around saying, 'Let everyone else do the hard work.' " Then people will come forward and see this really is going to be something different. The whole task of building the communist society is a long struggle. It involves relying on the masses of people to take up every sphere and to transform it consciously in their interests. But in order to do that, the most advanced people are going to have to step to the forefront with the most difficult things.

Under capitalism the capitalists always say, "You go out and do that, and we'll give the orders." The people have to see that this new society really is different and they have got to get in on it because if things are going to get changed, they have to change them. We are going to take the places like the slums and ghettos that are the worst and we will have to fix them up first. If we don't do that, then we are not going to be able to unite and move forward. People will say, "This revolution is no different than before. I'm still on the bottom where I have always been and the people that got it a little bit better are still getting more."

Under capitalism it is dog-eat-dog, everybody against everybody else. That reinforces the me-first ideology. Under socialism you start things by taking away the capitalist system of ownership and their ability to force people to scramble with each other just to work for them. But you still have all these differences that are left over. You have to bring the communists to the forefront of the struggle to set an example of self-sacrifice in breaking down this me-first stuff and fighting for the future.

There is going to be struggle among the communists, too. Some are going to say, "Man, we fought in the revolution. I got my arm shot off and everything else. Let some of these others — who stayed in the back for ten years while I was getting shot at, spit at, cursed, and all that; who were throwing things at me when I was out selling the newspaper five years ago — let *them* go out and dig up the damn sewers." You have to say *no*, because if we fall into that, it is just going to be everyone for himself, and after a while we will be right back to capitalism.

Reception following Speech
in Chicago, Illinois

Is It Going To Your Head?

Woman: What do you think about having your face plastered all over these posters and having people say that you are so neat and great and everything?

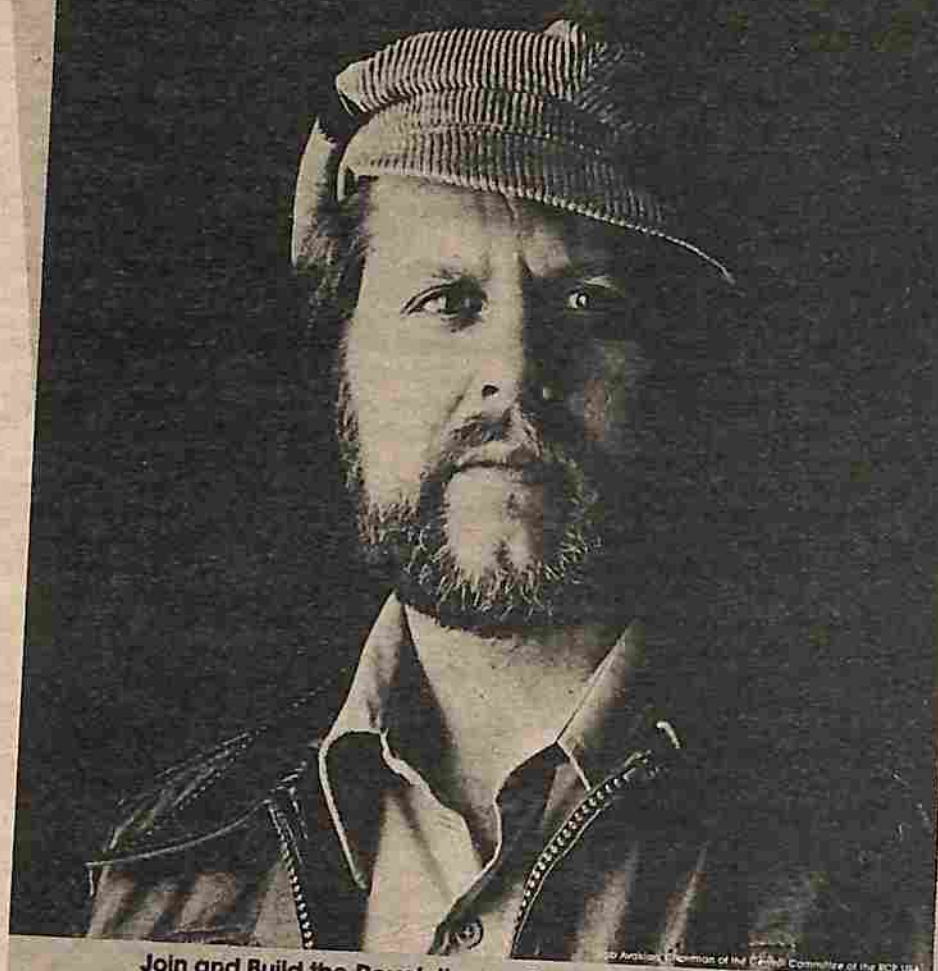
Bob Avakian: What do I think about it?

Woman: Is it kind of going to your head or anything like that?

Bob Avakian: I don't think so. When I see that particular poster I more or less look on it just like I did with the Mao poster (a poster publicizing the Mao Memorial Month events called by the RCP in the fall of 1978). You know, it is something that we are doing; it is part of making revolution. At first it made me a little uncomfortable, but at this point I do not particularly look at it like *my* face or something like that. It is something we are putting out there that is part of making revolution. A comrade said something to me about this when we discussed this. She made the point that *finally* the party is giving the masses of people a chance to relate to some leadership and that is important because people want to know about this. Another one of our comrades told me that some-

This article is the fifth in a series of material compiled from a 1979 speaking tour by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the RCP, USA. This was the last public speaking tour Bob Avakian has been able to make due to international political persecution, which continues to this day—ed.

Revolution In The '80s
Go For It!



Join and Build the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA
Take Up the Battle Plan: the New Programme and New Constitution

one he was working with on the job said to him one day, "Listen, you know that guy, the Chairman of your party, do you think he can run the country?" The comrade told him, "I think he can when the time comes" and went on to talk about how it was not just an individual thing and not a one-man show. But basically the comrade's feeling was (and I agreed with him after awhile; at first I thought it was kind of a wrong question) that people want to know who is leading this thing and what do they have to say. People *know* it is going to take leadership. So if putting my face out there helps to bring people forward to hear what we have to say, calls upon them to get involved in this and become conscious of their role in history and the role of their class, then that is good.

At this point I look at the posters more or less like any other poster. I do not particularly think of it like "That's me." I am glad to see every one of them up there and I look with interest whenever I see some of them ripped down. I wonder who did it, but it does not particularly strike me as a personal thing. When I see one of them defaced, I do not feel personally offended. I just look at it like another poster such as the May Day poster, the Mao poster, the Iran poster, or the Moody Park poster. I do not look at it any differently than when we had a poster with the picture of the Moody Park 3* on it.

Woman: Yeah, but everybody is kind of saying, "This guy is really neat, this guy is great."

Bob Avakian: Well, that gives me a deeper sense of responsibility. It makes me realize what difference it makes what we do.

Woman: Does it make you think, or don't you ever think, "Wow, I am really great" or "I am really neat," you know, like some people would react?

Bob Avakian: I think everybody is influenced by that to some degree or another, sure. But I think the main thing is that it makes me realize how serious what we are doing is and how important it is that we stay on the right track. If you are asking me if it ever goes to my head — yeah, sure. But I struggle with that like everybody else. People criticize me if I get out of line. But I feel I can honestly say that the main thing it makes me feel is that we have a lot of responsibility and we better not mess up and throw the opportunities away.

Reception following Speech in
Cincinnati, Ohio

*Three revolutionaries and supporters of the RCP charged with instigating and leading 3000 proletarians, mainly Chicanos, in the May 7, 1978, Houston Rebellion against national oppression, and police terror in particular.

A Cluster Bomb Alliance

"President Reagan has approved steps to increase American military cooperation with Israel, including resumption of delivery of American-made cluster bomb artillery shells. Administration officials said today" — New York Times, Nov. 29.

"Amin and Mohammed Sinunu, aged 12 and 14, are cousins. They live in the Shatila refugee camp in the southern suburbs of Beirut. During one of the many ceasefires in the recent Israeli invasion of Lebanon the boys went out to buy food for their family. When they set out on their simple journey Amin and Mohammed had no idea they would live out the rest of their lives as cripples.

"Amin was standing close by when Mohammed picked up a small metal ball that had been lying in the street. The ball exploded, sending razor-sharp slivers of metal flying in all directions. The shrapnel ripped through Amin's lower ribs, tearing apart his stomach, colon, small intestines, and one lung. Mohammed's abdomen was also ripped open by the blast. His spleen was destroyed and he required surgery on his stomach and colon. The hand that had held the bomb was pulverized. In addition, Mohammed's face and one eye were severely burned." (This account is drawn from an article appearing in the *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Fall 1982. The article predates the Sabra and Shatila massacres.)

Amin and Mohammed were among the many victims of the cluster bomb units used by Israel in its invasion of Lebanon last year, weapons designed to not only kill, but to permanently maim and cripple a section of the population, letting their scars stand in mute testimony of the terrifying force of U.S./Israeli firepower. Of the tens of thousands of Lebanese-Palestinian casualties last year, a very high number came from such anti-civilian weaponry supplied Israel by the United States — cluster bombs, white phosphorus shells, anti-personnel mines, and the like.

As news of the cluster bombs and their devastating effects in Lebanon became widely known, and an international clamor against their use mounted, U.S. officials made a point of halting delivery of an additional 4,000 cluster bomb units in mid-July. U.S. officials took the opportunity to complain that Israel had violated the "strict terms" of an agreement with the U.S., which explicitly stated that the cluster bombs were only to be used in "self-defense" and not directed at civilian targets. The implication was that Israel was using the cluster bombs in a way the U.S. never intended and could not sanction.

The idea is absurd on any level. The U.S. itself became the world leader in cluster bomb technology during the Vietnam War, and the bombs were widely used in the saturation bombing of Vietnam and Laos up until 1973. (To this day, Laotian peasants are being killed and maimed by bomblets they inadvertently dig up when working their fields.)

And cluster bomb technology is such that its indiscriminate use against civilian targets is all but ensured. A typical cluster

bomb unit consists of a container filled with hundreds of bomblets or grenades. They can be detonated in a variety of ways — in the air, on impact, delayed after impact, or when removed from their resting place. In this way, the method of their fragmentation can be adjusted to permit the greatest possible destruction. One of the U.S.-made cluster bombs used by Israel in its Lebanon campaign is the CBU-58, a seven-foot metal cannister containing 670 bomblets, each slightly smaller than a tennis ball. Released from Israeli fighter craft, the cannister is usually sprung open in mid-air, allowing for a wide dispersion of the bomblets. Most of these explode on impact, sending shrapnel flying at speeds of several thousand feet per second. While the cluster bombs provided Israel by the U.S. have been widely used against civilian targets, the Israelis were not entirely satisfied. The U.S. weapons were designed to penetrate armor and light equipment, and Israel desired a purely anti-personnel (read: "anti-civilian") weapon, which they began producing themselves in the mid-'70s.

Before the carnage of the summer of 1982, Israel had used cluster bombs a number of times in southern Lebanon, hitting not only Palestinian military targets in 1976 but densely populated villages and refugee camps during 1978-79. In late 1979, the Lebanese government provided the U.S. with a fully documented report on some 969 Lebanese killed and 224 wounded by the air attacks and shelling. (During the same period it was also revealed that Israel was supplying cluster bombs and other U.S. weapons to the Ethiopian government for use in its campaign against the Eritrean people.) The U.S. State Dept. finally responded to the complaints, saying that a violation in the U.S.-Israeli agreement "may have occurred." Nothing came of the matter, other than the fact that U.S. arms shipments to Israel continued to grow.

From the earliest stages of their 1982 invasion, the Israelis used cluster bombs widely — dropping them on villages, refugee camps, and even hospitals. As Israeli forces closed in on the city of Beirut, warships off the coast lobbed shells into the heart of the city, and Israeli warplanes dropped cluster bombs on the Burj al-Barajneh camp near the Beirut airport. In late June, a doctor at the American University Hospital in Beirut reported 1,100 limbs being amputated in one day. A pediatrician at Berbir Hospital in Beirut described the carnage — "It's hideous. We're getting pieces of people. We've never had that before."

With the barbarous nature of U.S./Israeli weaponry on display to the world, no longer so concealable, the U.S. at first attempted to muffle the outcries through launching an "investigation." But even as President Reagan promised a "review" to determine "whether American weapons sold (to Israel) were used offensively and not defensively," he added that the "situation is very ambiguous," repeating the official Israeli line that the invasion was itself entirely "defensive" in nature.

When the U.S. finally moved to halt the cluster bomb shipments on July 17, it was entirely as an exercise in public relations. As U.S. Senator Christopher Dodd put it, the halt "provides a good vehicle for a reprimand. That would satisfy those who are critical of Israel without significantly altering our basic relationship."

That "basic relationship" included continuing active military coordination, as well as the maintenance of the U.S.-Israeli division of labor during the remaining siege of Beirut. U.S.

diplomacy continued to provide political cover for the continuing Israeli onslaught, and served to help shape the political aftermath of the Israeli military conquest.

Among the examples of continuing U.S.-Israeli military coordination in Beirut was the use of the "vacuum bomb." According to CIA renegade Frank Terpil (who, in an interview in *Penthouse*, says he was in Beirut during the siege), "Beirut was a testing ground for live experiments with the latest developments of U.S. weapons. The vacuum bomb, for instance. A vacuum bomb is dropped from an aircraft and explodes above the target. The air rush implodes the building, causing no damage to the surrounding area but killing everything within that building. They used this flimsy excuse in Beirut: they 'thought' Yasser Arafat was in the building. That's total bullshit. Israeli intelligence has been known to be more exact than that. They killed 283 people, mainly to prove that the vacuum bomb was a feasible weapon."

Halting the cluster bomb shipments last year was a duplicitous ploy by the U.S.; the many-sided "strategic cooperation" between the U.S. and Israel is far beyond the sale and use of a particular weapon. Still, it is far from incidental that as the U.S. and Israel are today "resuming" their strategic cooperation, flaunting it as a terrible sword to be brought to bear on the current Middle East situation, the U.S. has now announced that cluster bomb shipments to Israel are to be resumed. The weapon is a perfect illustration of the imperialist reality upon which those strategic interests rest. □

Reports from the World Without Imperialism Contingent

Here are several reports from various members of the "World Without Imperialism Contingent" which recount some of their experiences before, during and after the demonstrations in Bonn, West Germany on November 21 — the day that the West German parliament voted for deployment of the Pershing and cruise missiles. See next week's issue of the Revolutionary Worker for full coverage of these events.

Report No. 1

To the RW:

Though I joined the World Without Imperialism Contingent only five days ago, within that brief time I've had some contact with most of the political and social forces involved in the opposition to imperialist war preparations. The situation here in West Germany is constantly changing, exciting, and full of contradictions as well as opportunities for advancing the cause of proletarian revolution. I've been very impressed by the role of the Turkish workers here and want to convey some of the questions these advanced elements have been struggling over. Even though there is a "mass movement" involving many social strata and forces, nothing happens here without political struggle.

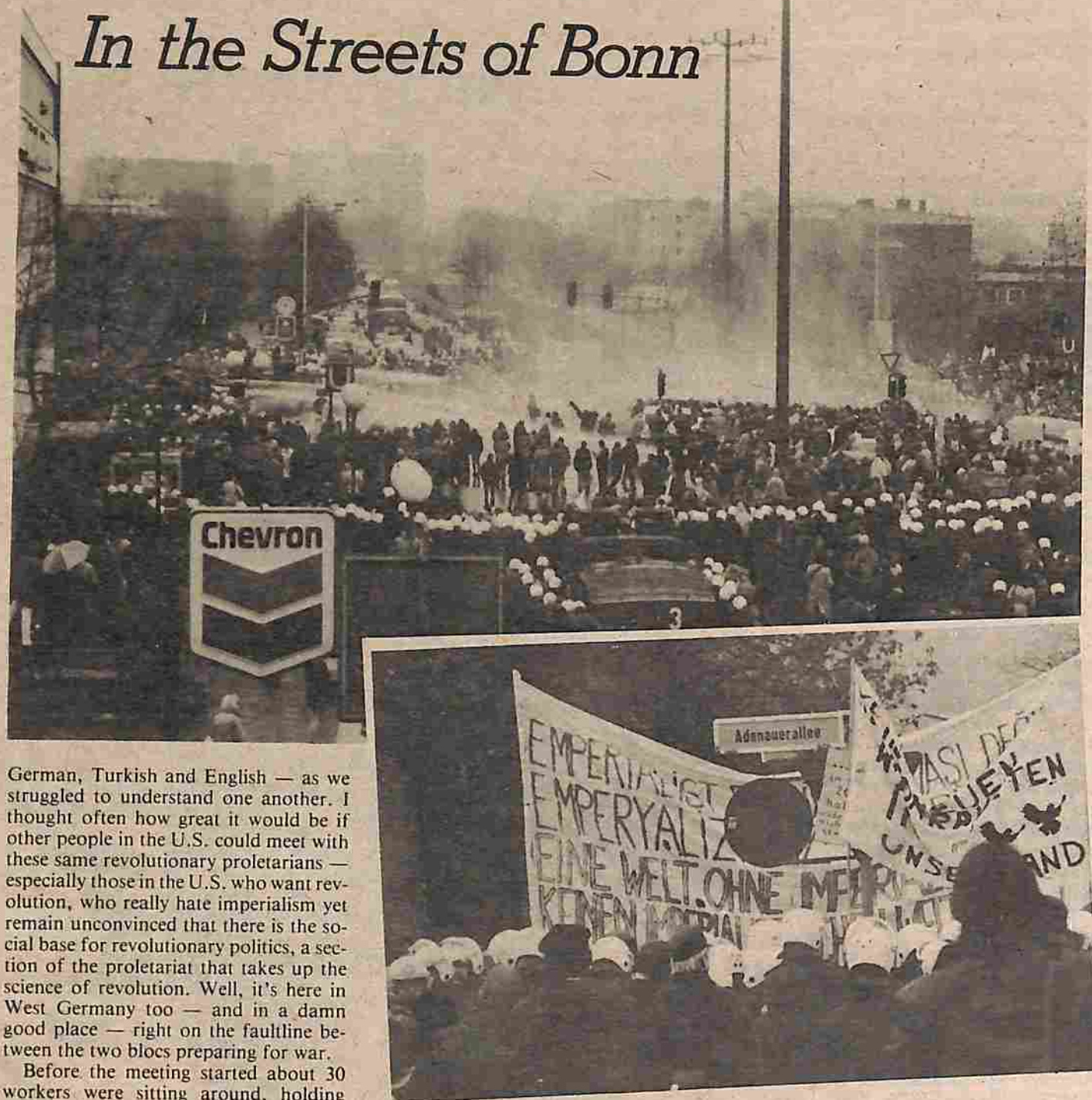
The World Without Imperialism Contingent was part of an anti-imperialist contingent to march in the "Siege of Parliament" demonstrations called for by an array of "independent peace groups." The Siege made the ruling class pay a higher political price to rubberstamp their five-year-old decision to bring in the new missiles — they had to meet behind barbed wire, water cannon, and the largest police force yet assembled for the "Hot Autumn."

The call for this anti-imperialist contingent was signed by the RCP, USA; Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (USA); *Fight Back*; ATIF (Federation of Turkish Workers in Germany). (See RW No. 231 for the text of this call.) This large group of revolutionary-minded Turkish workers, many of whom are well-trained in Marxism-Leninism, has played an important role in assisting the World Without Imperialism Contingent — providing food, arranging housing, even raising funds for the Contingent and joining it in working among the various political forces here — Autonomes, the Greens, feminists, squatters.

These Turkish workers, in my view, represent the most advanced political elements in West Germany today — a detachment of proletarian internationalists who will play a crucial role in transforming the struggle against the imperialists into a battle for revolution. Nevertheless, among them there is much struggle over political questions — in fact this represents one of their great strengths — the determination to struggle over political questions and to win other sections of society to a more advanced position.

I spent several hours at one of ATIF's centers the day before the Bonn demo. The meeting to discuss the plans for the anti-imperialist contingent was scheduled for evening, but vigorous discussion went on all afternoon as people from several cities gathered. Since I can speak a little Turkish they were very excited to find an American who could talk and struggle with them in their own language — a sharp contrast to imperialist philistinism and the arrogance of West German nationalism. They asked me 100 questions about how people in the U.S. view the war preparations, how strong is antiwar sentiment, what is the role of revisionists in the U.S. and in Nicaragua, what's happening in Peru and with the Sendero Luminoso, how strong is the RCP, is it well known? They were extremely interested in the "real proletariat" and the many foreign-born workers in the U.S. and the refugees from Haiti and Central America, who, like themselves, are playing a critical role in awakening broader sections of society to the nature of imperialism and the need for a revolution. A discussion of Yilmaz Güney's film *Yöl* went on for half an hour and went over into the relation of art and politics. And they told me about a group in Turkey which has taken up armed struggle and showed me pictures of some guerrillas recently murdered by fascists.

All this went on in three languages —



German, Turkish and English — as we struggled to understand one another. I thought often how great it would be if other people in the U.S. could meet with these same revolutionary proletarians — especially those in the U.S. who want revolution, who really hate imperialism yet remain unconvinced that there is the social base for revolutionary politics, a section of the proletariat that takes up the science of revolution. Well, it's here in West Germany too — and in a damn good place — right on the faultline between the two blocs preparing for war.

Before the meeting started about 30 workers were sitting around, holding copies of the newest issue of ATIF's paper *Mücadele* (which had published the call for a "World Without Imperialism Contingent" in three languages) when a struggle broke out about the role of the Contingent — it has indeed been controversial everywhere. One worker asked how could ATIF unite other workers when some women on the Contingent had cut their hair in punk style and some men had grown long hair and they dressed a little strange? While only a few others were asking the same question, it concentrated some important political questions facing Turkish workers in West Germany: are there rebellious or even revolutionary aspects of other social classes that the proletariat can unite with and lead? One worker put forward that rock, disco, and punk were "alien" to the culture of workers from Turkey. Another, in response, pointed out that Turkish folk music would also seem "alien" to an American punk. He ran down some history of these musical trends, saying that anyone who confuses rock with punk hasn't done any analysis and is saying that the only revolutionary thing in society has a worker's cap and a mustache. Others pointed out that the narrow view was not only upholding certain "feudal" relations but made it impossible for the proletariat to play its historical role. Then the discussion went over to what the proletarians from Turkey would do at the demonstration. The question was posed first by the suggestion that shouldn't they, while joining the contingent, mainly distribute their material on political repression in Turkey (in German). This suggestion was struggled against by most. Aren't we mainly trying to unite people there behind the contingent banner and the slogans against imperialism and world war? Another person put it this way: We've always gone out to West German peace demonstrations with banners and chants about Turkey — doesn't imperialism war have something to do with revolution in Turkey — aren't we going, don't we have a duty to as internationalists? It was decided that most members would concentrate on distributing the 30,000 copies of the Contingent's call in three languages and struggle with demonstrators to join

behind its banner. Another question came up — also reflecting somewhat the struggle over the role of the revolutionary proletariat in an imperialist country, especially one that has come from an oppressed country (like Turkey). What will happen at the demonstration if the anarchists clash with the police? Won't that be a threat to Turks who face deportation if arrested? The discussion that followed was appropriately summed up by an active member; if all hell breaks loose then so much the better — it'll be hell for the bourgeoisie not for us!

The next morning I went with a few members of the Contingent to the Bonn train station and from there to the gathering point. At 6:30 a.m. the first demonstrators we saw were a group of proletarians from Turkey leafleting people coming from the train station. Of our 100 plus people that day, these proletarians made up the majority and from what I've heard played a very active role, very much on the frontlines that day.

A member of the World Without Imperialism Contingent

Report No. 2

A War Story or Entering the Fray

RW:

Just before I arrived at Poppelsdorfer Alle, the morning gathering site for the Belagerung (Siege) of the Bundestag, an entire wave of protesters were forced from the area by police. I heard later that this first wave reached the "Bannmeile," an enormous police perimeter around the vicinity of the Bundestag, and 200-300 pierced it but were driven back.

Meanwhile, forces for the Siege, autonomous (independent) groups, bands of youth, peace people and anarchists continued to flow from the train station to Poppelsdorfer and on. Our group, the anti-imperialist contingent, largely workers and students from Turkey and the World Without Imperialism Contingent members, mass leafleted, formed our ranks and marched off.

We approached the "Bannmeile" and encountered a group of people around a makeshift stage who greeted us in a

suspiciously flattering manner. After they politely applauded us, the speaker started going on and on and it became clear that he wanted us to stay. Scurrying around giving directions was none other than Jo Leinen, chief of the movement cops, notorious for his connections to the police. The people from Turkey picked up on the foul odor of this scheme and started shouting, "Sheisse!" (Shit!) and we moved on.

Just ahead lay the first major battle of the day. Thousands of people faced off what seemed an army of pigs in riot gear at an intersection. In the middle, hundreds of determined protesters linked arms in a shoving match against the police. Beyond both, lines lurked the menacing gray cannons unleashing blasts of chemically-treated water. People around the corners jeered with each assault of the cannons. Our contingent entered the scene with thunderous chants, "A World Without Imperialism, Not Imperialist World War" and "Down With Pershing and Cruise Missiles and All War Preparations East and West." For a minute a lot of heads turned and I could see both excitement and bewilderment in their eyes. After all, here was a force that didn't quite fit into the traditional landscape of the antimissile, antiwar movement, yet was bringing a broader, sharper international stand, with a huge banner in Turkish, German and English, with slogans targeting imperialism.

Nothing much was happening on the side we entered, people just standing around cheering or jeering. The water cannons were mainly shooting toward the other side of the intersection. I pushed my way through the crowd to see the other side. Stinging chemicals lingered in the air, the protesters pressing the police lines were being blasted by the cannon and hordes of youth, among them some in ski masks and punks were running in all directions, dodging the water and hurling themselves onto the lines.

We planted the banner in the middle of the wet chaos, and the people from Turkey, both men and women burst forward and onto a point in the line where police were getting the edge, chanting.

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Why We Remember John Kennedy

It seemed like everywhere you turned last week, you couldn't get away from John F. Kennedy. It was the twentieth anniversary of Kennedy's assassination, and there were Kennedy memorials, Kennedy movies — an all-around Kennedy mania. Interestingly, one theme in particular that ran through the various testimonials was Kennedy's "firmness," his rough and ready posture in confrontation with the Soviet Union: the point, it seemed, was that when it comes to the Soviets, a liberal, even a "reformist," can be as tough as a cowboy any day.

The significance of this remains to be seen, but the hype was far from simply nostalgic. It may still turn out that the U.S. rulers require the image of the remaining Kennedy, or some Kennedy-type, as the face of U.S. imperialism in the coming days of crisis. In any event, the Kennedy tale is still being spun. So, we have excerpted an article which appeared in the January 1980 issue of *Revolution magazine*. The original article, titled "Kennedy: Knight of the Living Dead," was written on the occasion of Teddy Kennedy's bid for the Democratic Party presidential nomination in the 1980 elections. It exposes the whole Kennedy myth and the invaluable services rendered to U.S. imperialism by the Kennedys. Our edited excerpts focus mainly on JFK.

The Kennedys. For nearly two decades the mystique and the legend have been carefully crafted and cultivated: the champions of the underdog and the oppressed; the torch bearers for the loftiest hopes and aspirations of the people; the proponents of a strong and fearless America, a strength based not just on its military might, but on the purity of its ideals and the justice of its society. Here were men tested in the fire of personal tragedy. Here was a family that has already sacrificed three of its sons in the service of their country, now willing to offer up a fourth and last. Glamorous, athletic, handsome, wealthy and eloquent. They have been painted as America's knights in shining armour. The people of the U.S. and the world have been told to remember that "for one shining, unforgettable moment there was a place called Camelot," where dwelled the best and the brightest, King Arthur at the Round Table with his noble knights.

But the tale of King Arthur was a myth. And so is the legend of the Kennedys. The knights of the middle ages romanticized in the musical Camelot were in reality mercenary soldiers, brutal defenders of the feudal ruling class. The knights of the modern era, these Kennedys, are no less servants and standard bearers of another dying ruling class and their imperialist empire. Their noble and progressive sounding rhetoric has been completely intertwined with bourgeois counter-revolutionary violence. If anything they were characterized by a certain innovativeness in their use of the ruling class weapons of force and deception....

If the vaunted Kennedy magic seems to have diminished in potency since that shimmering chimera of Camelot first rose on the horizon more than 20 years ago, the fact that it still exists at all is testimony to the bourgeoisie's need of it. In fact, dead the Kennedys are as good, or better, for the bourgeoisie than alive. And the legend's endurance is in no small measure due to the assassin's bullet ("...to think about what might have been, is to die a little bit all over again," wrote one Kennedy image maker). But it has been stroked and nourished by a veritable army of sycophants, journalists and historians. "He never had the chance to fulfill his own possibilities, which is why his memory haunts so many of us now," writes Pulitzer prize winning historian



Arthur Schlesinger of Bobby Kennedy.

"Because he wanted to get things done, because he was often impatient and combative, because he felt simply and cared deeply, he made his share of mistakes, and enemies. He was a romantic and an idealist, and he was also prudent, expedient, demanding and ambitious. Yet the insights he brought to politics—insights earned in a labor of self-education that only death could stop—led him to see power not as an end in itself, but as the means of redeeming the powerless." (Schlesinger, *Robert Kennedy and his Times*)

It could be St. John the Evangelist writing of Jesus Christ himself. A Kennedy non-believer recently described Schlesinger more aptly as "Camelot's resident groupie, a master of selective history who for a wink or a smile can justify any action, rationalize any obscenity."

V.I. Lenin, however, much more accurately and profoundly analyzed bourgeois academicians and propagandists like Schlesinger, and by extension, provides the basic standpoint from which to view the Kennedys and their role in American politics:

"Bourgeois scholars and publicists usually come out in defense of imperialism in a somewhat veiled form; they obscure its complete domination and its profound roots, strive to push into the forefront particular and secondary details and do their very best to distract

attention from essentials by means of absolutely ridiculous schemes for 'reform' such as police supervision of the trusts or banks, etc. Less frequently, cynical and frank imperialists come forward who are bold enough to admit the absurdity of the idea of reforming the fundamental characteristics of imperialism." (Lenin, *Imperialism the Highest Stage of Capitalism*)...

Imperialist White Knights Against the Storms

John F. Kennedy became President at the beginning of a decade of tremendous upheaval and the rumblings of revolutionary storms that swept the U.S. and the world. The U.S. imperialists were at the pinnacle of their postwar power in 1960, but the ground beneath their feet was already beginning to quake. In Southeast Asia, in Latin America and Africa, oppressed peoples were rising up to seek liberation from colonialism. In the U.S. the frustration and anger of millions of Black people against generations of servitude and degradation was beginning to erupt in the streets. Kennedy declared his candidacy on January 2, 1960. On February 1, four Black students sat down at a "white only" lunch counter at a Woolworth store in Greensboro, North Carolina. Between then and the elections in November thousands of Blacks, mostly students, assaulted Southern Jim Crow laws. Sit-ins and school boycotts spread like wildfire—to forty-eight cities in eleven states. There were pitched battles with police and racist mobs, foreshadowing what was to

come. Police used fire hoses, dogs, intimidation and terror. But four hundred years of slavery and brutal repression had not beaten Blacks into submission and the racist reaction of the Leander Perezes and Bull Connors would prove futile in stemming the growing tide of freedom fighters.

And, more fundamentally, capitalism could not even supply equality of exploitation and oppression. The danger that confronted the ruling class in the early 1960s was that the battle for "civil rights" would get out of control, that this challenge to oppression, running smack into the contradictions of the system itself, would give rise to revolutionary sentiments and leadership. This is, of course, what happened. And when it did the ruling class had no hesitation about dropping the mask of reform and marshalling their instruments of terror, suppression and murder.

The Kennedys understood the importance of the Black vote in the 1960 election and shrewdly played their "savior" role. A good example was the much publicized incident around the arrest of Martin Luther King, Jr. a month before the 1960 election. King and fifty other demonstrators were arrested when they tried to integrate an Atlanta department store. King was sentenced to four months in the Georgia state prison. At the suggestion of his "civil rights" advisor, Harris Wofford, Kennedy phoned King's wife, expressing his sympathy and support and promising to do all he could to get him out. Robert Kennedy called up the judge who had sentenced him and King was freed on bail. The action solidified the Black vote behind Kennedy. In Illinois, for example, where he won by only 9,000 votes, he received a quarter million Black votes.

The depths of Kennedy's concern and commitment to the struggle of Blacks in America was more clearly indicated in a comment to his man Wofford. As he picked him up in his red convertible one morning during the campaign, Kennedy said, "Now in five minutes, tick off the ten things that a President ought to do to clean up this goddamn civil rights mess." The quick solutions requested by Kennedy for his campaign slogans contrasted sharply with the counsels for delay and patience he urged on Blacks after assuming office.

The first Kennedy response to the mounting civil rights movement was purely cosmetic. Get some Black faces around the administration. Attorney General Robert Kennedy, who was delegated the tactical leadership of the Administration's civil rights activities while his brother the President made the speeches, wrote to the top law schools asking them to send their best Black graduates down to the Justice Department.

The main thrust, however, was around voting rights, the most pernicious of bourgeois deceptions. (Although the struggle waged by the masses of Blacks in the South around voting has to be seen in the overall progressive battle against Jim Crow segregation laws.) "Robert Kennedy argued that voter registration would be far more productive than demonstrations...." King concurred. "The central front... is that of suffrage. The vote would give us the concrete tool with which we ourselves can correct injustice. This is the pattern for changing the old South and with it the nation as a whole." (Schlesinger) King had a dream, all right, more a hallucination, which he tried to foist on the masses of Blacks.

Many Black activists sensed what the Kennedys were up to. "I felt that what they were trying to do," said one SNCC leader, "was to kill the Movement, but to kill it by rechanneling its energies." One Black intellectual charged that the Kennedys were merely trying "to get the Niggers off the streets." In fact, this is

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The Contras of the Mission

A short drive down Mission Street from the forest of steel skyscrapers of San Francisco's Wall Street West brings you into the vast Latin barrio of the Mission District. Within the crowded wooden flats, rundown hotels and apartment buildings that line its busy streets live several hundred thousand immigrants who've come north in the past several decades to escape the misery of their plundered homelands in Central America, and more recently, the upheavals that have swept the region. This is home to a large section of low-paid proletarians who work in San Francisco's fashionable hotels and restaurants and clean the gleaming office towers.

The Mission came into the '80s as a hotbed of political turmoil and struggle largely as a product of the upheavals in Central America. Its dozen or so bookstores are the public face for a variety of political trends and organizations — feminists, social-democratic, pro-Soviet. It is the base of operations of many of the 40 or so political groups which are active in opposing U.S. intervention in Central America. In its coffeehouses local political activists, young Central American veterans of revolutionary combat, and cynical Central American intellectuals carry on discussion late into the night. A visit along one of the Mission's commercial streets offers a glimpse of the intense polarization brought about by imperialist contention in Central America — an outspoken anticommunist, Cuban-run store down the street from that of a Nicaraguan who passionately defends the Sandinistas; a grocery store, owned by relatives of an ex-president under Somoza, across the street from the shop of a pro-Soviet Nicaraguan. 24th Street and Mission, a well-known intersection in the heart of the barrio, has long been a focal point of intense political activity and debate and was the site of a powerful May Day march in 1981.

A changed atmosphere has taken over the Mission of late. Aside from a recent flurry of spraypainting that came in the outburst of anger that followed the Grenada invasion, the Mission walls are unusually bare. Here and there a slogan around El Salvador can be seen through a light coat of paint. The political posters and announcements that competed for every available flat surface near the busy intersections are far sparser now. Political marches by Salvadoran pro-opposition forces, quite frequent just a year ago, are very rare today. Where once political agitation reverberated among the crowds of shoppers along Mission Street, today the bombast of bible-thumping evangelists denouncing sin and communism is inescapable. All this seems quite a contrast to the escalating tension and conflict in Central America and has many people wondering what is going on. In fact, these changes have everything to do with the changing international situation, especially the intensified U.S. pressure on Nicaragua and on opposition forces in El Salvador and elsewhere.

Early last spring the bourgeois press reported a major stepup in the "covert" CIA-organized, funded and planned *Contra* war against Nicaragua with its now-defunct invasion deep into Nicaraguan territory. Pentagon spokesmen were publicly speculating on the early fall of the Sandinista government, predicting the *Contras* would "take Managua" by winter. Simultaneously, in the Mission, a series of covert acts of intimidation, harassment and sabotage were carried out against local activists. On March 20th the office of a progressive newspaper, *El Tecolote*, was broken into, its typesetting equipment was stolen and its Central American files ransacked. Within several weeks the Casa Nicaragua, the pro-Sandinista cultural and political center was fire-bombed shortly after a Casa member received a life-threatening warning signed "Omega 7" (a notorious right-wing Cuban terrorist group). Then the office of Casa El Salvador, supporters of the FMLN, was showered with white paint.

On April 16th, the *Contras* made their first major public showing the Mission, marching with an assortment of reactionary groups — the CID (Cuba Independent and Democratic), FUPS

(Salvadoran United Patriotic Front, operating out of Palo Alto and with ties to the Unification Church), Moonies, and various Nicaraguans associated with *Contra* groups. About 150 of them marched up Mission St. to 24th in support of stepped up *Contra* attacks on Nicaragua from Honduras. Emboldened by the rattling of U.S. swords and the belligerent talk from their imperialist mentors, the march burned an effigy of a guerrilla and faced off against an angry counterdemonstration organized to "call their (*Contras*) bluff." All of this went on under the protective eye of the local police.

More recently, coinciding with the massive buildup of U.S. troops and ships "exercising" in the immediate vicinity of Nicaragua and the intensified round of *Contra* attacks inside Nicaragua itself, there has been an intensified round of *Contra* attacks in the Mission as well. In September, a local activist with a group called the Nicaraguan Solidarity Committee received threatening phone calls and found that her phone number had been printed in a local sex magazine. She came home one night to find her apartment ransacked, with a message left inside: "Communists we know who you are, out of Nicaragua!" Five similar attacks on local activists have been reported since, including gasoline splashed on walls, and graffiti painted near homes.

Although no one has taken credit publicly for any of these specific acts, indications are that the FDN (Nicaraguan Democratic Force) is leading the reactionary charge into the Mission. The FDN is the grouping of former Somoza henchmen, assorted mercenaries, and intelligence agents brought to life by the CIA to be the main *Contra* force attacking Nicaragua. Despite an occasional insistence that they are just "patriotic Nicaraguans" with few ties to Somoza, none but the hopelessly naive believe this, or are meant to. All the FDN's leading military men are former Somocista National Guard commanders. Their deserved reputation as brutal assassins makes them the "right stuff" to act as heavies in the U.S. onslaught in Central America, and in a more limited way in the U.S. itself.

Their message in the Mission is clear: to all those forces grouped around the FMLN and Sandinistas, the stakes are going up, and opposing U.S. policy in Central America could get dangerous; to progressive and revolutionary-minded Central Americans — beware. Already, several small business owners in the Mission have backed off from taking a public stand around some issues because of fear that this could result in reprisals against them. Reports have also circulated through the Mission of *Contra*-types fingering immigrants who have the "wrong" political orientation to the immigration authorities.

The *Contras* have not stopped with intimidation. They have tried to develop a more overall political presence, pushing out despite their very narrow public base of support. They have worked to establish an open face in the Mission. The FDN has a public office, where it coordinates its actions with other rightist groups, and where it puts together its newspaper and magazine, both called *America Libre*. Its telex machine provides the latest line on *Contra* activities from Tegucigalpa, which it prints along with its crude message of anticommunism and religion. Two local Spanish language newspapers also promote the *Contra* cause: *El Bohemio* and the "moderate" and equally reactionary *Tiempo Latino*, formerly a bankrupt little paper that was brought from the brink of ruin by the CIA shortly after the Nicaraguan revolution. Today it is a rather slick-looking weekly with its own fleet of delivery trucks and a large staff.

The *Contras* have done other kinds of "newspaper" work as well — on Oct. 31st a half-dozen *Contras* came uninvited to a press conference of Central American left trade unionists in San Francisco, and, according to the organizers of the press conference, promptly stole a list of names and phone numbers of the journalists in attendance. None-too-subtle press work, given the *Contra*'s taste for intimidation and ter-

ror.

Any doubt as to the importance given to *Contra* efforts in the Mission by the top U.S. imperialist leadership was dispelled on Nov. 5th, the date of a *Contra* march to oppose a San Francisco referendum opposing U.S. intervention in El Salvador. Ronald Reagan himself sent a personal message to the march, congratulating the organizers on their efforts.

It all adds up to quite a picture: the sort of undeclared political war by the U.S. government in the Mission District, part of a larger offensive that is concentrated in Central America. The Mission has been included in this war because it has historically acted as an important political base area for the revolutions in Central America, and it has long been closely tied to the forces leading the struggle there. Before the victory of the Sandinistas, San Francisco and the Mission were either the home or the favorite resting grounds for a number of activists who today hold important positions in the Sandinista government. Daniel Ortega, the present coordinator of the Sandinista junta, and his brother Humberto, the Nicaraguan defense minister, were frequent visitors to the Mission. Roberto Vargas, who today heads the Nicaraguan embassy in Washington and Walter Ferretti, presently the leader of the Nicaraguan popular militias, were activists in the Mission prior to Somoza's fall. A local spokesman for the *Contra* group ARDE (Democratic Revolutionary Alliance) said recently, "In 1979, San Francisco was the most Sandinista city in America." Since that revolution, San Francisco and the Mission have continued to be important strongholds for the Sandinistas. Wounded Sandinista officers have at times been sent back to San Francisco for medical treatment, and many U.S.-born professionals have been recruited from here to work in Nicaragua.

The Mission remains an important political base of the Sandinistas and the FMLN, and this is the principal reason for the current *Contra* attack. The *Contras* want to challenge that base and/or severely restrict the ability of the forces gathered there to influence political affairs in Central America and inside the U.S. But the class forces in the Mission have also changed in the years since 1979, in several important ways; on the one hand, the increased dominance of the pro-Soviet revisionist forces in Nicaragua and the FMLN have been reflected in the Mission; on the other hand, especially among the Nicaraguan masses in the Mission, the people have changed and their reasons for being in the U.S. have changed as well. In 1979, sentiment in the Mission was overwhelmingly in support of the Sandinistas; one Salvadoran described the popular mood at the time of Somoza's defeat as "mass euphoria." Today, one ardent Sandinista supporter describes Nicaraguans in the Mission as increasingly critical of the Sandinista government.

The repeated U.S. efforts to sabotage the Nicaraguan economy, and to split off pro-U.S. capitalist forces inside Nicaragua from their alliance with the revisionists in the Sandinista leadership, has had its effect. While many of the more dedicated Sandinistas returned to Nicaragua in 1979, especially after 1981 a new wave of immigrants came to the U.S., mostly from the professional and small owning classes — people who saw in the several years following the revolution a shattering of their hopes for improvement in their condition.

The response of many of these has been bitter cynicism toward the revolution. "Under Somoza we ate shit," goes a fairly common remark, "but at least we ate!" Often this is linked with stories of plunder of Nicaragua by Cubans and Soviets — undoubtedly in most cases greatly exaggerated, but at the same time reflecting some of the broader discontent among the petty bourgeoisie with the increasing political influence of revisionism in the Sandinistas.

As this new section of Nicaraguans has percolated into the Mission's social and political scene, the *Contras* and their imperialist mentors have seemed to sense an

opportunity. Yet, for the most part, even these newly arrived Nicaraguans have not joined with or even, in general, supported the *Contras* in the Mission. The *Contras* have pushed out politically, and intensified their attacks and harassment, but their social base is not widened much beyond the hardcore of rightists who will demonstrate for "death-squad democracy" or whatever the latest foul U.S. maneuver in Central America happens to be. Nonetheless, the U.S. would like to win the middle forces in the Mission over to its camp — to use as a further lever against the Sandinistas.

It is becoming evident that a political force is required by the U.S. whose hands are not so clearly dripping with blood, a force less spoiled by abject subservience to the U.S. as are those motley, ex-Somocista elements connected to the FDN. This is the role the U.S. imperialists would like ARDE to play. ARDE's political wherewithall rests with Eden Pastora, who opposed Somoza since 1970 and joined the Sandinistas in 1977. As a national bourgeois element longing for an independent Nicaragua which his class alone could exploit, Pastora opposed the Soviet hold on Nicaragua and quit the Sandinista junta in June of 1981. By declaration, Pastora opposed both the U.S. and Soviet blocs, but within less than a year, he had joined forces with the U.S.-backed Alfonso Robello (himself a former Sandinista junta man) to form ARDE, a clear move into the U.S. camp for Pastora. ARDE's military efforts against Nicaragua have been backed by the CIA. After a brief split with ARDE, Pastora recently rejoined the fold and is now on a tour of the U.S. to drum up support, a tour which includes a visit to San Francisco.

It should be interesting to see the response of the revisionists in the Mission to Pastora's visit. So far their silence in the face of the *Contra* offensive in the Mission has been deafening — and there have been many who are enraged and wondering why there has been so little done even to expose, let alone to actively oppose, what the *Contras* are up to. Indeed, the revisionists in the Mission have done more than their fair share in deadening the political climate in the area. One spokesman for Casa Nicaragua offered this explanation in the pages of the *San Francisco Bay Guardian*. "Before the revolution tactics were different. But because of the climate we're in now we're trying to win as much broad support as possible, and I don't think we can do it by demonstrations in the streets. If we go with the militant strategy, we're going to play directly into the hands of Reagan." The Casa Nicaragua spokesman then pointed to an initiative on the San Francisco ballot (which subsequently passed) urging the U.S. to cut off aid to the government of El Salvador. "I think there's going to be real struggle over that. I'm hoping that our liberal friends — the mayor, Art Agnos, Willie Brown, Sala Burton — will stand by us. Maybe they'll just stand back and see what emerges."

This stance should not be taken as innocent reformism. Rather, these tactics are dictated by the revisionists' global strategy of historic compromise, consolidating and protecting political positions in countries like Nicaragua (and in this country as well), with a view towards utilizing these positions in the actual showdown with the U.S. At the moment, for pro-Sandinista forces in the U.S., this has clearly meant low-profile electoral tactics and no aroused sections of immigrants in the streets, even in response to open terror tactics by the *Contras*. And this is fully compatible with the overall aims of the revisionists who have in mind another form of imperialism and not proletarian revolution!

The efforts of pro-Soviet elements have thus combined with those of pro-U.S. *Contra*-types in a kind of double-fix on the Mission right now. But with events in Central America and the world changing and accelerating as rapidly as they are, the political future of this highly political neighborhood is not at all finally decided.



"Our time has come! From the slave-ship to the championship — our time has come. From the outhouse to the White House — our time has come." It was in this manner that Jesse Jackson ended months of flirting with running by formally announcing that he would be a candidate for the Democratic nomination for president at a press conference attended by 2,500 supporters. He sounded twin themes for his campaign "to remove the regressive Reagan regime and to work for parity for Blacks in white society." He also declared that "I don't sympathize with the poor. It's all in the blood. We're talking about a campaign for the poor



and abused and the locked out."

Whose Time?

Newsweek magazine, in a recent cover story on Jackson's announcement, aptly called his chant "Our Time Has Come" a "rousing, revivalist war cry." What this campaign is all about is certainly not a crusade to improve conditions for the majority of the Black masses who have been further ground down since the '60s by intensifying national oppression and generally deteriorating conditions. In fact these masses are most often referred to by Jackson as "chips" that he needs to make his "bid," and unregistered Blacks are referred to as "rocks layin' 'round" that need to be picked up and thrown at Ronald Reagan. In other settings, Jesse more clearly identifies those who are to really benefit from his campaign: "... we have gone from no Black elected officials to 5,160, but we hold less than one percent of these offices. In other words we are 53,000 public officials short of our share." Or, "We want to get to the finish line first, but not with an empty wagon. We want our wagon to be full of other candidates as well."

If anybody wants to trot out the shopworn lie that the surest way to Black progress is through increasing the number of Black elected officials, they have to deal with some reality. Over the last 18 years, the unemployment rate for Blacks has remained twice that for whites and the average income for Blacks has remained little more than half that of whites. Since 1965 the percentage of Blacks living below the poverty line has increased by 15%. Forty-seven percent of Black children are impoverished. The infant mortality rate in the ghettos equals that of countries like Honduras. And one out of every thirteen Black people is arrested each year. Among Black people, those who have gained since the '60s are a small stratum of better-off Blacks who have approached parity in white society while the majority of Black people have been further ground down.

The backdrop for this campaign is set by what time it is for the imperialist rulers. Facing an overall showdown with their equally imperialist Soviet rivals for world domination, they are compelled to prepare for war. However, they face a profound contradiction in doing this. The operation of their system has driven a huge section of the masses, including many Black masses, to the point of feeling left out of the system. And the steps the rulers need to take to get ready for war will mean grinding these masses further down. Yet they and many others have to be rallied to fight and die for the empire.

Jackson's candidacy is aimed at helping deal with this contradiction. Born out of the class interests of the Black bourgeoisie (even though many of them are critical of his running) who seek to utilize sections of the masses as political capital for their own bourgeois aspirations, this candidacy is being promoted by the imperialist ruling class in a big way, precisely because it is a vehicle for shoving new levels of American Dream garbage and Black American patriotism down the throats of the masses. Jesse stated it well himself in an interview in Detroit. "Ours is a candidacy to take those who feel that they have no stake in the system and restore to them the feeling that they do have a stake." At the same time that imperialism intensifies its oppression of Black people, the imperialists and their lackeys step up their promotion of "historic Black firsts." As Jesse put it recently, "Look at what's happening now. A Black astronaut, a Black Miss America. There is room for another



Jesse's European Tour: at the Berlin Wall. (above) and signing up the troops to vote (below).



Jesse Jackson: The "Right Stuff" For Them

historic breakthrough."

Viewed in this context, Jesse's run represents the coincidence of the interests of two forces. On the one hand the imperialist rulers, driven to war and out to cash in on the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois strata among Blacks it has propped up since the 1960s. Their way of doing this is unleashing these forces around the program of "Get yours in America" and through them dragging a section of the Black masses and others back into the electoral process and the trenches that lie behind the voting booths. On the other hand, the Black bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie — driven by their class position to want to get into the system and angling for a better seat at the master's table and maybe some extra crumbs.

How his campaign has been handled helps reveal the real aims that underlie it. The national media has promoted Jackson and his campaign very heavily. *Newsweek*, in its recent cover story on Jackson, called his run "far and away the most intriguing element of election year '84" and said that he "has every possibility of becoming the first Black to attain credibility and political impact as a genuine presidential contender." Even months before he announced, his possible candidacy was given feature coverage by the national media. (At the same time they all admit that he has no chance of winning. If this "symbolic" candidacy is the most exciting element of election '84, that certainly says something about how sham their whole electoral process actually is.)

Maverick

One of the major themes of all this coverage has been to speculate about the danger and uncertainty associated with Jackson's campaign. Talk of him being a maverick and an outsider who will run a radical crusade has flown thick and fast. The *New York Times* in a November 6th editorial stated: "The real unknown about Jesse Jackson is where the practical politician ends and the radical crusader begins in his makeup. In his announcement speech, the radical crusader often had the louder voice." Also in the *Newsweek* cover story, a top Mondale staffer was quoted as saying: "If he or his supporters feel he's subjected to unfair treatment in any way, then that could be very dangerous. No one could predict where all that energy would turn or what it would turn against and no one could control it."

Jesse Jackson a maverick and a radical? His campaign a potential danger to them? Don't make us laugh. *Time* magazine all but anointed him Martin Luther King, Jr.'s successor as leader of the Black movement 13 years ago, which reflects both Jackson's acceptability to the U.S. rulers and the fact that he shared King's political approach of trying to stop the Black masses from rising up in rebellion. During the 1970s, almost every major national publication did favorable feature stories on him. This past summer the U.S. army took him on a tour of military bases in Europe. The State Department has given him classified briefings, and the Secret Service recently began giving him protection. Moreover, Jesse has always stood for slavish service to imperialism, internationally and here in the U.S. In 1968 at Chicago and again in 1980 in Miami's Liberty City, Jesse was imperialism's willing fireman mainly trying to pour cold water on the righteous anger of rebelling Black youth. Since the '60s, his approach to furthering the movement of Black people has been to promote the development of a Black buffer strata thoroughly tied to the ruling class through backroom deals with politicians and corporate heads. When necessary the masses were used as foot soldiers in the fight to secure his seat at the table.

In 1979, when the U.S. was exploring the possibility of an opening to the

Palestinians, Jackson visited the PLO and was even photographed hugging Yasser Arafat. This visit is often used by those who want to portray Jesse as a radical. Actually, in making this trip, he was serving as an unofficial emissary of the Carter administration. (The fact that Jesse was entrusted with such a role helps reveal how the rulers actually view him.) Around the same time, Andy Young, the U.S. ambassador to the U.N. during Carter's presidency, was carrying out discussions with the PLO. While in the Middle East, Jackson challenged the PLO to recognize the right of the Israeli state to exist. Also he made clear what support for the Palestinian people meant to him. "Fighting for Palestinian justice is a way of fighting for the security of Israel."

This trip and his whole history is quite consistent with the role Jackson is playing for U.S. imperialism today in his campaign. One of the Chamber of Commerce types who came to the fore as the revolutionary upsurge among Black people ebbed in the '70s, Jesse has always had a keen sense of the needs of imperialism and a willingness to work in its interests in a militant way. He is well qualified to act as a point man rallying a section of the Black petty bourgeoisie around "getting theirs" in America. All this talk about mavericks and radical crusades is designed to wrap him up in an image that would prove more attractive, particularly to militant reformists among the petty bourgeoisie including those who are influenced by revisionism.

Loyal Opposition

Jackson is a part of the political array of forces grouped around the Jobs, Peace and Freedom programme of the August 27th March on Washington. Such forces are an important part of what imperialism requires to prepare for war. In addition to the John Wayne-types to rally a social base of neanderthals around nuclear saber rattling and naked imperialist power projection, the imperialists also require spokesmen who come forward as critics and rally the masses around schemes to reform this or that ugly feature out of existence while leaving the beast essentially intact. Such a loyal opposition (loyal to imperialism) is important to ensuring the peaceful submission of the masses to the imperialist's war plans.

To talk about jobs, peace and freedom under imperialism is to promote an illusion. Moreover, to promote it as the imperialists are driven to war is to try to hoodwink sections of the masses into defending the empire. (See *RW* No. 225, "The American Dream Roadshow and the Real Way Out of The Nightmare.") That the Black bourgeoisie would play such a role isn't surprising. In the two previous world wars, Black bourgeois forces worked overtime to get the Black masses to do their patriotic duty by pushing the line that "Black people had to show that they were worthy of a place in America." This time around they have to update the lie in order to push it.

Jesse is a quite active part of this loyal opposition. He has crisscrossed the country this year talking about Blacks registering and voting and bringing a new generation into the American political process. He spoke at the August 27th rally and also addressed a rally in D.C. in opposi-

tion to the U.S. role in Central America. Also Jackson signed an ad in the *Village Voice* newspaper condemning the invasion of Grenada.

At the same time, within this grouping Jesse plays a particular role. He combines his critique of administration policies and concern for the poor with naked America Number One chauvinism and he does it in a style that is suited to the role he is out to play. In fact, his style, a rough cross between a country preacher and a street-gang leader (now sporting a three-piece suit), is a very important ingredient of his run. It figures into his ability to speak for a section of the Black elite that goes for militant reformism. It also enables him and his social base to promote this crap among those sections of the masses who have been left out of the political process.

Last year in a meeting with George Wallace, Jackson said that "America is going to need the contribution of Black people if it is going to beat out the Japanese," and that "Blacks and whites in this country have more in common with each other than with the Japanese." In 1980, as the U.S. nervously eyed the prospect of Black people developing support for the Iranian revolution, Jesse leaped into the breach. At a rally in D.C. he declared, "Black people have more reason to want to keep the U.S. No. 1 in the world. If America is unable to get oil, Black peoples' homes will be the first to go without heat."

In a 60 Minutes interview on October 30, when asked why he had called for the marines to be withdrawn from Lebanon, he said, "If their role there is combat, there aren't enough of them. If it's suicide, there are too many of them. So they should come out." This same crap about pulling them out because "American boys are dying" was run out by several of the other Democratic candidates for president, not to mention every Congressional liberal who voiced the beefing up of U.S. forces in their invasion of Lebanon. And Jesse amplified on his position at the November 12 rally in Washington, D.C., giving a real lesson in his U.S.A. No. 1 nonviolence, stating, "We are here protesting an American foreign policy that is increasingly using military might as a first resort rather than a last resort." In other words, just like his mentors Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King, Jr., Mr. Jackson knows how to divide one into two. His non-violent ideology amounts to *non* when it comes to revolutionary violence and *violence* when it comes to imperialist war (but like any common liberal, only as a last resort, of course). How dialectical!

During a recent trip to Europe, the U.S. army took him from base to base to meet with the troops. In meeting after meeting Jesse urged them to "take advantage of the freedoms you worked so hard to protect for others" by registering and voting. How democratic — preaching this to the cannonfodder for U.S. imperialism! He also pointed out to them that they were "in one of the few military organizations in the world where you can elect your commander-in-chief." (Remember this is the U.S. army which is, according to many of their own studies, quite concerned about whether Black GIs would feel that they had a stake in America that was worth fighting and dying for.)

Then this proponent of nonviolence (who is currently making a bid for commander-in-chief of the U.S. imperialist armed forces!) climbed into an army tank and posed for pictures. (Another noted man of peace, Ron Dellums, was standing beside the tank.) Just in case all of this was too subtle for

anyone, after visiting the Berlin Wall, Jesse stated that the Wall represented the dividing line between freedom and tyranny, with freedom on the U.S. side and tyranny on the Soviet side.

And this theme was echoed when he remarked after the 007 incident that "The apparent unprovoked attack by a Russian jet fighter against an unarmed South Korean commercial airliner carrying 265 innocent civilian passengers constitutes an insensitive act of horror and terrorism. We must stand against that type of behavior anywhere in the world." Who says Jesse doesn't have the "right stuff" — for U.S. imperialism?

There is a social base for this programme of "we'll get ours by sticking with America and doing our part to keep it No. 1." It is the Black bourgeoisie, and in a more contradictory way, the petty bourgeoisie whose ranks were greatly expanded since the '60s by the rulers as a buffer between their system and the rebellious Black masses. These forces are compelled by their position in society to want to get into the system. And given the overall situation U.S. imperialism faces, these forces see the way to do that as delivering a section of the Black masses to the rulers' electoral process.

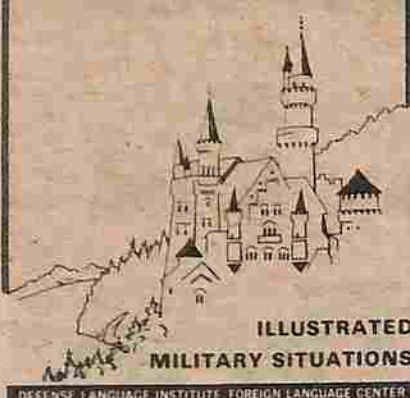
Jackson's particular approach is best suited to the interests of that section of the Black petty bourgeoisie which has based its careers on pimping the Black masses and marshaling them as chips in their bid for getting their seat at the table. As *Newsweek* put it recently, "He (Jackson) is the champion of those Black politicians who want to play hardball with the party and its eventual nominee." In addition to politicians, there are the preachers and poverty pimps who see Jesse as speaking for them when he cries "Our time has come." (One problem for these forces is that the U.S. rulers are more interested in cashing in on the bourgeoisified forces they've propped up over the past decade than on expanding their ranks.) Indeed, Jesse is arming them with the line to run as they go out to take up the real crusade of the '80s: To promote "rallying around America" broadly among the oppressed and to surround those who have dropped out of the bourgeoisie's political process, drag a section of them back into it and isolate and silence the rest.

Debate

There has also been a major debate launched among the ranks of the so-called Black leadership family over Jesse's run. On the one side are the realists whose ranks include mayors Andy Young of Atlanta, and Coleman Young of Detroit and the heads of the NAACP and Urban League. They cry that Jesse's run is only symbolic and that Black people can't afford to throw their votes away on it. Further they argue that he will hurt the chances of the electable candidate most favorable to Black interests (read: Walter Mondale) and only aid Reagan's chances of re-election. The logic of this position was baldly stated by Julian Bond, who was quoted in the *New York Times Magazine* as follows: "Bond, who has endorsed Walter F. Mondale's candidacy, is concerned that if other candidates in the primaries 'let Jesse have the black vote, we've got to lose in the end because the winner is going to be one of the white guys, and he will have won without the help of blacks. There would be nothing for us.'" On the

Continued on page 12

GERMAN BASIC COURSE



ILLUSTRATED
MILITARY SITUATIONS

DEFENSE LANGUAGE INSTITUTE FOREIGN LANGUAGE CENTER

Editors Note:

The following illustrations and texts are taken from a German-language training course for U.S. military personnel based in West Germany. Written in 1972 by the Defense Language Institute in Monterey, California, and revised in 1979, the book gives the boys a few "necessary phrases" sure to come in handy considering what the imperialists are preparing. Recently the W. German press got ahold of the language book (which was supposed to be classified) and published some of it. An uproar ensued over the casual scenario of "all-out warfare," as the course puts it, including the use of nuclear weapons (but only by the "other side" of course!) and its blustering optimism about winning such a war, coupled with crude promises of sweet cheers, kisses and ticker-tape parades from the folks back home. The content of the book surely speaks for itself.



1
GRUNDAUSBILDUNG: Der neue Rekrut probiert Uniform und Mütze an. Die Ausgehuniform paßt.



2
Die Rekruten machen Liegestütz. Ein Ausbilder führt die Aufsicht beim Sport.



3
Beim Küchendienst schält ein Soldat Kartoffeln. Ein anderer Soldat schüttet Kartoffeln aus einem Sack.



4
Dieses Kommando entgiftet Gerät. Die Soldaten tragen ihre Schutzmasken.



5
KRIEG („Engagement“): „Feuer!“ Die Geschütze eröffnen das Feuer. Unser Feuer bringt dem Feind große Verluste bei. Im Schutz der Dunkelheit nähert sich ein feindlicher Spähtrupp unseren Stellungen.



6
Aber ein Soldat tritt auf eine Mine. Er ist sofort tot. Ein anderer Soldat wird durch Splitter verwundet. Eine Leuchtpatrone geht hoch. Das Gefechtsfeld ist hell erleuchtet. Der Feind ist entdeckt.



7
Die Jabos greifen eine Fahrzeugkolonne an. Der Feind verliert eine große Anzahl schwerer Waffen: Panzer, Raketenwerfer und Atomkanonen. Eine Rakete schlägt irrtümlich in unsere Stellung ein.



8
Ein Posten bringt Gefangene nach hinten. Dort verhört sie ein Vernehmungsoffizier mit seinem Dolmetscher. Ein Gefangener kennt die Genfer Konvention gut. Er gibt keine Informationen.



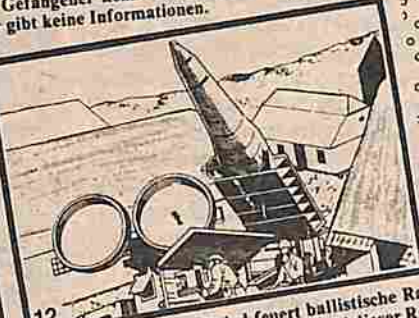
9
Krieg mit allen Mitteln: Jabos greifen einen feindlichen Eisenbahnknotenpunkt an. Sie bombardieren auch das Industrieviertel. Die Bomben treffen Fabriken, Lagerhäuser und Depots, Züge und Gleisanlagen.



10
Es fallen Brandbomben und Bomben mit Zeitzündern. Wohngebiete bleiben nicht verschont. Schwere Bomber bekämpfen weit entfernte Ziele. Sie fliegen in großen Höhen. Die Bomben haben Fernsteuerung.



11
Diese Soldaten sind völlig demoralisiert. Sie geben den Widerstand auf. Nach diesem Anfangserfolg gehen unsere Truppen weiter vor. Sie stoßen tief ins feindliche Gebiet.



12
Atomarer Krieg: Der Feind feuert ballistische Raketen mit atomarem Sprengkopf ab. Ziel dieser Raketen sind unsere großen Städte. Unsere Radar- und Rechenanlagen verfolgen die Flugbahnen der feindlichen Raketen.



13
Flugkörper der Raketenabwehr steigen auf. Sie fangen die feindlichen Raketen ab. Sie bringen sie in der Stratosphäre zur Detonation.



14
Trotzdem finden einige feindliche Raketen ihr Ziel. Sie richten riesigen Schaden an.

15



16
Unsere Panzergrenadiere dringen in die feindliche Hauptstadt ein. Die Panzer geben Feuerschutz. Ein Soldat bestreut ein Haus mit MG-Feuer.



17
Ein feindlicher Baumschütze sitzt in seinem Versteck. Ein wachsamer Soldat schließt mit der Pistole auf ihn. Der Partisan fällt vom Baum runter.



18
Jetzt werden alle Zivilisten nach Waffen durchsucht. Vorsichtig betreten die Soldaten leerstehende Gebäude. Jedes Haus kann eine Minenfalle sein.



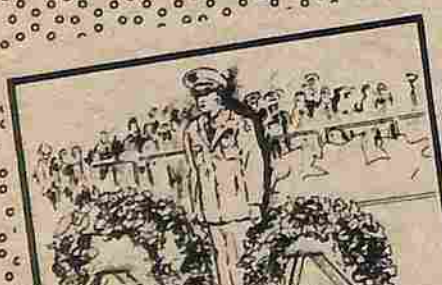
19
Die Soldaten heben die letzten Widerstandsnester im Nahkampf aus. Die Hauptstadt liegt in Trümmern. Unsere Truppen gelangen ins Stadtzentrum.



20
„Der Widerstand des Feindes bricht zusammen. Die Hauptstadt liegt in Trümmern. Die Zivilbevölkerung kommt aus ihren Schlupfwinkeln hervor.“



21
„Die Kommandeure nehmen die Siegesparade ab. Verdiente Soldaten werden mit Orden ausgezeichnet. Die Bevölkerung auf den Tribünen jubelt.“



22
„Die Toten des Krieges werden geehrt. Am Grabmal des Unbekannten Soldaten werden Kränze niedergelegt“ (links). „Die Soldaten kehren heim zu ihren Familien“ (rechts).



23
„Die Soldaten kehren heim zu ihren Familien“ (rechts).

These are translations of the German-language captions:

- (1) Basic training: the new recruit tries on uniform and cap. The dress uniform fits.
- (2) The recruits do pushups. The trainer directs the exercise.
- (3) In KP a soldier peels potatoes. Another soldier dumps potatoes from a bag.
- (4) These commandoes detoxify their equipment. The soldiers are wearing their protective masks.
- (5) War ("engagement"): "Fire!" The defenses open fire. Our fire causes huge casualties to the enemy. Under the cover of darkness, enemy soldiers approach our positions.
- (6) But a soldier steps on a mine. He is killed instantly. Another soldier is wounded by shrapnel. A flare is shot off. The combat zone is lit up. The enemy is discovered.
- (7) The JABOs* attack a motorized column. The enemy loses a large number of heavy weapons: tanks, rocket launchers, and atomic cannon. A rocket hits our own positions by accident.
- (8) A guard brings prisoners to the rear. There they are interrogated by a receiving officer and his interpreter. One prisoner knows the Geneva convention well. He gives no information.
- (9) All-out warfare: JABOs attack an enemy railway juncture. They also bomb an industrial district. There the bombs hit factories, warehouses and depots, trains and tracks.

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*"JABOs" refers to the NATO Jaguar Bomber, a fighter-bomber aircraft.

Missile Deployments

With a Screech ... and a Growl

Continued from page 1

and often conflicting interests of the NATO bloc countries, all old-line imperialists in their own right, has indeed been a critical necessity in confronting the Soviets.

Pipeline

The "solidarity" of these bloodthirsty imperialists does contrast in important ways with, for example, the family squabbles which broke out over the Soviet-Europe Trans-Siberian pipeline project in 1981-1982. At this time, Washington encountered stiff opposition when it insisted that NATO countries with pipeline contracts back out of the deal, in order to underline NATO condemnation of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and to ratchet up Western economic pressure on the Soviets. The U.S., which was in the position of casting about for ways to assert its leadership, lost that argument. But the shorter-term economic stake of the West Europeans in the pipeline is one thing; the missiles are entirely another. On a basic level, the difference between the earlier pipeline difficulties and the successful deployment reflects the bottom-line understanding of all the NATO powers that there is no way to reverse the downward spiral of crisis except through world war. The present

international framework does not allow for economic recovery — on this there is unity, even though each imperialism continues to guard its own self-interests within the overall "marriage of convenience" that is any imperialist alliance. The important strategic step represented by deployment of the Euromissiles has fairly demanded unity of will. European NATO isn't "doing the United States a favor" by forging ahead with deployment; they need the missiles, and support the policy of using the missiles to weld the alliance more firmly together, because they are pursuing their own long-term imperialist interests within the context of their military and political alliance with the United States. It was no fluke that West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, not the United States, first proposed the Pershing/cruise deployment back in 1979.

U.S. View

It is clear that most U.S. analysts and the Reagan administration believe that the United States has scored important foreign policy gains in the recent period — symbolized by the deployment — and that the Soviets have suffered some serious setbacks. In a typical analysis, headlined, "From the Kremlin, The View is Bleak on Many Fronts," Serge Schmemmann of the *New York Times* reports from Moscow that:

"Moscow had expended great energy over two years in wooing, cajoling, threatening, and bluffing the Europeans not to accept new American medium-range missiles. The Russians staked their campaign on a vision of Europe grown disillusioned with the United States and panicked by the notion of more megatons of destruction, and on an image of Russia too mindful of its tragic past ever to contemplate a threat to anybody else.

"In the end the effort failed.... Even before the West German Bundestag voted last week to accept new Pershing II missiles, the Russians had realized that...nothing had undermined NATO's determination to counter the Soviet SS-20 missiles.

"Moscow also faced a problem of future relations with Western Europe. The long and bitter campaign over the missiles did leave Europeans far less united than in the past on issues of dissent to nuclear arms, and the Russians were certain to make the most of the divisions in the future. But in the aftermath of the Bundestag vote and the Soviet walkout in Geneva, it was clear that Moscow had lost a major round in the East-West struggle."

Schmemmann goes on to recite a litany of supposed Soviet stubbed toes, blunders, pratfalls and setbacks around the world, from Afghanistan to Central America to Vietnam to Angola to China to Iran to Japan, etc. Schmemmann's analysis is not unique in its tone of crowing over Soviet misfortunes and complacency over U.S. "successes" over the past year or so: it joins ABC's eight-part series dourly assessing the Soviets in like manner and innumerable newspaper pieces on the subject.

Of course, this view of a fumble-fingered Kremlin repeatedly burned by a resurgent "can do" Reagan's America is extremely vulgar, one-sided, and politically motivated. It takes its place next to the fashionable portrait of a few years ago which depicted an enervated, soft and cowardly United States in full flight from its "global responsibilities" and sinking into the long night of imperial decadence while the lean and hungry Soviets flexed their military might in preparation for a dash to the Persian Gulf and the subjugation of a servile and supine Western Europe. The earlier portrait obviously was meant to preside over and justify the new U.S. effort to shift to war footing; the current opposite visage has equally cynical political motivation

— specifically, it is part of the arrogant challenge being hurled at the Soviets in all forms right now. The U.S. is even downplaying — perhaps temporarily — the military efficacy of the Soviet countermoves — they were expected, they were long planned, they represent no greater threat to the U.S. and so forth. The picture is supposed to show a Soviet Union impotent and isolated in the world.

However, both caricatures do represent in rough, broad form actual assessments of "how things are going," the momentum of events, which side is gaining the upper hand, who seems to be calling the shots and picking the time and place of the next battle.

And viewed in this broad sense, it is a fact that the United States has established a definite momentum, not simply because the NATO powers "deployed them on a schedule" as is pronounced officially but because this was made the centerpiece of a whole series of tough moves worldwide on the part of the U.S. this fall. The U.S. has set a strategic agenda for preparation for global war; it is bearing down on that agenda, and this has succeeded in putting the Soviet Union on the tactical defensive in a number of respects. After mounting a trillion dollar defense buildup program, it has launched an aggressive campaign, of which the 007 affair was a key blow. It has demonstrated a "willingness to use force." It sponsored the Israeli invasion of Lebanon last year, then got up a posse including France, Italy, and Great Britain and charged into Lebanon with its own military forces. It has supported, encouraged, and challenged other NATO countries to themselves adopt the tactic of military intervention: Great Britain in the Falklands, France in North Africa. The invasion of Grenada brought back images of a United States restored to "pre-Vietnam" stature, swaggering about its own hemisphere enforcing law and order frontier style.

In sum, the consensus assessment in Washington appears to be that the United States has been taking it to the Soviets with some success as late; there is some truth to this — the U.S. is on a roll.

Soviets and Europe

For the Soviet Union, their decision to break off the missile talks and the new round of "palisading" missiles on both sides of the iron curtain does not mark the end of its basic European strategy combining a threatening nuclear and conventional military buildup with offers of "peaceful cooperation," and utilizing every available economic and political avenue to increase its influence in Western Europe while driving wedges between Europe and the United States. Intimidating and cajoling Western Europe is an essential part in the Soviet approach and indeed, the need to influence Western Europe in this manner has informed Soviet foreign policy to an extraordinary extent, and its stance and actions in major matters have often been tailored to the strategy of wooing (and at other times threatening) the Europeans.

This is a basic point of Soviet strategy, and will continue to be so right up until, and into, the actual showdown with the U.S. But the context of this will need to be different — the Soviets will need to lay the groundwork to come back for some slugging after their own. A certain comparison can be made to the latter 1970s, when the Soviets pushed out aggressively, including in Europe with the SS-20s, and at a time when strategic parity between the Soviets and the U.S. made the previously superior U.S. nuclear umbrella much less comforting to the Europeans. It was this period which laid the basis for the Soviets' oh-so-peaceful positions of the 1980s, which built upon nuclear fears by seizing the "high ground" in the peace-war propaganda game, advocating no-first-use of nuclear weapons, freezing of nuclear arsenals, and nuclear-free zones in central Europe, among other proposals (of course, these were to be contingent on acceptance by the U.S. which, as the Soviets well knew, on these particular proposals was not about to acquiesce).

Tough Stance

The Soviets have reverted to a tough stance indeed at the moment. Above all the Soviets cannot be seen as weak in the face of the U.S. challenge. Any other but an appropriately vicious, appropriately

imperialist stance now must endanger their world status as a power equal to the U.S., able to field its own "umbrella." So in the near term, the recent Soviet "peace offensive" is almost certain to take a back seat in the Soviet repertoire to a series of bloody demonstrations of Moscow's missile-rattling know-how. Yuri A. Andropov's statement of November 24, apart from announcing the cessation of Soviet participation in the medium-range missile talks, the new short-range missile deployments in Eastern Europe, and the stationing of submarine-launched cruise missiles off the East coast of the United States, bristled statements like, "During the two world wars the flames of destruction spared the United States of America. Now, too, the people in Washington would like to think that by deploying their medium-range missiles in Europe and creating thereby an addition nuclear threat to the socialist countries, they would be able to divert the return strike to their house." He also warned of a "real danger that the United States will bring catastrophe upon the peoples of Europe." Richard S. Ovinnikov, the Soviet Union's Deputy Ambassador to the United Nations, told reporters that the United States had "absolutely murdered detente" and had brought the world "to the brink of nuclear war."

The announced Soviet "counter-deployments" declared first that the Soviets would break off the Geneva talks on Intermediate Nuclear Forces (INF) and continued:

"Second: being cancelled by the Soviet Union's unilateral obligations which had for their purpose the creation of more favorable conditions for success at the talks. Thereby the moratorium on the deployment of Soviet medium-range nuclear weapons in the European part of the USSR is abrogated.

"Third: on agreement with the governments of the GDR and Czechoslovakia the announced preparatory work to deploy on the territory of these countries operational tactical missiles of increased range, that was started sometime ago, will be accelerated.

"Fourth: since by deploying its missiles in Europe the United States increases the nuclear threat to the Soviet Union, the corresponding Soviet systems will be deployed with due account for this circumstance in ocean areas and in seas."

The U.S. response has been to shrug off the counterdeployments for its own reasons, as stated. But this is specious. The Soviet deployments are steps toward important political and military preparations for war. The Soviet statement about "ocean areas and seas" certainly means new nuclear-capable naval forces, probably submarines off the U.S. coasts. Soviet submarines now deployed off U.S. coasts are armed only with a short-range cruise weapon, while the new ones would probably be armed with modern cruise missiles with a range up to 1500 miles, or with ballistic missiles programmed for "depressed trajectory," a way of launching missiles which cuts down drastically the time from launch to target.

The Soviets have been forced, in other words, to drop their pose of "guardians of the flame of peace" and shift to conjuring "flames of destruction." In this sense their hand has been forced by the U.S. The U.S. could also benefit from the Soviet counterdeployments in a perverse way by using it as an example of "risk-sharing," of showing that the U.S. is willing to risk its own territory in the coming war. Yet, from another angle, it is the Soviets who have been provided with the framework — with the excuse, if you will — for carrying out their own necessary preparations for the coming conflict, and furthering their own interests. Clearly the Soviets decided long ago to make as much hay as possible out of the Pershing/cruise deployments, this current series of moves being a major part of that. Indeed, what a windfall for the Soviets who have been able to tear into some vicious war preparations and even carry out a drastic change in their "peaceful and defensive" posture, all under the signboard of "responding" to the U.S.!

East Bloc

The Soviets are seizing the moment to hammer their own bloc into further war readiness. The fact that East Germany and Czechoslovakia will be hosting new nuclear weaponry demonstrates a unity

Continued on page 12

Translations (continued)

(10) Firebombs and bombs with fuses are dropped. Residential districts are not spared. Heavy bombers reach faraway goals. They fly at tremendous heights. The bombs have remote control.

(11) These soldiers are completely demoralized. They give up resistance. After this capture, our troops proceed further. They go far into enemy territory.

(12) Nuclear War: the enemy launches ballistic missiles with nuclear warheads. The target of these missiles are our major cities. Our radar and observatories follow the flight paths of the enemy missiles.

(13) Projectiles of the missile defense blast off. They intercept the enemy missiles. They cause them to detonate in the stratosphere.

(14) Despite this some enemy missiles reach their target. They cause tremendous damage.

(15) A series of illustrations which continue at this point were not available to us. The captions portray the fighting ability of American forces as intact despite the nuclear strikes. After the nuclear interlude, the language instructors breeze through naval warfare, amphibious landings, guerrilla warfare and street fighting. And all this, the GI student is supposed to believe, is to be accomplished not through nuclear counterattack, but conventionally with great emphasis on hand-to-hand combat with grenades and bayonet! (Apparently the folks over in Monterey just haven't heard that official U.S. doctrine in Europe calls for first-use of tactical nukes....)

(16) Our armored troops penetrate the enemy capital. The tanks give covering fire. A soldier sprays a house with machine-gun fire.

(17) An enemy sniper shoots in his hiding place. An alert soldier hits him with his pistol. The partisan falls down, out of the tree.

(18) Now all the civilians are searched for weapons. Soldiers approach seemingly empty buildings with care. Every house could be a mine-trap.

(19) The soldiers root out the last nests of resistance in hand-to-hand combat. The capital city lies in ruins. Our troops occupy the center of the city.

(20) The resistance of the enemy collapses. The capital city lies in ruins. The civilian population comes back out of their various hiding places.

(21) The commander receives the victory parade. Deserving soldiers receive medals. The population on the stage celebrates.

(22) The dead of the war are honored. The grave of the unknown soldier is decorated with wreaths.

(23) The soldiers return to their families. Many are also promoted. Flag-bearing contingents march at the front of the victory parades.

Jesse Jackson: The "Right Stuff" For Them

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other side there's Jesse and his fellow "visionaries" who include Congressman Ron Dellums and Mayor Hatcher of Gary, Indiana. They "dare to dream the impossible dream of a Black in the White House." (In more ways than one this dream is impossible. Especially if this was a campaign by someone who really wanted to make fundamental improvements in the situation of the Black masses, it wouldn't happen. The oppression of Black people is an integral part of imperialism and can't be ended without the overthrow of imperialism.)

Some debate! Both the bourgeois "visionaries" and the bourgeois "realists" are compelled by their class position to want to get into the system. Also both sides admit that he isn't running to win but to build up the ranks of the Democratic party and aid in dumping Ronald Reagan. So what is all this "clout" and "bargaining power" and "Black power" they are talking about? Nothing but a scam to get the Democratic candidate elected, whichever ruling class spokesman it turns out to be. This debate reduces to an argument within the Black elite over how best to prove their worth to the master by delivering a section of the Black masses to the voting booths and the imperialist war that lies behind them. Jackson's approach is to run through the primaries, talk a lot about winning for Black people a new place in America and through that deliver several million new Black voters to the ranks of the Democratic Party; his critics, the "realists," plot a course of latching onto Walter Mondale and pointing the finger at Reagan for the plight of Black people as the best way to rally Blacks to the Democratic Party. And here it must be said again that, to the oppressed, it doesn't matter which representative of imperialism is chosen to preside over what they are being forced to prepare for and carry out in the '80s. (The role of the CPUSA in all this deserves some mention. The CP has influence among forces grouped on both sides of this debate. Apparently they plan to use their usual "three-legged stool" approach to elections with an eye to gaining the most

influence among various sections of the bourgeoisie. They plan to run their own candidates, support so-called "progressive independents," and be active in the Democratic Party both in support of Jackson's campaign and in opposition to it.)

Agenda for War

This debate also plays a real role in allowing the rulers to set the terms of debate around this question. "If you think that all this shit sucks, then cast your lot with the 'visionary' and 'radical crusader,' Jesse Jackson." This would be quite safe for the imperialists. They want to, and desperately need to, rule out of bounds debate over whether to throw down in the streets or line up at the ballot box in the '80s. Actually both Jackson and his critics push the line of the ballot box as where it's at for the Black movement. For those who go for this crap of getting theirs in America, both their approaches are quite realistic. And equally reactionary. Under any circumstances this business of "getting into and becoming somebody" in America comes down to fighting for a "share" of the worldwide plunder of U.S. imperialism. And with the stakes what they are today, with world war shaping up, an inter-imperialist bloodfest which portends untold oppression for the masses of the earth, this chauvinist garbage that is being run out to the Black masses — who are an important component of proletarian revolution in the U.S. — is sickening. And when what is required above all is a proletarian internationalist outlook so that the masses can make the greatest contribution to revolution worldwide, including the liberation of the Black people, those who make it their business to narrow the sights of the masses to "what's in it for Black people" are truly degenerate. This is the outlook of the petty bourgeoisie at its most narrow — "me" and "mine," "they grabbed, now let me have a go" — although sections of these class forces can and will be won to a different outlook as allies of the proletariat. (And we might add that in a different period and a quite different international situation, some of those forces now influenced by this reactionary

ideology demonstrated that their sights could indeed go far higher than *this* backward stuff.) To put this stuff out to the oppressed is simply to spit in their face.

We stated earlier that there is a social base for this crap. But it doesn't jive at all with the conditions of the majority of the Black masses. While the rulers were propping up a buffer section among Black people, the majority were being ground further down. These conditions give many of the Black masses (and others among the oppressed as well) the potential to develop powerful feelings of wanting out of, not into, the system. At the same time that the imperialists are trying to drag sections of these masses into their plans to win a showdown for world domination with their Soviet rivals, these conditions of existence provide the objective basis for the development of proletarian internationalism among a section of the working class in this country. For such people there is a programme which is both realistic and visionary, preparing to lead millions in rising up and ending the criminal rule of U.S. imperialism. And the very contradictions that are forcing the imperialists to try to drag a section of the dispossessed back into their political process are also working to create a situation where the actions of a class-conscious section will have greater potential to influence millions toward the revolutionary position. This points to why the imperialists desperately need to work overtime to promote their crap.

In spite of all this there are those on the "left" who argue that Jackson should be supported because of the progressive agenda he is injecting into the campaign. This is sorry politics indeed. His agenda is nothing more than one-part marshaling a section of the Black masses as chips in his bid to win a few more seats at the table for some among the Black bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie and one-part naked American chauvinism. What can there be progressive in any of this?

There are also those who see big problems with Jesse and his program (who will cynically admit he's a demagogue and a stone opportunist), but still say that his campaign should be supported. Their argument is generally that it represents a step forward because it can set large numbers of people into motion during a period of overall political retrenchment and through that they can learn the limitations of the electoral process and move forward. Now, the fact that the imperialists are compelled to drag the masses of Black people into political life is a good situation, signaling as it does the sharpening of the contradictions in the world, but the question for revolutionaries is what to do. Tail behind the

bourgeois and petty-bourgeois forces? Or use the situation to expose the workings of the imperialist system, its electoral sham and the class interests at work, and spread *revolutionary* — not reformist and chauvinist — thinking?

Really, isn't this "ballot box" movement like some kind of obscene con game? Today, registering to vote is a "movement" that is being supported whole hog by the rulers. The *New York Times* promotes it in their editorial pages. The Democratic Party is helping to finance it. The state of Georgia changed its laws so that corporations in the state could register voters on their premises. The Justice Department has provided additional federal registrars to register voters in some southern states. In New York City, employees in city agencies were made part-time voting registrars and registered 42,000 people as they sought public assistance. The organizers of this experiment are attempting to institute it nationwide, and the Republican National Committee has endorsed the idea. This line-up of forces behind the "movement" to get Black people lined up at the voting booth is nothing but a line-up of zombies outside some pornographic horror show. Having once fought for the right to vote, the Black masses must now develop the political sophistication and awareness not to use it.

The trouble with Jesse Jackson isn't that he can't deliver on his promises, but that he is working to draw a section of the oppressed into a crusade to extend the U.S.'s holdings in a worldwide showdown with the Soviet social-imperialists. He's offering the Black masses and others to "be somebody," on the frontlines of World War 3. Can anybody calling themselves a revolutionary tail this kind of motion?

This campaign represents something that must be exposed. Its sham nature and the reactionary aims and interests beneath it must be dragged into the light of day. It won't do just to be clear that it's bullshit or merely avoid being sucked in by it. Such exposure will play a critical role in preparing for the only real way out of this system and all the putrid shit that it means for people all over the world. The necessity to make all-around preparation for proletarian revolution must be powerfully advanced into the debate that is swirling around Jesse's run.

Jesse Jackson is fond of saying, "If you run, you may lose, but if you don't run you're guaranteed to lose." But those who have truly nothing to lose but their chains have a different view: If you go for revolution you might lose, but those who go for the road of trying to get into this system have already lost. □

a Screech

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of will on the part of the Warsaw Pact fully corresponding to that of NATO. While the two Pact countries have had tactical (battlefield) nuclear weaponry for some time, these new missiles — reportedly SS-21, SS-22, and SS-23 are much longer-range (though technically short-range compared to the SS-20) and far more modern. Moreover, when the Warsaw Pact meets soon in Sofia, Bulgaria, it will be considering a deployment in that country as well, something which would certainly draw Bulgaria into a nuclear staredown in the Balkans where Turkey has already been nuclear-armed by NATO. The Soviets, who have previously staked much on their peace proposals, such as a nuclear-free zone in the Balkans, now seem to be going with their own version of the "peace through strength" argument to their own bloc.

Tensions

Much has been made in the Western press of tensions between the Soviets and their Pact allies as a result of these planned new deployments in Eastern Europe. In East Germany, peace forces attempted to stage actions coinciding with the West German antimissile demonstrations targeting both Soviet and U.S. arms. While this has had a history, what is new is the apparent official sanction for at least some antimissile sentiment; East German newspapers published two letters criticizing the planned new Soviet deployments, while DDR head of state

Erich Honecker stated that the new Soviet missiles would be "no cause for rejoicing"; more predictable was the Romanian call for the Soviets to "reconsider" the counterdeployment, but very untypical was the public reluctance of Bulgarian President Todor Zhivkov to bless Soviet missiles in his nation.

Certainly there must be genuine horror and disgust among the masses of Eastern European countries at the Soviet actions. It is also not out of the question that there is some real tension stemming from the intense discomfort of the East European bourgeois ruling classes at being made the nuclear sponge for the Soviets on the central front. But considering the power relationships between the Soviets and the Pact countries, the political history of these leaders, and the basic fact that these countries must pursue their interests through the bloc, more likely these "tensions" reflect a division of labor in the East bloc, with the Soviets acting the tough guy and the Honeckers' et al. giving some vent and showing "concern" for peace sentiment among the masses. Moreover, the division of labor may also represent another way the Soviets continue to work on the Western alliance, in other words, to play to West Europe. The antimissile statements by East Europeans may be a signal by the Soviets to Western Europe that while the Soviet Union itself cannot now show much flexibility, the Eastern bloc is still open to "lessening of tensions" and to contact of various sorts with Western Europe.

Overall, then, while to some extent their hand has been forced, the Soviets have immediately moved to out-flank the U.S., to work to regain the initiative. The

scaffolding for this seems to be built upon three supports: a significant strengthening of their own military and political alliance in Europe; continuing to work on Western Europe, mainly at this point by applying heavy pressure in various ways, not only with such pressure, but with the real option of opening up another round of "peace wars" in the future if their interests would thus be served; and by greatly stepped-up, practical preparations for military confrontation.

On the part of the U.S. it is clear that a certain phase has been reached in war preparation, the deployments representing a turning point. As for the future of the U.S.'s double-track of peacemaking and war moves, this is surely being debated out within the U.S. bourgeoisie. As part of this, the liberal brand of warmongering is being given a full airing at the moment; now that force has been decisively applied in Grenada, with the deployments in

Europe and so on, so the liberal argument goes, it is time for diplomacy and talk of peace or at least "stability." As Leslie Gelb wrote in the *New York Times Magazine*:

"The buildup and deployment of forces is a valid tool of diplomacy. It can be a crucial means of creating incentives to negotiate. But it cannot stand alone... force cannot stand by itself." A fine exposure of the role that imperialist diplomacy plays, twisted as always and based on the vicious exercise of force. On the other hand, liberal calls for a round of peace proposals at this point are certainly not the only, or the most likely, possibility. In fact, as a whole, the coming period will be characterized by moves and countermoves in every global theater. Both imperialist blocs are proceeding apace — at a rapid pace — in preparing an order of battle for global war. □

YOU'VE LIVED THE REALITY...
NOW THE BOOK

COMING SOON

Bonn

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ing "Hoch die internationale Solidarität!" The lines of protesters were inspired and joined in the chant. The police too were inspired — enough to turn the water cannon on the people from Turkey and the World Without Imperialism Contingent. A few moments later, the cannon turned its sights on our banner and fired, knocking it and those holding it to the ground. Immediately, some West German youth snatched it up and raised it again. In the middle of all this three World Without Imperialism Contingent members got swallowed up by the police lines.

After taking the beating of the cannons for some time, groups would retreat and others would spontaneously take their place. I realized then — never having been in a scene with water cannons — just how effective they can be in a "hold-the-line" blockade-type of action: you slowly wear down the crowd, targeting key forces and making examples of a few, like the guy they blasted in the chest and sent sprawling along the pavement for ten feet. They even mercilessly flattened a couple of Buddhists in robes who were beating on drums! Occasionally an ambulance would race in and out. Nevertheless, what was happening reflected the strategy of the rulers and their police for the day — massive presence and threat of force, the limited use of force to break momentum (except for brutal attacks on some of the radical forces like our contingent later that night). One thing for sure, the usual law and order of Bonn, which the rulers of the BRD hoped like hell to maintain, receded into the shadows as different forms of protest erupted throughout the city, with busloads of police racing around to contain them. In some areas it looked like martial law in Poland.

Frustration filled the air. People were trying to figure ways to break out of the situation, to get beyond not only tactically, but in my opinion politically also. Some groups came up to us with the idea of marching into the city's center. Others started regrouping and with the lines getting pushed back the march started to form and head off. We joined in. In all, about 500-700 seized the streets and marched over a bridge toward downtown.

The first place some peace people pointed out was the El Salvador embassy. The crowd massed in front jamming the intersection and after the peace people gave a rap a couple from our group (one Turkish) stepped to the fore and cut in some agitation. They not only talked about El Salvador, but also Grenada, Lebanon, Chile and Afghanistan; related to that, world war preparations of the imperialist blocs, and the struggle of the oppressed to break through all this. The

guy from Turkey exposed West Germany's role in Turkey and Brazil. Much of the crowd was aroused, clapping and whistling.

The march moved on. At this point with our banner at the front, ski-masked youth, punks and anarchists right behind and further back autonomous forces from Köln, peace people and some Greens. Along with ours, other good slogans were raised: "German money, German guns, murder people around the world!" and "Down with NATO, Down with the BRD army!"

Police finally managed to catch up with the march and blocked off the street ahead of us. We doubled back, cut through the university law school chanting and whistling and onto a smaller parallel street. There too the police formed a line. Struggle broke out over which way to go, what to do. Some youth were moving cars into the street. Once again the march doubled back in search of another way. Forces started to split. Someone suggested we all go to a cafe and "discuss the problem." *Scheisse!!!* Some forces were lost, but we went on, finally piercing the city center...

Report No. 3

FRAG

Feminists of Köln

The call to action in Bonn against the Bundestag (Parliament) under the banner, "Down With the Pershing and Cruise Missiles and All War Preparations, Both East and West!" and "A World Without Imperialism, Not An Imperialist World War!" set off struggle among all sections of West German people. Among them have been the Frauen (women) from a few women's organizations. The Contingent was received with a certain curiosity. We were asked if men were part of the contingent — sort of reflecting the line that sees men as the target of women's liberation, but that question was overshadowed by the Contingent's stand against worldwide imperialism. A series of meetings with the women were set up, there was intense struggle around what the root cause of all oppression was. One woman expressed that a group of them had taken independent actions against Pershing missiles and war preparations as their role as women became effused in the larger peace movement. In the spirit of Seneca and Greenham Commons, they have been camped at a military base north of Köln. The police had broken up their camp during the Week of Action — but they set up camp again until the actual deployment comes down.

While agreeing that imperialism was a cancer worldwide — some women see it as the militarism in the main with men being the dominants of this system and women being dociles in society. They summed up that men still look down on women when they become militants in a

political movement. The question around what it's going to take to go up against war preparations was struggled out with Turkish women from ATIF who were there as part of the anti-imperialist contingent. These women sharply exposed the role of the West German bourgeoisie in Turkey. This is the first time in a long time that German women were confronted and joined in struggle with people from Turkey because of the social chauvinism spread by the West German government. "The trade unions are part of this — they told the workers to stay away from the protests," remarked one of the West German women.

While there were disagreements, one important point was agreed — that the masses need to understand what's going on in the world — that consciousness was important in order to move forward. There's one *Frauenbuchladen* (women's bookstore) in Köln and contingent leaflets were taken, as well as a consignment of RCP literature. The women are setting up more meetings to assist the Contingent in raising funds, and to have other women meet our comrades.

A member of the World Without Imperialism Contingent

Report No. 4

Several people were arrested at the morning blockade in Bonn on November 21st. The police consciously busted several people from the various groups. Three of us from the World Without Imperialism Contingent were arrested together while taking part in the blockade. We were taken to the police station. There they took our pictures and fingerprints. A police woman strip-searched us. I had on my RCYB shirt which was a topic of conversation amongst the pigs. The men and women were segregated. The men were put into one room and the women into another. Most of the women were students. There were only a few women who could speak English. We talked about the Contingent with the women. A lot of the women were pacifists or anarchists. Some of the women said that they were sympathetic to groups against imperialism. One woman thought we were "anti-imps" (pro-Soviets). We got into a short discussion about the Eastern and Western imperialist blocs' drive towards world war and West Germany's role in the NATO bloc.

The women were rebellious. They tore the molding off of the walls and one woman wrote *Schweine* on the wall. The men and women communicated by banging on the walls and pipes. The women sang songs calling the pigs *Schweine* and fascists. Some of the women agreed that the pigs worked for the ruling class but felt that the pigs were unconscious of this. The relationship between the women and pigs was very contradictory. One minute the women were unruly and calling the

pigs every name in the book and the next minute the women would talk to the pigs like they were the best of friends. When we had to go to the bathroom we had to knock on the door to be let out of our room because the bathroom was out in the hall. One woman who was arrested was handicapped. She used two canes to walk with. When she returned from the bathroom she would refuse to walk back into our room. She would go limp and the pigs would have to drag her back into the room. After the pigs closed the door she would bang on the door with her cane and yell at the pigs. The pigs treated the women like bad little children. They told the women to clean up the room or they would not eat supper. When the pigs brought supper they told the women that if they started to make a mess they would stop serving them their meal. The women were laughing and clowning later in the evening. They would knock on the door to harass the pigs. The pig told us that if we didn't clean up our room we weren't going to be released. Most of the women laughed at this. They released us about 10:30 in the evening. Two people at a time were let out to claim their belongings and they were taken to another room to wait for everyone else. The walls in this room were clean and white. People started writing political messages on the walls. Statements like "resistance," "anarchy," "peace is the only way." I wrote "Pershing/Cruise Missiles, There Is No Solution But Revolution. Down With All Imperialist War Preparations Both East and West. A World Without Imperialism, Not An Imperialist World War." Most of the people liked it, everyone was passing markers around and they were writing and drawing pictures on the walls. A lot of half-red and black stars appeared on the walls. One man wrote "USA Out Of Nicaragua, El Salvador, Lebanon, Grenada." I asked him why he didn't put "BRD Out of Turkey and Brazil." He said the USA oppresses these countries more openly. I said all the more reason to put down Turkey and Brazil. Before we were released I changed his message to "USA, BRD and NATO out of Nicaragua, El Salvador, Lebanon, Grenada, Turkey and Brazil." This caused a lot of people to look. The Contingent's line got out in jail. It caused a lot of controversy and opened up more questions on how to prevent world war.

A proletarian youth

P.S. One woman who was arrested with us had no intention of going to any demonstrations in Bonn. The police had a picture of her in front of a missile factory. She was standing in the HBF planning to go shopping. The police matched her face to the picture and arrested her. They also arrested a friend of hers and one man who had just come from the hospital and was waiting for the train.

Kennedy

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precisely what they were trying to do.

In the next development in the drive to break down Jim Crow laws, Freedom Riders rode into Southern cities. In Birmingham and other cities they were clubbed and beaten by Klan thugs who were egged on by local police while the FBI stood around and took notes.

The Kennedys' activities around the Freedom Riders is a clear example of the role they played for the bourgeoisie and their administration of the dual tactics of liberal reformism and naked force. Their first instinct was to try to put a stop to things. "Tell them to call it off," JFK ordered Harris Wofford. "Stop them." "This undue militancy," explains apologist Schlesinger, "threatened the strategy of suasion." But the Kennedys could not keep the people out of the streets. Enter the FBI (who had their own agents in the Klan), who let the KKK know where the Freedom Riders were going, where they were planning to stop, in other words, setting the whole thing up, and then looked sideways while racist goons attacked the buses and beat the Freedom Riders bloody. The FBI, of course, is part of the Justice Department, then headed by Attorney General Robert Kennedy. The ruling class demonstrated the co-ordinated use of its "good guys" and "bad guys." (In this case the "bad guy" J. Edgar Hoover

was "good guy" JFK's first appointment.) At this point the Kennedys could, and did, step in with their ringing rhetoric as the situation became more intense and explosive and take some actions that could restrain the momentum of the civil rights actions and put the White House and approved "civil rights leaders" at the head of the march. Their most dramatic action occurred when Kennedy sent in Federal troops to force James Meredith's enrollment at the all-white University of Mississippi.

The Kennedys' concern in controlling these confrontations in the South was more than domestic. The struggle in the South coincided with U.S. efforts to make inroads in the neo-colonial control of the former European colonies, and was a particular problem for the U.S. image in Africa. Schlesinger reports that, "around the world the use of troops (in Mississippi) dramatized as nothing else could have done the commitment of the administration to the cause of racial justice." He records the statement sent by a U.S. ambassador to Robert Kennedy: "This was a battle which had to be won... What might have been a severe setback to our prestige in Asia and Africa was turned into a gain."

Historian Schlesinger is remarkable in his selective candor. He frequently does not shy away from some of the most damning indictments of the Kennedy role. What he does instead is to give them the "correct interpretation." So,

for example, he explains Kennedy's appointments to the federal judiciary in the South. A notable example was Harold Cox, a buddy of Mississippi's Senator Eastland. As soon as he mounted the bench Cox began to throw out civil rights suits. At one point he roared at the Black people in his courtroom: "a bunch of niggers... acting like a bunch of chimpanzees." Other Kennedy appointees were not much more subtle in their racism. One called the 1954 Supreme Court school desegregation decision "one of the truly regrettable decisions of all time." But after all, argued Schlesinger, Kennedy couldn't just ignore the influence of the Southern Senators in his appointments. "Indeed, the final Kennedy record of Southern judicial appointments was... comparable to that of the Eisenhower administration." Indeed!

Yet Kennedy was no Eisenhower, and had he been, the bourgeoisie would have been in a lot more trouble. He could speak with some credibility among the masses. He could inspire hope that justice could be achieved in capitalist America. Yet for all the efforts of the Kennedys and people like King, the struggle continued to escalate and constantly burst beyond their control. Each time they scrambled to respond with a new promise, a new action, a new maneuver. After George Wallace made his stand blocking the door to Black students at the University of Alabama, and then backed down in the face of the

steamroller pressure of the movement and the government's fear that an explosion might erupt, President Kennedy went on television to try to define the terms of the struggle and propose his solution.

"We are confronted primarily with a moral issue. It is as old as the Scriptures and is as clear as the American Constitution.... If an American, because his skin is dark, cannot eat lunch in a restaurant open to the public; if he cannot send his children to the best public school available; if he cannot vote for the public officials who represent him; if, in short, he cannot enjoy the full and free life which all of us want, then who among us would be content to have the color of his skin changed and stand in his place? Who among us would then be content with the counsels of patience and delay.... We face, therefore, a moral crisis as a country and a people. It cannot be met by repressive police action. It cannot be left to increased demonstrations in the streets. It cannot be quieted by token moves or talk. It is a time to act in Congress, in your state and local legislative body, and above all, in all of our daily lives...."

Never mind that he himself had been a principal advocate of patience and delay since his inauguration. Never mind that Bible Belt segregationists—and Bible thumpers in the North as well—had

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Why We Remember John Kennedy

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quoted the scriptures vehemently and extensively in support of racism and national oppression. Never mind that the American Constitution from the beginning had counted Blacks as 3/5 of a person and for almost two centuries had been just as much a prop of Jim Crow and exploitation as the Bible. Never mind that the basis of national oppression is capitalism itself. . . . And most of all, never mind those demonstrations! It can't be left to the people in the streets! And police repression won't work (well enough). Only legislation in Congress can solve the problem and save the nation!

As even Schlesinger admits, "the Blacks were in the streets, moreover, and the President felt he would lose control over an increasingly dangerous situation unless he exerted leadership." Robert Kennedy was as candid: It was necessary to get

"...not only the passage of legislation, but what in my judgement was even more important, to obtain the confidence of the Negro population in their government. . . . I thought there was a great danger in losing that unless we took a very significant step. . . . There's obviously a revolution within a revolution in Negro leadership. We could see the direction of Martin Luther King going away from him to some of these younger people, who had no belief or confidence in the system of government. . . and thought. . . that the way to deal with the problem is to start arming the young Negroes and sending them into the streets, which I didn't think was a very satisfactory solution. . . ." (Schlesinger)

As Malcolm X said, "the Negroes were out there in the streets. They were talking about how they were going to march on Washington. Right at that time Birmingham had exploded, and the Negroes in Birmingham — remember, they also exploded. They began to stab the crackers in the back and bust them up 'side their head — yes, they did. That's when Kennedy sent in the troops, down in Birmingham. After that, Kennedy got on the television and said 'this is a moral issue.' That's when he said he was going to put out a civil-rights bill. And when he mentioned civil-rights bill and the Southern crackers started talking about how they were going to boycott or filibuster it, then the Negroes started talking — about what? That they were going to march on Washington, march on the Senate, march on the White House, march on the Congress and tie it up, bring it to a halt, not let the government proceed. . . . It was the grassroots out there in the street. It scared the white man to death, scared the white power structure to death." (Malcolm X, *Malcolm X Speaks*)

And Martin Luther King said, the Blacks were already in the streets; better that they march under nonviolent leadership. Kennedy said call the march off, that's not what we want, that's not what we need. But King said that if they called the march off the people might turn to new and desperate leaders. (Schlesinger)

Malcolm called it the "Farce on Washington." Schlesinger admits that "if the march could not be headed off, the Kennedys decided that it would have to be made a success." Malcolm called it for what it was:

"'Call it off,' Kennedy said, 'look, you all are letting this thing go too far.' And Old Tom said, 'Boss, I can't stop it, because I didn't start it.' I'm telling you what they said. They said, 'I'm not even in it, much less at the head of it.' They said, 'These Negroes are doing things on their own. They're running ahead of us.' And that old shrewd fox, he said, 'If you all aren't in it, I'll put you in it. I'll put you at the head of it. I'll endorse it. I'll welcome it. I'll help it. I'll join it.'"

And that's exactly what the Kennedys did. Robert appointed a man at the Justice Department to set up a team to plan and coordinate every aspect of the March on Washington that August in

1963.

The Kennedys wanted to make sure that King stayed at the head of the civil rights movement, and that they were right there surrounding him. "Bobby, Martin and John" droned the maudlin song a few years later. And as usual they wanted to be absolutely sure that revolutionaries who could dispute this leadership, who might lead it away from the dead-end street of bourgeois reformism were iced out. When J. Edgar Hoover warned that there was a communist close to King, the Kennedy brothers took the warning seriously. JFK took King aside in the White House rose garden and told him that he had to get rid of Stanley Levinson, a wealthy, liberal East Coast lawyer who had become a King aide and who was by no stretch of the imagination a real communist, and most unlikely even a member of the Communist Party.

King dumped Levinson, but Hoover was still insistent. He wanted to put a tap on King to make sure that he had no "subversive" contacts. The Kennedys seemed at first reluctant to risk such a move, but eventually agreed it was a good idea and on July 24, 1963, Robert Kennedy authorized the tap. They didn't even need the "liberalized" wiretap legislation that JFK had voted against while in the Senate! The fact that Hoover kept the tap on King for the next five years, recording his bedroom adventures and playing them for his own enjoyment and that of the various government officials to whom he circulated the tapes, was "explained" by Schlesinger as something of an oversight. Bobby didn't realize that the tapping went on beyond the time period he had authorized. Oh, okay. . . .

"New Frontiers" — From Bay of Pigs to Vietnam

The Kennedys were establishing a new style, if not new strategy, for American political leaders. Recognizing the impossibility of ignoring the mounting pressures of the mass movements of the time, they rejected as futile solely relying on the approach of open force and intimidation to quell the movement of the people although they demonstrated time and again the readiness to use force and violence. They moved to declare their sympathy and support for such movements, to put themselves at the head of them in order to determine their pace and direction.

The international situation presented the U.S. imperialists and their bright young spokesmen with new opportunities and grave threats in the early years of the 1960s. Here as well as domestically the Kennedys employed the same pattern, although because of the sharpness of the contradictions it stands out more clearly as a one-two punch: the words of liberation to veil the weapons of war and repression.

In the immediate post-war period conditions seemed extremely favorable for the American Empire. Although they had suffered some reverses in Eastern Europe, the U.S. exercised powerful influence in the war-prostrated countries of Western Europe. And the U.S. imperialists moved quickly to grab for themselves the dominant role in the colonies and former colonies of the European powers. In the wake of the war, the liberation movements in these underdeveloped countries signaled an end to the days of free-wheeling European colonialism and promised new possibilities for American neo-colonialism, which would attempt to march into the countries of Asia and Africa under an "anti-colonial" banner. "The world-wide struggle against imperialism — the sweep of nationalism is the most potent factor in foreign affairs today," John Kennedy said in 1960. He spoke against continued French efforts to hang onto their colony in Algeria and had opposed John Foster Dulles' arguments for continued U.S. aid to France's failing colonial war in Indochina.

But when that struggle against imperialism, and the sweep of nationalism, threatened to deprive the U.S. of one of its own most cherished colonies, Cuba, Kennedy did not hesitate to use force to keep it. Before his election

Kennedy had described Castro as "part of the legacy of Bolivar," and the Cuban revolution as the result "of the frustration of that earlier revolution which won its war against Spain but left largely untouched the indigenous feudal order." After his election, Kennedy stepped right into the U.S. government plot to invade Cuba with a rag-tag CIA-trained army of Cuban exiles. Robert Kennedy later tried to justify the plan which ended in disaster for the U.S. imperialists at the Bay of Pigs: the advisors on the plan, he said, "had been trusted by his [JFK's] predecessor, so he thought that he could trust them and when they said it was much more apt to succeed than Guatemala [where the CIA had overthrown the popularly elected government of Arbenz in 1954 and installed a pro-U.S. military dictator], when the military looked it over and said it was a good plan, then he went ahead." So much for their appreciation for the "legacy of Bolivar."

But Bobby had an even more amusing rationale for his brother's decision on this attempt to overthrow Castro: "there really wasn't any alternative to accepting it. These men [the exile army of invaders] had to be gotten out of Guatemala and Nicaragua [where they had been trained by the CIA]; and if we brought them back to the United States and turned them loose, it could be a tremendous problem both here in this country and abroad." So, according to Bobby, the tail wagged the dog — an aberration of nature that was to become a real hallmark of Kennedy zoology.

But if the Kennedys were at all chastened by their defeat at the Bay of Pigs, it did not stop their various hare-brained and murderous schemes to dispatch Castro. Robert Sherrill describes JFK closeting "himself time and again with political cronies to discuss whether, and how, to kill Castro—poisoned candy? Juju? Sabre?" Schlesinger goes to elaborate lengths to deny that the Kennedys knew anything about the CIA's numerous attempts to assassinate Castro after the invasion debacle. But in fact, putting an end to this challenge to U.S. hegemony in the Americas became an obsession. The Kennedy brothers called in General Edward Lansdale, at one point CIA station chief in Vietnam and the operative who had worked with Ramon Magsaysay in the Philippines to develop counter-insurgency plans against the communist-led liberation forces in the 1950s. Said Robert Kennedy:

"My idea is to stir things up on the island with espionage, sabotage, general disorder, run and operated by Cubans themselves with every group but Batistaes and Communists. Do not know if we will be successful in overthrowing Castro but we have nothing to lose in my estimate."

The plan, dubbed Operation Mongoose, was finally aborted with the escalation of events around the Cuban missile crisis in October of 1962.

The U.S. imperialists were faced with. . . threats internationally, which they linked together. . . . Since the seizure of state power by Khrushchev and his fellow revisionists after the death of Stalin, the Soviet Union had been launched on a course of capitalist restoration and imperialist expansion. Despite the fact that the New Czars in the Kremlin were in no position at that point to challenge the U.S. to a head-on confrontation — their policy in that period was accurately characterized by the Chinese as principally one of collusion, although they pointed out that this was also a form of contention — they were definitely pushing out and having some success as in Cuba, where the revolution that had driven out the U.S. degenerated and became a pawn of the USSR.

The second (and, at the time, principal) threat came from the national liberation struggles in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, which posed a danger to the U.S. imperialists' determination to hang on to their own neo-colonies and firmly plant the American flag in the postholes dug by the European colonial powers. The Soviets. . . were equally as anxious to

make inroads into these countries. . . . Both were trying to get their meat hooks into the masses in these regions. At the same time, any efforts of these countries to win real economic and political independence were inimical to both imperialist powers.

Kennedy may have been a new breed of Cold Warrior, but he was a Cold Warrior nonetheless. In his election campaign and afterwards he emphasized the importance of negotiations ("we will never fear to negotiate") and spoke in "enlightened" terms of "meeting at the summit rather than at the brink." Since the U.S. had decisive military superiority over the USSR at that time, there was a reason for such "summit conferences" — the Soviets could be bullied. In Laos in 1962, Khrushchev backed down in the face of U.S. threats to intervene militarily and pressured the Pathet Lao, who controlled most of the country, to accept a pro-U.S. "neutralist" government. In Cuba, Khrushchev withdrew Soviet missiles, much to Castro's apparent chagrin. But of course, even winning these confrontations made the U.S. realize it faced a growing rival — and made it all the more bloodthirsty. Kennedy launched a massive arms build-up almost as soon as he took office.

Even Kennedy's much-heralded inauguration speech, which has been most promoted for its lofty calls to "ask not what your country can do for you, but what you can do for your country," was as fine a piece of Cold Warmongering as had ever been issued. . . . It was addressed almost exclusively to foreign affairs. This was the "hour of maximum danger," he declared. "Let every nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe, in order to assure the survival and the success of liberty" (read: U.S. imperialism). (Schlesinger)

His main divergence from Eisenhower and John Foster Dulles was that he opposed complete reliance on nuclear weapons. Kennedy and his advisors argued for the necessity of upgraded and expanded U.S. conventional forces that could be used against the Soviets in Europe or in local wars anywhere in the world. In a speech nine months after his inauguration Kennedy had declared that "the United States is neither omnipotent nor omniscient — that we are only six percent of the world's population — that we cannot right every wrong or reverse each adversity — and that therefore there cannot be an American solution to every world problem." But of course, in the imperialist view JFK's rhetoric was completely compatible with the demand made during the campaign that "We must regain the ability to intervene effectively and swiftly in any limited war anywhere in the world."

The headlines were given over to the promises. "Africa for the Africans," declared Kennedy's Undersecretary of State Soapy Williams. "Who else should it be for?" the President asked with a straight face. At the UN Kennedy raised hopes when he had Ambassador Adlai Stevenson vote in favor of a resolution introduced by African and Asian states to investigate Portugal's war to beat back the liberation forces in Angola. Why not do a little exposure of those awful European imperialists?

Perhaps Kennedy's most famous "innovation" in the area of promoting the U.S. good guy image abroad was the Peace Corps. Thousands of idealistic young college students, along with hundreds of CIA agents, were sent abroad to prepare the infrastructure of these underdeveloped countries for the greater penetration of U.S. capital. . . .

In Latin America the Alliance for Progress was given top PR billing. It promised to effect an economic and social revolution in the countries of the southern hemisphere. "If the Alliance for Progress goes into operation fully," said Robert Kennedy in 1963, "if reforms, social, economic and political are put into effect, then Communism and Castroism will collapse in Latin America." According to the Kennedy scheme of things, the way to blunt the

anti-yankee imperialist sentiment among the masses was to promote grandiose promises of reform and economic aid, and to bring about conditions favorable to an even more massive U.S. economic penetration.

Chile was chosen as a pilot country in which to test the Alliance. Chilean revolutionary leader Jorge Palacios analyzed its objective:

"Two fundamental objectives were pursued through this policy: on the one hand, to contribute to the development of dependent capitalism, putting the most profitable sector of manufacturing industry under the control of U.S. investors; on the other hand, on the basis of this capitalist development subordinated to monopoly capital, to enlarge the market for machinery, technology, raw materials, spare parts, etc. for certain sectors of U.S. industry. On the political level it was a question of using the reforms necessary for this capitalist development (some of which went against the interests of the landed oligarchy and of certain national monopolies) to develop a populist movement through intensive demagogic publicity. This movement would act as a brake on any revolutionary opposition and on the exacerbation of nationalist anti-imperialist tendencies." (Jorge Palacios, *Chile: An Attempt At Historic Compromise, The Real Story of the Allende Years*)

Where they could not find suitable parties to act as instruments of their "reforms" the Kennedys created them with the aid of the CIA. In Chile, the Christian Democratic Party of Eduardo Frei was built with CIA funds. "This despite the fact that many of its supporters come from the ranks of the people. Deceived by multi-million dollar propaganda, they must have been the most surprised to learn the origin of the economic resources which their leaders spent to make the CDP the largest party in Chile both in influence and in electoral strength." (Palacios)

But the Alliance did not bring the reform that it promised, nor did it forestall the growth of radicalism in Latin America. It did bring increased profits (for imperialism) and its promise enhanced the Kennedys' personal popularity in the region, at least for a while among some sections of the petty-bourgeoisie.

"Those who make peaceful revolution impossible make violent revolution inevitable," said Robert Kennedy in Brazil. Unfortunately for the Kennedys and all their friends in the ruling class, it is imperialism itself which makes peaceful revolution impossible. All their efforts to "distract attention from essentials by means of absolutely ridiculous schemes for 'reform'" could not change the fact that it was imperialism that needed and propped up the reactionary regimes in Latin America that strangled the masses of people to the point of rebellion.

They also had a plan for dealing with the uprisings and rebellions of the masses, however. They called it "counter-insurgency." In reality it was counter-revolutionary violence. In the words of another of Schlesinger's nauseous apologetics: "Kennedy in 1961 saw counter guerrilla action as the way to plug the great gaping hole in the fabric of peace." Special forces for guerrilla warfare were added to Kennedy's plan for beefed-up conventional forces for local wars. In March he told Congress that "guerrilla warfare had been since 1945 the most active and constant threat to Free World security."

John Kennedy took two immediate measures to deal with this threat to U.S. imperialism. The first was the formation of a Counterintelligence (CI) Group, in which his brother Robert took a leading role. Its task was to oversee the "prevention" of wars of liberation in key countries and regions. "It wasn't just a case of getting out and shooting guerrillas by any manner or means," said General Maxwell Taylor, another member of the group. "For the first time I, at least, sensed the tremendous political and social aspects to this

problem." As part of their social task of "prevention," the CI Group established schools in Washington and Panama to train police from throughout Latin America in "riot control." Another, less publicized course at these schools was in interrogation by torture.

The second measure was the enlargement of the U.S. Special Forces at Fort Bragg. John Kennedy took particular interest in this counterinsurgency unit, traveling to the base to give them pep talks and dressing them in their infamous green berets. "By June 1963 the Special Forces numbered nearly 12,000 men, counterinsurgency training had been given to 114,000 American officers and nearly 7,000 from foreign countries." (Schlesinger) The mission of this highly trained batch of social reformers was "to win the hearts and minds" of the masses of people who had been so mistaken as to rise up in armed struggle against their oppressors. The Green Berets themselves were not terribly taken with the illusions of their "noble" role. Their adaptation of this slogan was much more appropriate for this gang of murderers unleashed by U.S. imperialism: "When you've got 'em by the balls their hearts and minds will follow."

The crucial test of the Kennedys' counterinsurgency theories was Vietnam. They failed miserably.

When John F. Kennedy took office in January 1961 there were 685 "military advisors" in Vietnam. When he left office and this world there were almost 17,000 American troops there. Kennedy put the war in Vietnam squarely in the context of the Cold War, the isolation of China, the blocking of Soviet influence and overall U.S. strategic interests. Schlesinger records that Kennedy was ambivalent and hesitant about a major commitment of U.S. troops to a land war in Asia. And well

he might have been! He had been impressed with the toughness and discipline of the French troops upon his visit to Indochina in 1951. He had been even more impressed by the shellacking they took at the hands of the Vietnamese. General Douglas MacArthur, who certainly had plenty of first hand experience to draw from, advised him against it. Any hesitation on his part was whether the war would be worth the price. But Kennedy was determined not to "lose Indochina to the communists" and he thought that he had a plan. If he had any serious vacillations they weren't about the necessity of the U.S. to hang onto Vietnam and they were not expressed in his public statements.

"We are not going to withdraw from [bringing about a stable government there, carrying on a struggle to maintain its national independence]. In my opinion, for us to withdraw from that effort would mean a collapse not only of South Vietnam, but Southeast Asia.... We can think of Vietnam as a piece of strategic real estate. It's on the corner of mainland Asia, across the East-West trade routes, and in a position that would make it an excellent base for further Communist aggression against the rest of free Asia." (JFK speech, July 17, 1963)

And on September 9 he added:

"I believe [the domino theory]. I think that the struggle is close enough. China is so large, looms up high just beyond the frontiers, that if South Vietnam went, it would not only give them an improved geographic position for a guerrilla assault on Malaya, but would also give the impression that the wave of the future in Southeast Asia was China and the Communists."

Robert Kennedy had added his hurrahs in February 1962:

"We are going to win in Vietnam. We will remain there until we do win.... I think the American people understand and fully support this struggle.... I think the United States will do what is necessary to help a country that is trying to repel aggression with its own blood, tears and sweat."

The heart of their "special war" in south Vietnam was the "Strategic Hamlet Program," the forerunner of Lyndon Johnson's "pacification program." Step one was to "clear and hold" strategic villages, which were cordoned off and turned into virtual concentration camps, supposedly to keep the NLF out. Meanwhile the tonnage of arms and equipment shipped to the Diem regime increased monthly. But it wasn't working. Kennedy sent delegation after delegation of his top level advisors over to see what the problem was. A consensus began to develop that the problem was Diem, their puppet dictator who was hated by nearly all Vietnamese. But opinion was split in the administration over what to do about him. Most of the military brass seemed to argue that "he is our boy and we have to support him to the hilt." Others, including Henry Cabot Lodge, U.S. Ambassador in Saigon, argued that he had to be dumped. Lodge worked closely with a band of South Vietnamese generals to carry out the deed. Finally on November 1, 1963, Diem and his brother were murdered. To the dismay of the U.S. imperialists it turned out that Diem wasn't the problem after all. Kennedy's strategic hamlet program and the whole counterinsurgency plan collapsed after the death of Diem. The next step was full-scale U.S. military intervention....



JFK inspects airborne troops at Fort Bragg, 1961.

FOR A HARVEST OF DRAGONS

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

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

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

By Bob Avakian

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

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

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

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

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