



# REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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The official story line was even shabbier than usual. The December 4 air-strike by 28 U.S. war jets over Syrian positions in Lebanon, U.S. officialdom insists, was a "defensive measure." And for Secretary of State George Shultz, "that is all the justification it needs." At the same time, Shultz and others held that the attack was not a "hostile" act. Said Shultz, "we're not contending with anybody. We're trying to be helpful. We're there [in Lebanon] in a peacekeeping role."

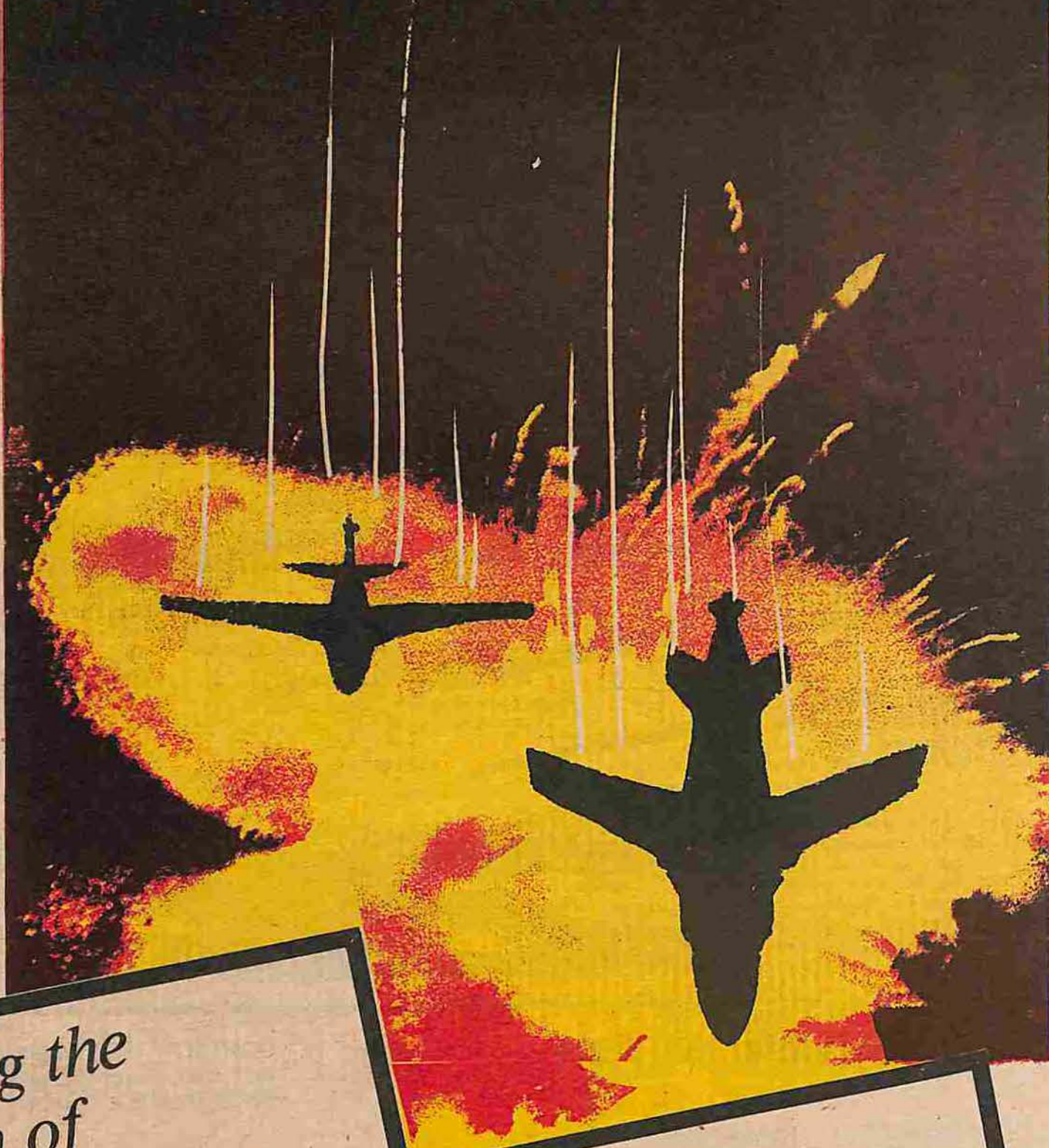
In fact, the U.S. bombing raid was the caper in a series of military and political provocations. All last week, U.S. and Israeli officials met in Washington, mapping out a program of "strategic cooperation" which, while grounded in a more general mutual interest, was specifically designed to coordinate military and political actions in order to change "the balance of forces on the ground" in Lebanon. Less than 24 hours after Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir returned to Israel from Washington, a squadron of Israeli fighter-bombers swept over the Shuf mountain region east of Beirut, striking at Syrian positions (and by some reports, Druse civilian areas). It was the fourth Israeli air-strike in Lebanon in a month and the first in which Syrian positions were openly declared to be the target.

Shortly after the Israeli attack, U.S. reconnaissance planes flew over the same territory. U.S. officials, who have disclaimed any foreknowledge of the Israeli air-strike, have made much of the fact that the reconnaissance planes were unarmed and were fired upon. The U.S., after having spent the past week promising direct military coordination with Israel, denied any such relation in respect to Saturday's actions, even though the U.S. reconnaissance flight followed the Israeli air raid by less than one hour! No, U.S. officials insisted that Saturday's reconnaissance flights were "routine."

It is true that U.S. reconnaissance flights over Syrian-held territory in Lebanon have increased in frequency these past few weeks: this itself is a measure of the growing provocativeness of the U.S. profile in the area. No one has assumed that the F-14 jets carrying out these missions, based as they are on one of the largest war fleets assembled since WW2, are on the lookout for picnic sites. But the circumstances of the December 3 reconnaissance flight mark it as the most deliberately provocative yet. It is hardly surprising that the U.S. planes were met by heavier than usual anti-aircraft fire;

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## Provocations And Pitfalls in Lebanon



Announcing the  
publication of

# America in Decline

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

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## Vol. 1

"this analysis will have the  
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Bob Avakian  
speaking about America in  
Decline in "Coming From  
Behind to Make Revolution."

See centerfold



# AMBER WAVES OF...

Considering the recent high-level concern focused on the subject of "the day after" — a concern which has, after all, been intended precisely to slap people upside the face with a hefty dose of imperialist reality — it is enlightening to hear the very same ruling handwringers let out some of their more "cheerful" assessments of nuclear aftermath. Last week the *Chicago Tribune* revealed that in 1982 a "confidential" White House briefing paper was prepared for a Reagan administration cabinet meeting by the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) on the probable impact a nuclear attack would have on U.S. food production. As the *Tribune* put it, "Federal emergency planners say they don't think a massive nuclear attack would be all that harmful to American agriculture." It went on to characterize the report as a "generally positive picture of post-nuclear-attack agriculture in America." Finally, some good news for the American farmer!

According to the study itself: "The land and workforce would be available under even the greatest calamity — nuclear attack. Given the essential inputs which studies indicate would be potentially available to support agriculture needs and current civil-defense capabilities, sufficient production seems assured to meet survivor needs." And, as the *Tribune* noted, "FEMA did not say so, but it left the impression that post-attack agriculture might even continue to be dogged by today's problem of surplus production!" While at first this might seem a questionable assertion, in the minds of these federal planners it is actually quite logical since the study speculates that (1) most major crops would be reduced by about 50% and, correspondingly, (2) the population of the United States would also be "reduced" by about 50% in the hypothetical nuclear attack it postulated. Take heart America — no one will be underfed! And this includes meat on the table for those who remain since, as this report notes, livestock and poultry would survive blast and fallout far better than humans.

The study also concludes that, contrary to what one might presume, there would be no "severe" farm labor shortages since rural people would survive an attack better than their city counterparts. At any rate, there would be plenty of "urban migrants" to help harvest fruits and vegetables. There would be a few minor problems like, for instance, seeing that everyone left got fed in the initial chaos. But the FEMA report assures that pressures to feed the remaining populace would diminish rapidly since "the numbers of survivors during the first 60 days following an attack drops over time. Thus, those who are doomed to die will be consumers for only part of that time."

Unfortunately, the report neglected to address such things as just how crops



would be sown in fields dusted with nuclear ash, how harvesting would proceed under intense radiation, and how — even if harvests could be completed — the irradiated crops would affect those who ate them, etc. Nor did it assess what the *Tribune* blithely referred to as "another regular farming imponderable — the weather" — that is, the nuclear winter which many scientists way might well result from a decidedly less than massive nuclear exchange, with atmospheric debris screening out the sun's rays and chilling much of the planet (the report apparently was not intended to deal with the production of frozen foods). But it did note that "The greatest threats to crop production come from radiation, which, depending on the time of year could delay planting or affect crop yields." As the *Tribune* explained: "One of the key factors in having enough to eat after a massive enemy attack, according to FEMA, would be its timing. Early in the year it would affect planting; a June attack would hurt crop yields more than would an August strike." Farmers, it seems, would be well-advised to pray for nukes as well as rain in August!

It must be admitted though that the report did not paint an entirely rosy picture. For one thing, it pointed out that after nuclear war there would undoubtedly be a severe shortage of pesticides! For another, "...the availability of containers could be a serious problem for surviving food processors... plans and capabilities to use expedient containers should be developed." And so it went...

One is sorely tempted to dismiss this FEMA report as having been put out by the *Harvard Lampoon* (or, at best, a cynical appeal to certain sections of farmers and others). But FEMA's macabre — if unconvincing — vision of "amber waves of grain" tilting across a battered but thriving American heartland after widespread nuclear devastation is nothing less than deadly serious. And if it seems simultaneously bizarre and disarmingly optimistic, it should be remembered that such briefing papers (especially when they are conveniently leaked) are often designed precisely to shape official utterances for public consumption — which of course includes both Pollyannaish visions and vigorous face-slapping. Meanwhile, more sober assessments of such things as the "potential helpfulness" of urban migrants, or for that matter rural folks, eagerly chipping in to keep America going strong in the wake of nuclear war, are bandied about more privately. Yet another object lesson that behind their peace pleas and cries for "nuclear stabilization," our rulers are stonily preparing for nuclear conflict and developing, to the best of their ability, calculated "plans and capabilities" for how to fight it, absorb it and win it.

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# OVERRULE THIS, MOTHERFUCKER



## The Tomorrow Show



By Bob Avakian

**Tom Snyder:** Mr. Bob Avakian is the Chairman of the Revolutionary Communist Party in the United States and he is here tonight to tell us why he believes that the United States government ought to be overthrown violently. Additionally, Avakian predicts that revolution will take place in this country in the 1980s. Anyway, we are going to be right back with Bob Avakian. It's a depressing thought — the man wants to overthrow the country by force.

(Station Break)

**Tom Snyder:** Now here's Mr. Bob Avakian who is with the Revolutionary Communist Party and whose premise is that workers are being so exploited in this country and held down by the moneyed interests that it is time for revolution. Bob, you want to blow it up, huh? Tear it down?

**Bob Avakian:** Well, it's not a question of blowing it up. It's a question of politically educating the people as to what their real interests are, to all the anger and frustration and hatred that people have that explodes against themselves and against each other all the time, and to show them that the real cause of the anger, frustration, and hatred is the capitalist system. They have to rise up and overthrow it if they want to be rid of it. It's as simple as that. It's not a question of terrorism. We are not advocating terrorism by a handful of individuals; we are advocating a mass, armed uprising. That's the *only* way that what goes on every day in a society — a society that drives millions of people literally into despair, drives millions of people into alcoholism or into having to pop tranquilizers to try to make it through the day, where people are suffering out here every day — the only solution to that is to rise up and overthrow this. And beyond the daily hell that people go through out here, I know right now there are probably a lot of second-shift workers coming in, dragging themselves to sit down in a chair...

**Tom Snyder:** Absolutely, tired people who have been working all day for...

**Bob Avakian:** It's not a question of "tired." It's a question of everything that this society stands for, it's filthy. And we're not even talking about the whole international relations and the plunder and the misery that people are subjected to all over the world because of the rulers of this country or what they have in store within the next decade and what they *will* unleash unless revolution prevents it, which is World War 3. These are very serious questions.

**Tom Snyder:** Okay, now let me just go back for a second here because I don't understand the difference between a mass uprising and violence.

**Bob Avakian:** Well, a mass uprising is a violent revolution, and it is necessary because the rulers of this country have proven this: from Attica, to the murder of Fred Hampton, to what they did in Chile with Allende, to Vietnam, to the whole history of the Wobblies and everything else in this country, to the persecution they're bringing down on our party where they want to put me in jail for three or four lifetimes on trumped-up charges (and once they get me there they'd like to put me in a situation where they could get rid of me, literally kill me, and then say that some outraged prisoner did it or I hanged myself, or like George Jackson, I tried to escape). These are the kinds of things the rulers of this country will do, including what I mentioned earlier, that they are calculating right now, and writing right now about, how many lives are "acceptable" to be snuffed out in a nuclear war to see whether they, or their equally imperialist and equally capitalist counterparts in Russia, can control most of the world and plunder and reorganize it once more to keep their dying

system going.

**Tom Snyder:** How do we know that it is capitalism? How do we know that it's not just basic human frailty, an unwillingness to accept getting along with other countries and accept changes within the capitalistic system or the communistic system?

**Bob Avakian:** Well, let's look at the reality of what's going on in this country.

**Tom Snyder:** Okay.

**Bob Avakian:** What has gone on since World War 2? I mean, the fact that let's say peasants in Brazil...

**Tom Snyder:** Excuse me?

**Bob Avakian:** Or let's say people in Iran suffered the way they did for decades under the Shah of Iran until they finally rose up and drove him out of the country. They still have to continue that revolution all the way through because Khomeini is attempting to stop it halfway and strangle it, but nevertheless it was a tremendous blow and a tremendous step for the Iranian people when they rose up and knocked the Shah out of the way. Now, who put the Shah in power? It was the ruling class, the capitalists in this country, through their CIA and through the supplies they gave to the military in Iran, who put him in power and kept him in power to control the oil.

**Tom Snyder:** I've got to tell you, the Ayatollah certainly fixed that country. I hear it's a million laughs over there. There is no music on the radio, you can't laugh in public, women have to wear the chador or whatever.

**Bob Avakian:** You see, what gets me is all you people in the media. You didn't say a peep when the Shah was there, you know you didn't. You were not exposing the Shah when the Shah was there with the CIA behind him butchering people, when people were being tortured in the torture chambers called prisons in Iran, when tens of thousands were being shot down in the streets, rising up, shedding their blood to get rid of this oppression. Then the Ayatollah comes in. And, as I have said, we don't back the Ayatollah. The genuine revolutionaries in Iran are again shedding their blood to rise up and continue that revolution. But the first step had to be to get rid of the Shah because without getting rid of his despotism, without getting rid of his control, without getting rid of the stranglehold the rulers of this country had on Iran, the Iranian people could never liberate themselves. They have taken one great step. They need to go further. The Ayatollah is in their way, they need to rise up and move beyond and move over him. We support that ongoing struggle. What about you? What about the rulers of this country? No, they don't! They are moving in to re-establish their stranglehold, economically, politically, culturally. What did they do in Iran? They introduced pornography and prostitution — their so-called modernization was nothing but the modernization we have here, people suffering while all the benefits go to the handful of the upper classes, the capitalists. Now, let's look at Mexico where forty percent...

**Tom Snyder:** No, no, let's look at the United States since this is the...

**Bob Avakian:** All right, but you cannot look at the United States without looking at Mexico or the Middle East or southern Africa because the United States is an imperialist country with its tentacles all over the world.

**Tom Snyder:** And let's look at the Soviet Union.

**Bob Avakian:** I do.

**Tom Snyder:** They are an expansionist country.

**Bob Avakian:** I agree with that, and that is true because the Soviet Union in the mid-'50s, since the time of Khrushchev, has re-established capitalism and openly declared that profit, just as here, is the guiding and commanding principle in the whole society, and on that basis they have brought disaster to the Soviet economy. On that basis they also have had to reach out and rip-off people all over the world. That's why we are talking about world war. Each of them has reached the point where there is so much turmoil and crisis within their own

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This article is the sixth in a series of material compiled from a 1979 speaking tour by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the RCP, USA. This was the last public speaking tour Bob Avakian has been able to make due to international political persecution, which continues to this day. The interview above aired on network television on October 30, 1979.—ed.



# The Tomorrow Show

Continued from page 3

blocs, where their need to expand, both of them, is driving them head-on toward each other (and that's everything from the pope's visit, to all the fuss that was made about Soviet troops in Cuba, which had been there all the time)—all this is their attempt to prepare people mentally while they are preparing materially and militarily for World War 3...

We're not going to shed our blood, and we say the masses of people will not shed their blood and have no interests in shedding their blood, to keep this system going so the next generation will have to confront World War 4. If we're going to have to fight and die and even kill, we're going to fight and die and kill for our own interests, to get rid of all this and move humanity beyond it. Simple as that.

**Tom Snyder:** Now, when the revolution comes, who gets it?

**Bob Avakian:** You mean, who becomes the recipient of the people's uprising?

**Tom Snyder:** Who gets shot?

**Bob Avakian:** First of all, when we're talking about a revolution, we're talking about something very clear. As I said, the ruling class in this country will not allow a peaceful change. They proved that in Chile where they murdered thirty thousand people when the Allende government tried to bring in some reforms under even a phony banner of socialism. And we're talking about genuine communist revolution.

We have to defeat the armed forces of the capitalists, that's what we're talking about. Our army representing the working class has to go up against and defeat their army representing the capitalist exploiters. That's what's involved here. Now, who is in their army? We have many veterans in our party, especially from the Vietnam War, who learned from that experience of having to do the filthy dirty work of those imperialists in Vietnam and Cambodia. They will never fight and die for those imperialists again; they will fight and die only to overthrow them. And the same thing is going to happen when they call on the young people as they're already doing — suckering them in, saying you've got two choices, unemployment or the army, or maybe jail or the army; suckering them in, telling them they can get a career. You may have been in the army, I wasn't. But many members of our party were and I have not found a single one of them who wouldn't have shot their recruiter — if they got a chance to go back and do it — for all the lies that were told to them.

One of our party members, his brother is being told right now that he's going to get slammed down on because he refuses to recite the following chant while marching in his unit: "One, two, three, four, send our battalion, we're ready for war." This is what these kids are being prepared for. But who are they? They're the kids from the working class, they're the kids from the oppressed Black people and other minorities, they're the kids who have nothing to protect and preserve under this system. And they're the ones we're going to fight against, yes, but we're also going to be working from the inside to win them over and bring a large part of that army over to our side. That's how we're going to defeat the capitalists.

**Tom Snyder:** But I mean, do we put the President and the Congress in jail and do we lock up the Supreme Court?

**Bob Avakian:** Well, we have to smash and dismantle the oppressive apparatus the capitalists have. Its army, its police force, its bureaucracy — all that government serves and protects the capitalists.

**Tom Snyder:** How am I oppressed?

**Bob Avakian:** Well, I mean, I can't speak for you personally.

**Tom Snyder:** Yeah, but how am I oppressed? You are asking a lot of people to rise up and smash what we have.

**Bob Avakian:** Let's face it, you're in a relatively privileged position in society. Let's be honest.

**Tom Snyder:** That's true, very true.

**Bob Avakian:** Now, you're in a position where it is up to you to decide. We're talking about the lives and the struggles and the suffering of millions of people — what they are going through now and what the government and the ruling class has in store for them as the economic crisis deepens (for which they've got no solution other than going to war, trying to resolve this crisis by redividing the world, beating out the Russians, and coming out on top once more). That's the conditions we are concerned about. If you want to choose to side with the revolution, you are free to do so. If you choose to side with and go down with a dying system, that's your choice and the masses of people will evaluate what you have done on that basis.

**Tom Snyder:** But I don't understand how I am oppressed yet.

**Bob Avakian:** You have to speak to your own conditions. I did not come on here prepared to go into the personal life of Tom Snyder. I will say one thing though. If you are a person who has sensitivity, if you are a person who has any sense of justice, you have to be outraged at what is going on in this society every day. You have to be outraged about what happened to this Puerto Rican man, Luis Báez; the police murdered him on the spot, reloaded their guns, and murdered him again. You have to be outraged at what just happened in South Carolina where a young Black man, eighteen years old, was lynched and castrated for going out with a white girl — today, in the year 1979 — and the whole state government of South Carolina all the way to the top is covering it up, declaring it did not happen, and terrorizing people trying to fight back against it. Now, it's up to you to say. Aren't you outraged by things like that?

**Tom Snyder:** Of course I am!

**Bob Avakian:** All right, well then...

**Tom Snyder:** But I don't think the answer is to tear down the whole system.

**Bob Avakian:** But it's the system that is responsible for that! The oppression of Black people is extremely profitable for the capitalists and that's why it has been maintained. It has done nothing for the interests of the working class. It does nothing good for the working class. But for the capitalists to maintain slum housing, to charge higher prices for the even more miserable conditions in the segregated communities where Black people, Puerto Ricans, Indians, Chicanos live — that's profitable. And it's also politically beneficial to them to keep the people divided, and they will do this until they are overthrown.

It's like what happened over there in New Jersey; some guy's head was crushed in on his job and the company — this is just typical — the company said that he died on the way to the hospital so they don't have to pay quite as much insurance benefits when every worker there knows he died right on the job. Or Pinto — Ford comes out with Pinto, as I'm sure you know, and a study is made which says that, look, this gas tank...

**Tom Snyder:** The gas tank is not safe, yes.

**Bob Avakian:** Right, so what did they do? They made a calculated, cold-hearted study which said — because this is the law of capitalism, profit above

everything and to hell with the people — "It is cheaper for us to pay a few lawsuits than to correct the gas tank." That is capitalism, and that is why we have to get rid of it.

**Tom Snyder:** Now wait a minute, wait. Speaking of capitalism, I've got to do this.

(Station Break)

**Bob Avakian:** Well, let me put it to you this way. Today, at the present time, there are millions and millions of people who have a deep gut-hatred of this whole system and everything it does — the way they have to live, the way they see it treating other people, the whole hypocrisy of the rulers of this country, their lying "concern" about human rights (while they support everything from South Africa to every petty tin-horn dictator they can prop up, like the Shah of Iran or Somoza in Nicaragua). And there are millions more people whose lives are a daily grind in hell, who every day see their families exploded apart and the American Dream explode in their faces, then live out their remaining years drinking their lives away, what's left of them, believing the lies of the American Dream and therefore blaming themselves because they couldn't be like *The Brady Bunch* and these other ridiculous myths. This is what capitalism and its ideology, its philosophy, does. It says that you've got to be the best, you've got to be Number One, you've got to be scratching and clawing. And even when people try to do that, they can't live up to what they're supposed to and the lies explode.

**Tom Snyder:** But what do you put in place of it, Bob?

**Bob Avakian:** Okay, what we put in place of it, I think, is created through the course of, we lay the basis for it through the course of the struggle we are building. We need a society where the majority of people can actively be drawn into the political life and...

**Tom Snyder:** Just a minute, they are trying to tell me something. Well the man is not taking off his... his neckwear, now that's it. If he clanks, he clanks. Is it okay with you if you clank? With the bullets on your neck you clank.

**Bob Avakian:** Yeah.

**Tom Snyder:** Okay, fine.

**Bob Avakian:** I know what's involved.

**Tom Snyder:** Okay.

**Bob Avakian:** If it clanks, it clanks. Nobody will blame you, okay?

**Tom Snyder:** Okay.

**Bob Avakian:** Now, where were we?

**Tom Snyder:** We were at putting something in place of capitalism.

**Bob Avakian:** Right.

**Tom Snyder:** And you're here to tell me that a pure communist society is going to alleviate all the ills of humankind?

**Bob Avakian:** You see, the thing is, it is not the "ills of humankind." Capitalism is a dog-eat-dog system, it breeds a dog-eat-dog philosophy to reinforce it. We are talking about bringing forward people who today are locked out of politics, who are worked to death and then told their role in politics is to vote for some clown and some slavemaster, to choose between one or the other every four years. We are talking about them becoming really politically involved, politically aware, becoming conscious, taking up the scientific approach to society, which is what Marxism is and what the communist philosophy is, and really transforming society. But to do that first we have to break the stranglehold the capitalists have over society which subordinates everything to the profits of a handful of competing cutthroats, as well as their whole political system which keeps the people in a position where all they can do is slave for capitalists or else they don't live. Now, when people are in that position, how can they really take control of society, of politics, culture, philosophy, science, economics, of every other sphere of society? We are talking about bringing them forward and developing the mass forms through which they can do that.

Let's take a simple example. People work in auto plants, steel plants, and yet each of them is compartmentalized, separated from each other, even within the same factory. People are compartmentalized, stuck on the assembly line on their own job, and they're told, "It's not your province to think about what we're producing, by what methods we should be producing, by what management means we should produce it, how we can break down the divisions between intellectual and manual workers so that people learn to use both their heads and their hands. All those things," they say, "that's not your business. You just work, you get your paycheck and try to survive. And when it's time for war, then we'll call your kids, your daughters and sons, and they'll go off, fight and die, and you try to survive under it." We are talking about breaking all that down.

Everybody knows that workers involved in production have lots of ideas about how production could be improved. But under capitalism the suggestion box is the loneliest, emptiest place in the whole plant. Under capitalism technology that should — and under a socialist system and ultimately a communist system would — benefit people in society, make life easier, make labor less intense, shorten the time that people have to labor manually so that they could take up other things — wait a minute, let me finish, then you can exclaim and whatever else — but under capitalism, you see, you cannot do it because machinery kicks workers out the door. Under capitalism you have millions of people from the South coming north, while thousands of plants in the North are going south. People are coming from the South looking for work up north; people in the North are laid off while the plants go south where the workers can be employed more profitably by paying them lower wages because they have just come off the farms.

**Tom Snyder:** I know you think this is a conspiracy, but I've got to keep your jacket open.

**Bob Avakian:** That's all right, I know where the real conspiracies are coming from. They're not coming from you, they're coming from the ruling class. But the point is, this is the anarchy of capitalism, and it shows its bankruptcy.

**Tom Snyder:** Wait a second, wait a second. I've just got to challenge something.

**Bob Avakian:** All right.

**Tom Snyder:** You say that the suggestion box is the emptiest box in the building.

**Bob Avakian:** Yeah, only a fool would put anything in there and get yourself suggested right out of work.

**Tom Snyder:** And you say that the workers have no input in the technology, and the whole system, therefore, isn't working because the production people have no say about what the ultimate product will be.

**Bob Avakian:** Capitalism is based on the separation of the people who do...

**Tom Snyder:** Except that, when we look around the world we happen to have, for example (and I'm sure you've been out of this country), the best telephone system in the world in this country. Our technology and our workers and our people — not our management, but our workers — have suggested ways of

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## Eyewitness Report

The debate at the Bundestag

*An eyewitness account of the demonstrations in Bonn on November 21 — the day the West German Parliament voted for deployment of the Pershing and cruise missiles — from our correspondent in West Germany.*

If people have nightmares about vampires, what do vampires have nightmares about? The bloodsuckers of W. German imperialism awoke screaming on November 21 to find that all the things they had hoped and counted on not happening at a most critical political moment of war preparations were in fact exploding before their eyes. What was supposed to have been an exemplary exercise in parliamentary democracy under tranquil conditions and low-profile police protection resulted instead in the first use of water cannon in the streets of the capital, Bonn, since the founding of the Federal Republic of Germany in 1949. The antimissile movement, which was supposed to be resigned and disillusioned after the failure of the protest week of Oct. 15-22 to alter government policy and stop the deployment of Pershing and cruise missiles, was back with a vengeance. By mid-morning the entire metropolitan area of Bonn was shut down as demonstrators blocked not only the major traffic artery of the capital but also the streetcar tracks. The plans of the "official" peace movement to have a symbolic sit-down before police lines were utterly ignored as thousands braved water cannon and tear gas to physically push back in the face of massed police. Special forces from the elite border troops paced back and forth before the parliament building itself, submachine guns slung across their shoulders. National guard troops stood by on alert. And worst of all, for the first time in the "Hot Autumn" the revolutionary pole of the international proletariat became a significant component of mass action.

The demonstrators are "trying to terrorize a whole city," cried a representative of the ruling Christian Democrats (their own party headquarters besieged by 600 demonstrators a short distance away). While the conservative *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, after describing the chaos, lamented: "The Social Democratic-oriented people encountered difficulties; on a workday they were not able to neutralize the street fighters in a mass

# The Battle of Bonn

Heading for town



of demonstrators." In fact, the demonstration in Bonn was one of the smaller actions of the "Hot Autumn," involving perhaps no more than 10,000 people throughout the day. But its determined character, and above all the critical moment at which it came, forced the bourgeoisie to deal with it on a scale far larger than they would have desired. And the whole world was watching. Instead of the stately parliamentary debate over how best to protect the Federal Republic of Germany which had been planned, newspaper front pages and TV screens throughout the world instead featured water cannon and massed police beating back the people before the parliament, a graphic exposure of the imperialists' determination to push through their war preparations at any price.

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Not unexpectedly, even the making of the Bonn demonstration was itself a pro-

tracted political battle within the antiwar movement. The necessity of the imperialists to push through the missile stationing on schedule has carried with it the price of collapsing some cherished illusions among some strata of society about the "representativeness" of representative democracy (as practiced within the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie). The objective reality that the imperialists' necessity to move toward war could not be modified by reformist demands, no matter how "reasonable" or rational, has inexorably pushed the antimissile movement toward fractures and splits. One division is in large part characterized by differing summations of the October 15-22 action week.

For one section, led by the Social Democrats (SPD) — formerly the ruling party which called for the missile deployments in the first place — the pro-Soviet revisionists (DKP) and a wing of the Green Party, the action week was an

overwhelming success, primarily because of the numbers of people involved (1.3 million). For the DKP and this section of the Greens the actions are also seen as having put West Germany's relationship to NATO into question for the first time since the alliance was formed.

Another section of the antimissile movement, however, sums up the action week in not such positive terms because it failed to stop the missiles. These people have been looking for a more intensely oppositional strategy, while at the same time their politics remain heavily influenced by bourgeois-democratic illusions, pacifism, and 1960s identification of who the enemy is (primarily U.S. imperialism). Increasingly, they are coming to reject the "minimal consensus" (simply "no to the U.S. missiles") which has characterized the official peace movement and are seeking to strike at the whole spectrum of war preparations.

Continued on page 12



## Missile Debate in the Bundestag

## A Sour Note in the U.S.

## Song of Victory

Amidst all the hideous crowing and screeching by the U.S. about its great victory in deploying its Euromissiles and the glorious unity of its bloc, a sour note has been sounded. On the Sunday following the vote in the West German Bundestag to approve deployment of the Euromissiles, the *New York Times* published a rather startling editorial with a loaded title indeed: "Germany Über Alles." Someone, in West Germany, the *Times* warned, had fallen hard for the Soviets' dishonest promises of peace via "a safe neutrality leading to some kind of reunion with East Germany." That someone, the *Times* concluded, was none other than the Social Democratic Party (the SPD):

"...German nationalism has been known to feast on such dreams (of a re-joined Germany—RW). Now that nationalist sentiment has pushed a major party to an anti-NATO line, Germans are under pressure to judge not only the adequacy of American power but the quality of American leadership. The new struggle is not about how many warheads are deployed in Germany but how many Germans will continue to find pride and safety in alliance with America. It is a struggle for Germany, *über alles*."

Now wait a minute! Does the *Times* know something we don't... the SPD anti-NATO? West Germany about to jump over to the Soviets perhaps? Lead an imperialist bloc of its own? No—in today's international framework these are hardly in the cards. The SPD knows, and the *Times* knows the SPD knows, that the West German bourgeoisie can only pursue its own imperialist interests now through the aegis of the U.S. bloc. In fact, during the debate in the Bundestag, the SPD made this basic position crystal clear.

In the first place, the official SPD resolution did not exactly oppose deployment across the board, calling instead for a delay of some months during which time the U.S. and Soviets would be "pressured" into sitting down some more and talking about it. What's more, the SPD positively bent over backward to uphold NATO and deny any charges of pacifism. "The only effective defense for our country is the prevention of war," it began, and: "The alliance, NATO, and the German Army are absolutely essential to the achievement of this goal." If anyone had missed the point, it added: "The soldiers of the German Army merit respect and gratitude for their service."

Then, after attributing the collapse of the arms talks at Geneva to "the insufficient movement of both superpowers," the party reiterated and elaborated on just what bloc the West Germans ought to call home: "The social and political systems of the USA and USSR are neither of the same type nor of equal value. The communist social system is unacceptable for democrats. The USA and the Federal Republic of Germany are bound to each other by common traditions and values...."

The SPD is known the world over, of course, for having formally requested the missiles back in 1977, in the person of SPD Chancellor Helmut Schmidt. The party's explanation for its sudden new vision of how nasty the missiles really are goes something like this: back in the '70s, the SPD advocated not just the missiles, but negotiations at Geneva and the "two-track" strategy... if the SPD were still in power we are told, why, the negotiations track would have succeeded. There you go, no inconsistency here — only demagoguery and lies.

Altogether, with eager expressions of

faith to NATO and gratitude to the Bundeswehr, the SPD opposition to deployment amounted to something less than social revolution... this is a diluted, extremely qualified, and dishonest gesture of no practical effect (since the missiles were assured of passage in any case).

Well, what exactly is the *Times*' beef here, then? It is clear there is one and not on the part of the *Times* alone: even before the vote in the Bundestag, as the regional congresses of the SPD one by one passed antideployment resolutions and it became clear that some sort of anti-missile position was to be forthcoming from the SPD, the U.S. media voiced "concern." The SPD explained to Western contacts that the antideployment position was just a feint to the left in order to eat up the Greens, or at least isolate them and knock them off their parliamentary platform. "Privately," the *Times* itself reported in early November, "some party leaders have reassured inquiring Western diplomats and others that the Social Democrats' turbulence is just a 'tactical' shift to embrace, smother, and eliminate the bothersome Green Party. Once this historic task is accomplished they say, the party will move back to a pro-alliance position." But the *Times* treated this skeptically, and this skepticism was roundly repeated elsewhere in the U.S. press, and elsewhere in the alliance, too, especially France. In fact, the SPD is very much concerned to surround and smother the Greens and more than that to shape the widespread, but still largely patriotic and inchoate W. German sentiment against nuclear weapons and nuclear war into a loyal opposition.

It is clear that the *Times* is deliberately ignoring some real tactical objectives of the SPD and is pinning a monumental exaggeration on this party of social democrats tested since World War I in its capacity to do service for German imperialism and its allies and in particular to unashamedly feed illusions to the masses. The degree to which the SPD is today consciously and deliberately working to appeal to and rein in the peace movement should not be underestimated. Willy Brandt, still wearing the mantle of Ostpolitik, the detente program of the early seventies over which he presided as Chancellor, has been launched as the major weapon in this: "What have you gained," Brandt rhetorically asked the Kohl government during the Bundestag debate, "when you get a couple more weapons and lose the hearts and minds of the people in the alliance?" This point was driven home by SPD parliamentary leader Hans-Jochen Vogel who warned the W. German bourgeoisie: "...do you really not see here that we are dealing with one of the broadest and most active movements of the present time, and in fact far beyond our borders... further Mr. Chancellor, you are silent about a much more fundamental question. Namely that of the tense relation between the will of the majority of the people and the will of the majority of parliament. Certainly our constitution gives unequivocal answer to this. According to it, the majority will of Parliament casts the deciding vote... (but) whoever is silent about these differences of opinion or whitewashes it, needn't wonder that a discussion of the alliance gets under way."

The SPD's case is that the policies of the Kohl government, as part of NATO, had themselves provoked doubts about the Western alliance, the point being that the SPD has the program to really win

"the hearts and minds of the people in the alliance!" Apparently, at the heart of this program is a major sort of "peace initiative" on the part of the SPD. Its resolution adopts points from the Greens' lexicon such as a nuclear-free zone in central Europe, calls for the dismantling of "all nuclear weapons stored on our soil" (this seems to mean U.S. weapons), and opposition to biological and chemical weapons and their removal "from the soil of the Federal Republic." There are also indications that the SPD may, in the future, advocate one of the "defensive military strategies" which have been developed and popularized by several social-democratic and Greenish figures. Recently, versions of these strategies generally call for conventional, dispersed defense of W. Germany, among other elements. The SPD it seems is still working all this out, and its terms may not become explicit for a while, perhaps at the next congress of the party in May.

What the SPD is working on here can be compared to the program of the nuclear Freeze in this country. Like the Freeze, the SPD peace initiative represents a pole in the debate within the ruling circles not over the need to prepare for war ("maintain deterrence" as it is put), but *how* to best do this — in this case, how best for *West Germany* to do this. Like the Freeze, the SPD's program is mainly for propaganda purposes, intended to situate the SPD as a major bourgeois party with clout in government, which is listening to the masses, concerned to exhaust every peaceful channel before deciding on the last resort. Brandt is put forward as some kind of visionary, desperate to inject a voice of reason into the policies of West Germany's ruling class before it is too late. "We have to begin a rational design for the future in the tradition of the European enlightenment, of freedom and social democracy," as Brandt grandly states. Perhaps it needn't even be said that this is grossly dishonest. Brandt, who is no wide-eyed idealist, but the former Chancellor of West Germany, knows well that this future, which he paints as a kind of new detente, is not possible today.

Altogether, the SPD "peace" position reeks of Eurocentrism — a nuclear-free zone in central Europe, to hell with the rest of the world! It is meant to focus sights on the glorious goal of preserving Germany and the German way of life to the greatest possible degree — something which may sound less attractive to those oppressed by West German capital in Turkey and Brazil, for example, not to mention the young, rebellious sections of people in West Germany itself.

It is in this framework that the SPD resolution does address the question of the alliance. This is done, as Willy Brandt insisted "from within the alliance," mainly in order to win back the disenchanted to the alliance. It calls for "taking the security interests of Europe more strongly into consideration on the road to a European peace order, through which the blocs can be overcome. For the achievement of this goal, the weight of Europe in the alliance must be strengthened." Vogel followed this up with the charge that Kohl was placing West Germany in "vassal-like fealty" to the Reagan administration.

Now in one sense, the U.S. is willing to be good-natured about such railing on, particularly the "vassal-like fealty" business. Indeed, certain criticisms of NATO have become standard offerings of European parliamentary opposition. The U.S. realizes that to some extent it must, as

leader of the bloc, play the cowboy in relations with its imperialist partners, plunging on ahead with the necessary war preparations. From the side of the European imperialists, a militant patriotism such as that sounded by the SPD is absolutely necessary — a major way of preparing the next war in such countries is precisely by acting as if the U.S. is dragging the Europeans into things. Confronted with a choice, as the fighting breaks out, W. Germany must of course choose the bloc with which it is bound by "common traditions," etc., etc.

Nevertheless, it is this part of the SPD position which has got the *Times*' hackles up. This is evident in a further commentary by the *Times*' West German correspondent Joseph Markham, which characterized Brandt's Bundestag remarks as "America-baiting, and faintly neutralist appeals that pay lip service to the Atlantic alliance while evoking a future in which Europeans will seize their own destiny." The SPD phrase about a "European peace order" is especially hit by Markham.

It is precisely the future which concerns the *Times* — and the U.S. bourgeoisie — about the SPD antimissile position. At present the West German bourgeoisie pursues its interests within the U.S.-led bloc but in the future, in the course of or as a result of the global showdown with the Soviet bloc, this could change. In other words, the *Times* is exaggerating, even making out the SPD position to be something it isn't — an "anti-NATO" stand — in order to sound the alarm about the dangers the alliance will face when it is "tested" for real in world war.

The U.S. knows that the West German imperialists want and need to come out of the conflict with gains in its world position; the West German ruling classes eye the East, since reunification is the key to its ambitions. The U.S. has also read some history. It is well aware that the country which took the first punishing blows of the last imperialist war, France, rather quickly underwent a split in its bourgeoisie, a good portion of which jumped to the rival imperialists, the Germans. Today, it is West Germany which, like France before, sits on the frontlines and the question is, should international alignments radically change, would the Germans not consider pursuing their interests in some other context — one which did not recognize the U.S. *über alles*?

It should be stressed that the SPD antimissile position exactly "evokes" these dangers, it does not embody them. Today's SPD certainly does not advocate, nor indicate, some drastic new course for the West German bourgeoisie. But NATO is at least a question in West Germany today, this much is clear from the debate in the Bundestag. And where this will lead when things get really hot is the alarm sounded by the *Times*.

Thus, though the *Times* editorial is couched in terms of the future of Germany, its real concern is the global struggle, the world showdown for which the missile deployment has been a major preparation and watershed. It is from *this* vantage point that the U.S. imperialists assess their gains and losses and plan their future criminal strategy. And this in itself constitutes a damning exposure of the U.S. imperialists and their allies and what they are preparing. □



Editorial from Mücadele, Newspaper of ATIF

## "Emperyalizmsiz Bir Dünya İçin" Tugayını PROLETER ENTERNASYONALİST BİR COŞKUyla SELAMLİYORUZ!

### We Salute "A World Without Imperialism Contingent" With Proletarian Internationalist Exuberance!

The following article appeared in a special supplement of Mücadele, the newspaper of the Federation of Workers from Turkey in West Germany (ATIF), welcoming the "World Without Imperialism Contingent" upon their arrival in West Germany in October. The special supplement also included the Contingent's call to "Desert America's Warmongering! Be At the European Frontlines!" printed in Turkish, English and German. The translation from Turkish below was sent to the RW from West Germany.

The C-5A military transport planes of the U.S.A. are being prepared for service. Of the 572 nuclear missiles to be stationed in Europe, parts of 18 Pershing II missiles are being loaded in 90 special trunks at the Marietta factory. And, under high security precautions, they will be loaded into the C-5As awaiting them in Florida's Orlando Airport — unless the masses, who (for some reason) have not been invited to the shipping ceremonies, cause trouble on the way! The West German imperialists are preparing to welcome the C-5As carrying the Pershing II trunks in December, in Württemberg — hoping that the "uninvited" will not really be able to disrupt these welcoming ceremonies with their bold actions!

However, aside from the christening ceremonies of the nuclear missiles that are a product of bourgeois criminal "ingenuity," this "hot" autumn West Germany will be a stage for definitely hotter and very different types of ceremonies — in a language that the oppressed understand.

In fact, passing under the noses of the guardians of those "sacred borders" of

the West German imperialists, who are anxiously anticipating the arrival of the nuclear bombs that the U.S. — in agreement with the rest of the bloc — will be sending, a new kind of "explosive material" has reached West Germany: "FOR A WORLD WITHOUT IMPERIALISM CONTINGENT"! This group, which has been formed under the leadership of revolutionary communists in America, consists of the most militant elements from among the "countryless" and the "uninvited," from among proletarian youth who have nothing to lose but their chains, and from among the antiwar movement in that country.

The forming of this contingent, which has answered the call of the Organizing Committee (printed on the other side of this supplement) by adopting the slogan "A World Without Imperialism, Not An Imperialist World War!" and by stepping forward to realize it, and its joining the ranks at the "frontlines" in West Germany this hot autumn, is a heavy slap in the face, first for the U.S., and for all the other imperialist and social-imperialist warmongers. First for the U.S., because "For a World Without Imperialism Contingent" is putting out a genuine example of betraying the "national interests" of its "own" ruling class, the U.S. imperialist bourgeoisie, and spitting on the jingoist cries of "national unity"! Literally stomping on such lies as "motherland," "national borders" (in an imperialist country) which only serve the bourgeoisie, cutting through thousands of miles For A World Without Imperialism, this contingent has taken its position beside the proletarians and the oppressed of other countries in the ranks of this common struggle. This stand is the embodiment of a powerful potential to abort the criminal dreams of those who, in preparation for an imperialist war, aim to divide and poison the ranks of the proletariat and the oppressed with imperialist patriotism and social chauvinism in order to pit them against one another for a mutual slaughter perpetrated for a booty division among the imperialist gangsters. This stand, in the dialectic reasoning of those fighting for a world without imperialism, is, undoubtedly, an incomparably stronger "explosive" than those nuclear missiles for which the imperialists are planning to hold ceremonies.

We salute this revolutionary stand that wages the struggle against the danger of an imperialist war neither from the standpoint of "my country," even if it is free of all nuclear weapons, nor from the standpoint of "imperialist peace," even if possible, but from the standpoint of fighting for and winning a WHOLE

Continued on page 11





# A Milestone in Marxist-Leninist Political Economy

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

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

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

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

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

"This is a provocative reinterpretation of Marxism to capitalism and imperialism and also opens up a new view of the Soviet Union. It is the most rigorous presentation."  
—Howard Zinn, author

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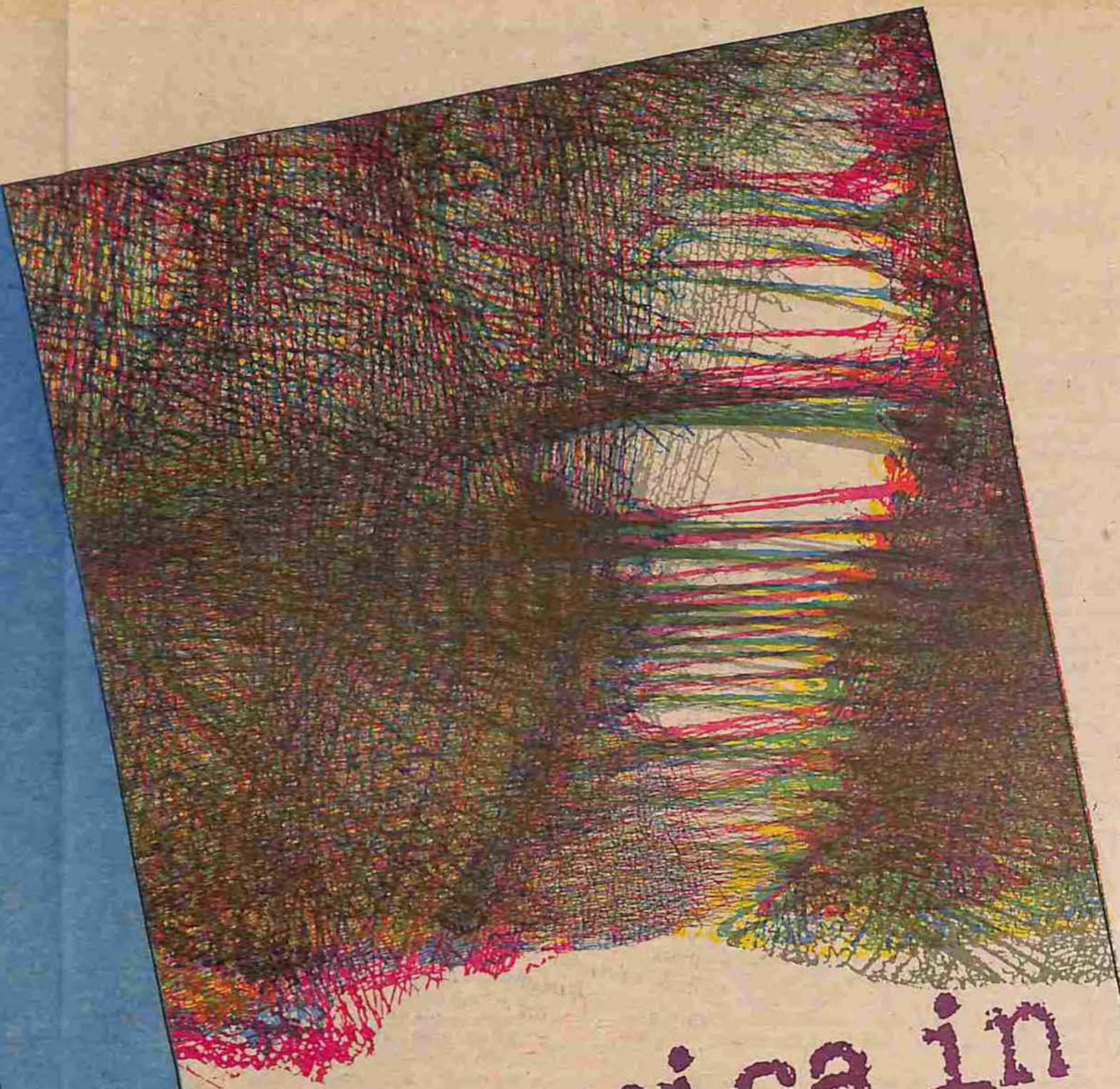
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, rigorously presented."  
—Howard Zinn, Professor of Political Science, Boston University  
author of *A People's History of the United States*



# America in Decline

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

Raymond Lotta with Frank Shannon

Vol. 1

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

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



Everett, Wash.

## Neanderthals Assault Women's Clinic

Everett, Washington, is a small city of 55,000 located some 30 miles north of Seattle. When the Everett Feminist Women's Health Center opened last August it became the first and only facility of its kind between Seattle and the college town of Bellingham near the Canadian border, offering physical exams, counseling and abortions to women who otherwise wouldn't be able to afford them. This clinic has become the center of an intensifying battle between women determined to protect the center and keep it open and a campaign of reactionary terror directed against the clinic.

In the early morning of Saturday, December 3, the campaign of threats and intimidation against the center escalated to arson when a fire was set at the clinic causing an estimated \$40,000 of damage. Reactionary pickets, who had been at the clinic on an almost daily basis since its opening, scarcely bothered to conceal their connection with the fire. "Hallelujah!" exclaimed one of these anti-

abortionist pickets later the same Saturday, when asked by a reporter for a reaction to the fire. "We believe if enough Christians stand up against this, the Lord will shut it down."

It seems that Everett, with its atmosphere of smalltown, backwoods Americana, strikes these servants of the Lord as the perfect place to spread their venom: while women's clinics in other parts of Washington have been harassed over the last couple of years, it is the clinic in Everett which has seen the most determined and hideous attempts to marshal their forces. Pickets from an assortment of fundamentalist outfits, all tied into a network of reactionary, anti-abortion groups, regularly taunt and harass women going into the clinic. A flood of reactionary mail and harassing phone calls has been organized. These people also often maintain a video camera outside the clinic to photograph clinic patients and demonstrators who have turned out to defend the clinic. Particularly

vicious have been racist slurs from the reactionaries directed at Indian women who have supported the clinic.

At the same time, the women running the clinic have made it clear they have no intention of yielding to the intimidation of the reactionaries. Actions protecting the clinic and patients have been organized.

In November the local Knights of Columbus, a Catholic men's group, announced it would hold a demonstration outside the clinic. This quickly became a rallying point for anyone wanting to champion the holy cause of furthering the oppression of women. At the same time, not surprisingly, the campaign against the clinic began to be given extensive publicity in the local media. The Everett City Council obligingly provided that three blocks of the street in front of the women's clinic would be closed off so that this motley collection of the god-fearing could hold their "prayer service." A number of fundamentalist

preachers, along with the Catholic Archbishop of Seattle and other Catholic clergy turned out for the occasion; in all about 600 turned out.

Across from the reactionaries' rally, directly in front of the women's clinic, 250 marched for several hours in the pouring rain. Incensed by the attempts to shut down the women's clinic, those demonstrating in support of the clinic came from a wide variety of groups throughout Western Washington.

Damage from the fire will, according to spokespeople for the clinic, keep the clinic shut down for two to four weeks while repairs are made. But the clinic will not, they vow, be shut down. Dozens of groups and individuals came forward to pledge their support in a press conference held by the clinic on the Monday following the firebombing. A defense committee for the clinic and a phone-tree have been organized to provide ongoing support.

## The Tomorrow Show

Continued from page 4

improving that system and it is the best in the world. We make the best automobiles in the world. We do the best color process printing in the world. We do the best broadcasting in the world, in terms of the technology...

**Bob Avakian:** I am not going to argue between the capitalists of Japan, West Germany, and the U.S. or Russia, about which one of them is able to plunder the world the best.

**Tom Snyder:** No, but I'm saying this to you as a fact. And Bob, all the improvements in technology, for example in this business, which is the only one I know anything about, have come from all these boys and girls who run these cameras and string these wires. It's not from Fred Silverman and not from the president of RCA, but from these people here who say, "Here's a better way to do it." And I've got to believe that happens in Detroit on the car lines, and I've got to believe it happens...

**Bob Avakian:** Well, you see, that's the difference, our party doesn't have to believe; we are the party of especially the politically aware workers on the assembly lines. Of course technology has been built here. For one thing, the rulers of this country, especially coming off World War 2, have plundered the whole world and have in fact ripped off raw materials from countries all over the world at the cost of the lives and suffering of millions of people there as well as here. As I said, I'm not going to get in an argument with you as to whether Japan or West Germany...

**Tom Snyder:** I'm not arguing with you. But I can't let you just make your talk, you know, without saying, "Hey, here's what's going on in my head about what you are saying." That's all.

**Bob Avakian:** I don't mind you talking, I'm just saying that the point is this: the technology that has been developed here does not benefit the great masses of people. They are the ones who are unemployed when technology is brought in. Well now, that's ridiculous. It's only because capitalists have to constantly drive the workers harder and find the cheapest way to produce things at the expense of the masses of people. Then they run up against the ridiculous situation where they've produced too much and car lots are full of cars while thousands of workers are laid off in Detroit. That's your capitalist system. In fact, the more the technology grows and develops, the less capitalism is able to utilize it because its shell is too narrow; its shell of private ownership and competition between a handful of cutthroats trying to battle each other and people all over the world is too narrow. And the way in which people work is socialized you'd agree with that. Thousands of people work in an auto plant. You can't say that one person makes a car, no, thousands of people, right? Yet the ownership at the end of the whole process, after thousands have cooperated to work, some clown comes along — or really, a murderer — and says, "This is mine. I will take it, and I will do whatever I will with it to make more money, and if the result of that is that the whole thing backs up and you have to be laid off, too bad..."

**Tom Snyder:** Okay, we will continue after these words from the sponsor.

(Station Break)

**Tom Snyder:** I've only got about three minutes left for you here.

**Bob Avakian:** All right.

**Tom Snyder:** When your system of government is in place, what is going to happen? Are we going to have room for dissent and all that stuff, and can people say their minds?

**Bob Avakian:** You know, a lot of people, people who have been miseducated about what we are talking about, will call in to these radio shows I'm on and some of them will say, "Listen, when you are in power I won't even be able to criticize you." This is the farthest thing from the truth. In fact, what we have to say to them is, "Listen, the biggest problem with people like you is getting you to criticize us once we are in power because if you will put up with what is going on under this system now, you will put up with anything!" The point is that for the first time people will not only have the right to criticize, to debate, to express themselves — I am talking about the majority of people, the masses of people who are held down under this system — they will have the right and they

will have the responsibility of actually running society from every sphere. That is going to be a big struggle. And yes, there will be these problems of bureaucrats within the party who want to maintain the old divisions of labor, use their intellectual skills as monopoly, as capital, to keep themselves on top. Mao Tsetung pointed out — which is why we look to him as a great revolutionary — yes, we do have to struggle against those things, we have to bring forward and develop mass movements.

Socialism and the move towards communism is going to be the most exciting period in all of human history. For the first time the masses of people are going to be consciously taking up through mass movements and mass debates, as they did in China under Mao's leadership, what the road forward towards socialism and communism is and how to forge that road, and they will be criticizing and challenging everything. We want people to become politically aware. Without that there can be no socialism, there can be no revolution, and certainly you cannot maintain it. We want and we need people to challenge, to criticize. The communist attitude — the genuine, not the revisionist, not the Moscow, phony communist/actually capitalist attitude — is to have a critical attitude, not a cynical, but a critical attitude toward everything. As Mao put it: take a sniff of everything, discuss the whys and wherefores of it before we decide whether to support or boycott it. That is precisely what we want to promote. But I am not going to dodge your question here. As far as the capitalists who have been overthrown and new capitalists who want to arise in the party, like Khrushchev or Deng Xiaoping (and those other people in China who are now running the society and subjecting the masses to oppression while they let the privileged sectors run wild), those kind of people will not be allowed to organize and try to put the masses back in the hell of the old way of organizing society. There will be freedom for the masses, the majority. There will not be freedom for exploiters. If exploiters are free to exploit, then the majority of people are not free to be free of that exploitation.

**Tom Snyder:** So that if, under your system, I'm doing this show and there is a guy who wants to come on and say about you guys what...

**Bob Avakian:** Well, we are going to run the television. Our party is going to lead the masses in running the television. No question about that.

**Tom Snyder:** You mean, you're going to run the whole shooting match?

**Bob Avakian:** Our party is going to lead the people in running it. We're not going to lead the people in making revolution and then disappear and abdicate leadership. The people are going to want and demand that the people who lead this revolution take responsibility for leading them to reshape society and we are not going to say, "Well, so long, we led you — now you're on your own." No, our party will take leadership.

**Tom Snyder:** When you are running the television, does some guy who does not like what you are doing get to come on and say about you what you're saying about them?

**Bob Avakian:** You know what we are going to do? We are going to...

**Tom Snyder:** It's a yes or a no.

**Bob Avakian:** Well, we...

**Tom Snyder:** It's a yes or a no.

**Bob Avakian:** Wait a minute.

**Tom Snyder:** It's a yes or a no.

**Bob Avakian:** Wait a minute.

**Tom Snyder:** It's a yes or a no.

**Bob Avakian:** Some of them we will bring on and some of them we will not. I'll tell you the distinction. We will bring on people who we think are particularly good representatives of everything we have overthrown and everything we need to bury once and for all. We will put them on to educate the masses of people by negative example: this is what we should never again have in power and this is what we should never go back to.

**Tom Snyder:** Okay, Bob, thank you for being with us tonight. Mr. Bob Avakian of the Revolutionary Communist Party. All the mail that we get that concerns your appearance here will be forwarded to you unopened, I promise you.

**Bob Avakian:** Thank you very much. I would also ask people to come down to D.C. on the 19th of November because I and the other defendants, the Mao Tsetung Defendants, will be facing a serious trial. We are calling on people to come to D.C. for a mass demonstration there because this is a serious case. We are being attacked by the government precisely because we are serious about revolution.

**Tom Snyder:** We will continue after these words.

**Bob Avakian:** Thank you very much.







# Bonn

Continued from page 5

These forces include radical religious pacifists, the members of the local autonomous peace organizations (not to be confused with militant anarchist *Autonomen*) and some of the Greens. They have been under very heavy attack both by the state and within the peace movement itself for wanting to carry extra-parliamentary resistance "too far." Many have also been demoralized by the failure to actually stop the missiles, but it was a section of these forces, the autonomous peace groups, which rallied to call for the demonstration on November 21st at the Parliament.

Following the October week of protest, the Peace Congress (which created the coordinating committee that led the peace week actions) held a sum-up and planning conference in Köln. Prior to the main congress, the representatives of the various independent action groups from around the country caucused independently to call for and plan a single central action in Bonn to coincide with the sham parliamentary debate over the stationing of Pershing and cruise missiles. Since the parliamentary approval was assured, such a demonstration could not help but take on an anti-parliamentarian flavor. Thus the SPD and the DKP, who dominated the Congress, were opposed to a central action in Bonn. The Greens and the independents favored it, the Greens using the occasion to tweak the DKP by introducing a successful resolution to invite a speaker from the independent peace movement in East Germany. But since the independents were determined to carry out a Bonn action, independently if necessary, the SPD-DKP spectrum switched to support of the proposal — if they could not prevent it, then they would try to lead it and kill it that way. The "official" call thus was issued for a "nonviolent" siege of the parliament in which protestors would march toward the Parliament, stop wherever they reached police lines, and above all not try to force their way through police lines. The major emphasis of the "official" call was on a rally to be held on the evening of the 21st, more than a mile from the parliament site.

It was at the Köln conference that *FightBack*, the revolutionary voice of GLs in Europe, proposed an anti-imperialist contingent for the Bonn action, although the leaflet outlining the political basis for this contingent came out late in the meeting. Subsequently a formal call was published in German, Turkish and English for such a contingent, signed by *FightBack*; ATIF (The Federation of Workers from Turkey in West Germany); the "World Without Imperialism" Contingent (the group from the U.S. who deserted the war-mongering of their own ruling class to stand with the antimissile movement in Germany); the RCP, USA; and the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (from the U.S.), and was widely distributed to various militant forces throughout West Germany. This call (reprinted in *RW* No. 232) read in part:

THE WHOLE WORLD IS  
WATCHING: AND IN THE  
INTERESTS OF THE WORLD WE  
MUST STEP OUT ONTO  
THE STAGE!  
A CALL FOR AN  
ANTI-IMPERIALIST CONTINGENT  
IN THE STREETS OF BONN,  
NOVEMBER 21!

...Thousands throughout West Germany are looking for a chance to make the most resolute statement possible against these missiles, and against the sinister forces that conjured them into being. Thousands more are thoroughly disgusted at seeing the movement they are part of being reduced to a plaything of parliamentarians — to see it diffused, sanitized, suppressed and essentially sold-out. And many thousands more have been drawn into political life and are seriously asking (perhaps for the first time) profound and radical questions about the direction of world events.

But a sharp question remains: when the eyes of millions (both in West Germany and throughout the world) are focused on Bonn that day — when they evaluate the forces in the field over the question of this clear move toward war... what will they see?

Will the followers of "NATO-Willy" have the last word?

Will the statement outside the Bundestag that day be little more than a last minute "beg-in" attempting to loyalty "pressure legally elected representatives" of the warmakers?

NO! THIS CANNOT BE ALLOWED! It will not be allowed! A clear, unmistakable voice must be heard that dares to speak the truth, and that raises the indictment of the system of imperialism as a clear pole on the political arena that day.

In this politically charged situation, we have both the possibility and necessity to turn these aspirations into a material force — by erecting a political pole that indicates the source of the drive toward war, and points toward a way out of this crisis, a pole that can influence and attract forces that have newly broken into political life and the process of radicalization.

For these reasons, then, a call:

TO ALL ANTI-IMPERIALIST  
FORCES (FROM PACIFIST TO  
REVOLUTIONARY);  
TO JOIN TOGETHER IN A SINGLE  
UNITED ANTI-IMPERIALIST  
CONTINGENT FOR BONN ON  
NOVEMBER 21.  
TO TAKE PART IN THE EVENTS OF  
THAT DAY UNDER THE SLOGANS:  
"DOWN WITH THE PERSHING  
AND CRUISE MISSILES AND ALL  
WAR PREPARATIONS, BOTH  
EAST AND WEST!"  
"A WORLD WITHOUT  
IMPERIALISM, NOT AN  
IMPERIALIST WORLD WAR!"

The call addressed not only the rightist SPD-DKP opposition to the Bonn demo, but spoke to questions among the more revolutionary-minded forces. Given the previous actions of the SPD-DKP spectrum to isolate and attack the militant elements by fingering them to the cops and surrounding them with "peace police," and the general tendency among the anarchist groups and radical youth to disdain both parliament and the battle for public opinion, many of the more militant forces determined not to go to Bonn. The argument was raised that by demonstrating at Bonn it would grant "legitimacy" to the Parliament. Thus, whether the militant forces would even make a battle of it, or leave the last word to "NATO-Willy" Brandt became an issue of struggle. Also at issue were whether the Bonn demo would provide significantly different conditions for the anti-imperialist forces (ranging from pacifist to revolutionaries) and the proposed slogans for such a contingent.

\* \* \* \* \*

The bourgeoisie was also carefully laying its plans for the encounter. Police measures were under the direction of SPD Interior Minister for the state of Nord Rhein-Westfalen, while the spokesman for the "official" peace movement was SPD member Jo Leinen. The nominal target of the march on the parliament was the *Bannmeile*, an area of dozens of square blocks around the parliament building where all demonstrations are forbidden. While the police had planned to set up portable steel fence sections across all the entrances to the *Bannmeile*, they had hoped to leave Adenauerallee (Bonn's main drag) open, even though it is technically within the *Bannmeile*. That is, in spite of extensive military preparations the hope was still to present a facade of business as usual, with a small group of protestors standing in silent protest across the street.

But the best laid plans of mice and pigs oft go astray. Already at 7:00 a.m., before the cops had fully set up and long before the official march to the *Bannmeile* was to begin, small groups of demonstrators were infiltrating the *Bannmeile* posing as local residents and workers. At one point a group of women pushing baby buggies caused the police lines to open whereupon dozens more of their cohorts poured through behind them! By 7:30 the militants had occupied Heussallee, only a block from the parliament building and were brutally attacked by cops and water cannon. At other entrance streets demonstrators tried to block the cars of arriving parliament deputies, and one person was hospitalized after CDU deputy Bernhard Vogel stepped on the gas attempting to run over

demonstrators who were trying to block his car.

By 8:00 a.m. demonstrators had spilled into Adenauerallee blocking all traffic in both directions! Hundreds of riot cops with helmets and shields and five water cannons were now on the scene. What to do, what to do? Any other place, any other time, the pigs could just wade in with the riot sticks. But this was D-day of the missile decision. The crucial implementation of the blood compact between the NATO allies was at hand. TV and press crews from everywhere in the world were on the scene. And this was Bonn, not Warsaw, right? The "democratic" West, not the "totalitarian" East. It was also crucial that the parliamentary debate not be upstaged by the events on the street. There was just no way that the cops could wade in swinging. The order was given to "push" the demonstrators out of the street.

Trouble was, the demonstrators started pushing back. Rows of cops three and four deep were soon heaving and grunting against an equal weight of demonstrators. The water cannons were now wheeled up, ten cops with shields jogging along each side like Roman centurians protecting their pet catapult. But the demonstrators, many wearing plastic rain ponchos, all turned their backs to the water, bent forward and kept pushing back. When the water cannons aimed low to hit them, they ended up hitting the front row of cops in the back of the head, knocking their helmets right off. The police then adopted a new tactic of falling back on signal to give the water cannon a clear shot at the demonstrators and then rushing forward again. But reinforcements kept rushing forward from the demonstrators' side too. Even the addition of CN tear gas to the water had little effect as many demonstrators wore goggles and medical teams moved among them rinsing out people's eyes.

Around 9:00 a.m. the core of the anti-imperialist contingent, numbering about 150 including 30 from the "World Without Imperialism Contingent" and a majority of proletarians from Turkey, hit the scene and took up a position on the front line of the struggle. Their big revolutionary banners and their chants of "Long Live International Solidarity" made them an immediate target for police attack and several were soon arrested after massive tugs-of-war between cops and demonstrators trying to rescue the victims. Many of the young German demonstrators were amazed to see the proletarians from Turkey in the front ranks of "their" struggle (and there were certainly few if any German workers taking part). People were heard calling back and forth "Protect the Turks," because all understood what it meant for a militant proletarian from Turkey to be arrested and deported.

Leaflets for the contingent (in German, Turkish and English) were everywhere. Its message was definitely one that the bourgeoisie did not want to have unleashed: That the missiles had to be fought, not because they supposedly made war more likely, but because the imperialist system's drive to war necessitated the missiles for its implementation. That there was nothing in the current "imperialist peace" that was worth defending; that to do so was to preserve the imperialist division of the world between the "metropolises" and the oppressed and exploited nations. That the German peace movement had to break with its orientation of "Save Germany at any price"; it was the whole world that is threatened by war. That both blocs are co-responsible for the approach of war and, that W. Germany is not a "hapless pawn" of one of the superpowers, but a ready and eager ally of an imperialist war bloc.

\* \* \* \* \*

It was not until after 10:00 that the cops finally succeeded in pushing most of the demonstrators across the Adenauerallee. But even then they were not able to reopen it to traffic, since it could only be secured by water cannon in the road itself and would have to be protected by wall-to-wall cops for miles. But then the more militant of the demonstrators were not into hanging around anyhow. This was Germany's pig-city, and there was plenty to do. The core of the anti-imperialist contingent was joined by others marching out of the

police encirclement. There were *Autonomen* and anarchists clad in black leather, workers from Turkey, internationalists from the U.S., and dozens of other militants attracted by the stand of the proletariat. Almost 1,000 strong, the march took off for downtown. Militant chants and shrill plastic whistles rang out. Many faces were covered with masks or scarves. The proletarians from Turkey broke into their "war song" which they sing as they go into battle in Turkey. It was a very moving moment. And this reporter decided to follow this group for the rest of the day.

Cutting through the underground entrance driveway of a luxury hotel, the contingent by-passed police roadblocks and emerged before a highway bridge. Passing over the bridge, the *Autonomen* began to pound the metal railings rhythmically with heavy rocks, making a deafening sound. The mass swept across the now deserted bridge, banners, black flags, and red flags flying. Passing over the crest, it seemed impossible that the bridge would not be blocked at the other end by walls of helmeted cops. Yet amazingly there was absolutely no one. And a clear shot, one block ahead, to the Salvadoran embassy.

Taken totally by surprise, the dozen cops guarding the front of the embassy didn't even have helmets and shields. As the chanting mass approached and with no reinforcements in sight, they looked like they were about to pee in their pants. A speaker stood right in front of them, his back contemptuously turned to them addressing the crowd. Being from the U.S., he told why he had deserted his own imperialist rulers to stand with the revolutionary peoples of the world. Rocks and balloons filled with paint sailed through the air while the cops occasionally ducked.

The march moved off again. Different groups in turn raised chants that were taken up by all: (In German these rhyme—*RW*) "German Arms, German Money, Murder People Throughout the World!" "FRG and USA, Accomplices With the Ankara Regime!" "Both Blocs in East and West, In the Final Analysis, Are Whipping Up War. So What Are We Gonna Do? We're Gonna Turn Both Upside Down!" "Uprising, Resistance, No Quiet German Rear Area! 'El Salvador, Lebanon, Turkey. In All Piggishness the FRG is There!' "Down with Imperialism, Social-Imperialism, and All Reaction!" and even "Death to German Imperialism!" was taken up at key moments. The Internationale was sung. Infused with the sheer joy of being set free of the dead hand of the official peace movement, one group of anarchists began to satirically chant "Stop, Stop, Stop, Nuclear Missiles Hop!" — a play on the standard demo chant of "Hop, Hop, Hop, Nuclear Missiles Stop!"

For several hours this march moved through the streets, vamping on swishish targets, eluding the cops, and even marching right through the Student Union of a local university.

At the same time dozens of other decentralized actions were taking place throughout the city. One civil disobedience group had published an "alternative city map" which located all the key imperialist embassies, West German government ministries, and key military contractors. This had the effect of forcing the pigs to disperse even more to protect all the possible targets as well as the entire *Bannmeile* perimeter. A second flyer which appeared on the street around 10:00 a.m. narrowed the targets down to seven key ones, which included the CDU headquarters and the neighboring British embassy where demonstrators climbed over the fence to get into the compound. At one intersection dozens of militants sat on the rapid transit tracks, baning rhythmically on the metal plates between the rails with large rocks. In other areas of the city every manner of activity from street theatre to an "executioners' supper" portraying the ruling class as hangmen were carried out.

In the late afternoon, the core of the anti-imperialist contingent, which at one point had been forced to disperse, reassembled in the downtown area. Marching in military formation through the narrow streets of the medieval center of town they created quite a stir among the patrons of the luxury shopping area. Yet again the cops could not go after them without a running battle through the heart of the bourgeoisie's own play-

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## Correspondence from France

## Strike At Vincennes

The following account was sent to the RW by a reader in France.

To the RW,

After the actions by rightist law and medical students, actions against the Savary law last April and May (RW No. 206, "Is Paris Really Smoking?"), the government in France now finds itself attacked from another community diametrically opposed to the former: foreign students. On Monday, Nov. 14, the University of Paris VIII went on strike and was occupied by the teachers, administrative personnel and students. The strike was sparked off as a reaction to the intervention of police on the morning of Nov. 11 to clear out the committee for foreign students who had been occupying the university president's office for two days in order to obtain the enrollment of 83 non-European students. The police attack was so violent that two African students fell from the third floor window and are now in the hospital. The police claim they jumped!

A brief history of the events will explain why this strike is dangerous to the French government led by the PS (Parti Socialiste) with PCF (Parti Communiste Français) participation. The Savary law discussed in RW No. 206 not only limits the number of students to receive advanced training in accordance with the needs of the French government and economy (i.e., what the bourgeoisie orders) but falls all the harder on foreign nonwhite students.

Foreign students other than Europeans (Europeans are subject to only those selective measures imposed on the French), mostly African or North African, must first of all apply in their country of origin in order to study in France. This means that the local puppets and French imperialists may select those that will best serve their interests after having received education. I must add that not only do the imperialists hold a monopoly on advanced technology but the French imperialists never bothered to build universities in their colonies.

The second step for those who are really determined is to apply in France at the various faculties between December and February preceding the fall classes while the French and European students need not apply until July. The catch is the following: to stay in France they need a residency permit; to get their residency permit they need their student card; the student card is given in July if their inscription is accepted; if they can't stay in France for lack of a residency permit they will not be able to

do all the protracted paperwork necessary.

But why the University of Paris VIII, commonly referred to as "Vincennes"? This was an experimental university created after, and as a result of, the student revolts of May 1968 to give those who had not obtained the highly selective high school diploma — *le bac* — a chance to go to university (only 30% to 40% obtain this diploma through exams at the end of high school). You can not normally go to university without *le bac*. For obvious reasons it became a faculty for immigrants as well. In 1979, forty percent of the student population at Paris VIII was foreign with most from Africa or North Africa.

The university was run from the beginning by members of the PCF and the PS. They had one desire — make Vincennes a super normalized "left" university to show that they too were capable of accomplishing bourgeois training and selection catering to the needs of the French economy. Objective achieved. In 1980 the university was moved from Vincennes to the working-class ghetto of Saint Denis, a suburb just north of Paris. The president of the university, Claude Frioux, member of the PCF, along with others of the same feather including the PS, managed, through selective measures, to cut the student population down from 35,000 to 17,000 today. What is more, 70% of those who enroll are put in a situation where they do not obtain the first diploma — *le DEUG* (equivalent to a B.A.). Without evening classes, workers are unable to complete the DEUG in the three years required. The result: Vincennes at Saint Denis is a super normalized pro-government university.

Vincennes is also the first university the police have entered since the election of the socialist-revisionist government and they were called in by a faculty president who is a member of the PCF!

This is not surprising as the PCF has been behind all sorts of chauvinist anti-foreign activity. Their posters "Make French — Buy French" rhyme well with the extreme right posters "France for the French"! The most spectacular action of the PCF was in the town of Vitry where the communist mayor and his scum drove bulldozers into worker housing inhabited by immigrants. The goal of this action was to protest the high number of immigrants in their town!

Selection — number of students to be admitted. Selection — necessities of the French imperialists. Selection — enrollment policies based on race (sorry, national origin). The problem in

this case is that the 83 foreign students in question fulfilled most if not all of the obligations imposed on them. The university president, Claude Frioux, could not admit them for as he put it: "it would be doing an injustice to those others who had been refused" and most of whom also fulfilled their obligations for enrollment. His line is clear: one injustice justifies another.

On Thursday, the tenth of Nov., the president tried to freeze the "squatters" out by cutting off the electricity and asking the administrative personnel not to come to work in order to protest the occupation. To their dismay the workers got together and wrote a letter to the Minister of Education, Mr. Savary, complaining of not only being prevented from working because of the power cut but of being abandoned by their superiors as well. At midnight on the tenth the police circled the university cutting off all exits. At 1:25 am on the 11th the president and his assistant, Mr. Saurel, entered the administrative building to inform the students that they had five minutes to leave. Two minutes later the police attacked so violently that two students were pushed out of the third floor window. Three students without residency permits were held for expulsion from the country while those who had residency permits risk the same end after their trial!

On Monday morning, after a three-day weekend, most people were aware of what had happened and almost immediately the teachers, workers and students decided to strike. The PCF, their trade union the CGT and the PS refused to take a position against Mr. Frioux.

The debates that followed showed very clearly what the real issues were. As a large part of the French students, although not a majority, voiced the government's racist slanders: "The immigrants don't do any work at the university"; "they can't even speak French" (strange, as the language used in school in most of France's neocolonies is French!); "why should we accept foreigners when we can't even admit all the French who want to study at the university." In sum: "France is the garbage pail of foreigners."

The response was quick in coming: "We want everyone, French and immigrant, to be able to go to university but if it weren't for what French imperialism steals from our countries you'd be sitting there naked!" one foreign student said. Another echoed, "Not only does French imperialism want to control our countries but they want to choose those who will study in accordance with whether they will work for French imperial-

ism afterwards or not!"

A Marxist-Leninist intervened in another meeting to expose French imperialism and finished by saying: "There are those here who want to limit the debate to racism but racism is not an end in itself — it serves something and this something is imperialism. It is not racism we should be putting into question here but rather the imperialist state!" This was followed by loud applause from the foreign students and autonomes (semi-anarchist youth). At the same time one trotskyite said to the other: "Are you going to answer?" The other replied: "What can I answer to that?" Yes indeed, what could they answer? They called on the workers to vote for this government and as they would have it, although it is an imperialist government it was elected by the people and therefore is a popular government and can be made to do what is good for the workers. Poor trotskyites! You are going to convince the bourgeoisie to work against its own interests by tugging on their skirts!

Needless to say tensions mounted as the line of demarcation around imperialism was imposed. The trotskyites, revealed for what they were, packed up their sound equipment, closing the debate. The debate continued without their sound equipment, either in small groups or in different rooms of the university where the most reactionary were forcefully prohibited from conducting classes.

By Wednesday the 16th, the university president, Mr. Frioux, accepted to enroll the 83 foreign students and the files were taken to the Minister of Education for approval. Whether the minister will give approval or not remains to be seen. There are, nevertheless, some very real lessons to be learnt from these events. Once again the real nature of the French "left" government has been exposed. They have also shown again how they will treat any movement exposing them as imperialist or challenging their imperialist domination. The intervention here was much faster and more violent than the interventions carried out against the right-wing students last April and May. It is also important to point out that even though the right was occupying their universities at that time the police never entered. But the most important lesson in all this is once again we have seen how those unruly foreigners can shake imperialism in its home base! Although the government drives on the right and refuses to be passed on the left the road can and will be torn from under their feet!

A reader

## The Battle of Bonn

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ground, jammed with demonstrators and Christmas shoppers!

Throughout the day, of course, the pigs were constantly picking people off, sometimes seemingly at random grabbing individuals from the crowd. The official arrest total for the day was 182. At one point in the late afternoon the police attacked a section of the downtown crowd, obviously going after the contingent. Five were arrested from the contingent including three proletarians from Turkey. And what happened to them is an exposure in itself. The scores arrested during the day were loaded on buses and driven about 30 miles out of Bonn to an underground command bunker of the Border Troops. Here they were fingerprinted and locked in freshly-painted white cells in the underground complex — where the walls were quickly covered with the graffiti of protest. Obviously designed to withstand radiation and chemical attacks, the doors in the complex sealed like the doors between compartments in a ship. One of the border troops were overheard mumbling, "It's as if war had broken out."

While the purpose of the little excursion seems to have been to thoroughly intimidate those arrested with the awesome

power of the state, it was in this respect a complete failure. When the prisoners were finally loaded on buses to be shipped back to the city to be released, they virtually rioted on the buses, rocking them back and forth from within, trying to tip them over.

The evening rally by the "official" peace movement broke all records for shortness of duration. The pantheon of speakers was cut to four, and the whole event in fact was moved from its original location to a park on the other side of the rail tracks from the inner city where police could prevent any marches back into the heart of the city. With a quick benediction, the 6,000 or so in the audience were sent on a candlelight march back to the area of the parliament.

Late that evening large crowds still remained outside the *Bannmeile* where the cops had pulled back across the street and the masses once again occupied the Adenauerallee. Here the anti-imperialist contingent reassembled to continue its political work, with speeches by a Turkish worker, a member of the RYB, the "World Without Imperialism" Contingent, and *Fight Back*.

The effects of the Bonn demonstrations were also felt throughout the country. Many people who were initially bum-

med out and who did not take up the battle in Bonn were immediately inspired by the Bonn action. While a number of local actions took place around the country on the 21st, Tuesday night the 22nd, which also coincided with the actual vote in parliament, saw waves of spontaneous or hastily planned outpourings around the country — many of them taking the form of the blockading of major urban thoroughfares. On Tuesday, actions took place in Hanover, Dortmund, Frankfurt, Bremen, Göttingen, Stuttgart, Heidelberg, Mannheim, Karlsruhe and Berlin, with over 12,000 participants collectively. In Berlin, demonstrators trashed a monument to the U.S. Air Force commemorating the 1948 Berlin Airlift at Tempelhof Airport. On the wall was written: "1948 Raisins—1984 Rockets."

In summing up the "Battle of Bonn," the *Frankfurter Allgemeine* warned: "Restrictions of freedom of movement around parliament, the urgent calling upon those who are of a different opinion (even if it were that of having no opinion at all on the subject in question, the stationing of the missiles) to join in; the pathos of seeing a procession, torches held high and flags waving, intolerant of opposition; worse yet, a falling into psychological violence, the telephone harassment of politicians invoking a duty to vote in a very particular way; finally, parliamentary deputies standing in solidarity with their extra-parliamentary shock troops — all this awakens bad

memories."

What the *Frankfurter Allgemeine* actually reveals in their petty and ridiculous attempt to Nazi-bait the antimissile movement is not bad memories but nightmares about the future. It was of critical importance that the international proletariat mount the stage in this massive social struggle over the stationing of the new U.S. weapons in Western Europe. To not have done so, to not have struggled to build this demonstration and to interject a proletarian pole would have been a setback for the proletariat worldwide. As Bob Avakian wrote in "World War Must Be Opposed With Revolution, Not Peace" (RW No. 227, October 21, 1983):

"...if there is a chance to prevent world war through revolution it will require intensified revolutionary work to accelerate the development of the revolutionary movement and to transform political awakening, protest and rebellion among the masses into a conscious, determined revolutionary force. It will require the seizing on key events, especially sharp turns and the eruption of crises, even crises which do not yet represent the emergence of revolutionary conditions, whenever and wherever this occurs and particularly in strategic parts of the world and strategic situations. It is only work of this kind that holds the possibility of preventing world war through revolution...."



On Saturday, December 3, 175 demonstrators from throughout the northwest U.S. and British Columbia gathered at the "Peace Arch" at the U.S.-Canadian border. The demonstration — coming the day after the blockade of a plant manufacturing parts for the cruise missile in Portland, Oregon, in which 58 were arrested — was part of civil disobedience actions planned across the U.S. and Canada opposing the testing of the cruise missiles (which is scheduled for next year in Canada) and their deployment. At the park on the U.S.-Canadian border a group of demonstrators from Vancouver, B.C., camped out illegally on Friday night. After a brief rally on Saturday the entire demonstration marched through the Canadian border-crossing refusing to stop at the checkpoint. A distraught Canadian immigration official ran up to a contingent of watching Royal Canadian Mounted Police exclaiming "These people are all entering Canada illegally! What are we going to do?" The cops had already decided that arrests would only make the situation worse, so they only responded by blocking off all traffic headed into the U.S. from Canada. The demonstrators then decided to enter the U.S. illegally where officials also decided that it would be better to avoid a confrontation.

The action involved some of the more radical sections of the anti-nuke movement. A "Statement of Independence," which was drawn up by a group from Vancouver and read at the rally and posted on the Peace Arch which marks the border, for instance, read in part: "We affirm our right and our respon-

## Cruise Test Protest



sibilities and disassociate ourselves from the nation-state of Canada and from the nation-state the United States of America and their respective governments, charging that the existence and conduct of

those governments violates our basic rights as people of the earth." The statement went on to list 11 charges against the U.S. and Canadian governments ranging from the testing and deployment of cruise

and other nuclear missiles, to war conducted in Central America, to the oppression of women and native peoples. □

## Lebanon

Continued from page 1

one can only assume that such a response, which the U.S. made its pretext for the next day's bombing raid, was part of the calculations.

Still, if the U.S. successfully set up the circumstances leading into its December 4 bombing raid, the raid itself was nothing to write home about. The two U.S. bombers shot down, after all, equal the entire number of aircraft Israel lost during its whole 1982 campaign. If this was intended to be a one-shot demonstration of U.S. military superiority, it was a clear failure. But the signs point to this having been no one-shot deal; rather, it was a baptism by fire of new U.S. policy in Lebanon, and just one aspect of the "new" U.S.-Israeli strategic cooperation that will be brought to bear in that arena.

The immediate aim of this strategic cooperation is to drastically alter the political and military situation in Lebanon, effecting a clear-cut U.S.-Israeli victory there and bringing the Syrians — whether through fire or dialogue or both — to heel. As Shamir told the National Press Club on November 30, in a prepared speech, "A Syrian takeover of Lebanon will have a devastating impact on the entire region, on the chances of peace, and on Soviet influence throughout the Middle East. Conversely, the achievement of a free and independent Lebanon will be a boost to the peace camp and to the influence of the free world in our part of the world."

By "free and independent Lebanon," Shamir means not only a Lebanon generally integrated into the Western bloc, but specifically bound to Israel — militarily, politically and economically. This is precisely the meaning of the May 17 accord that the U.S. arranged between Israel and Lebanon earlier this year, which has become the major focus of contention between Syria and the U.S.-Israeli axis. It has also become a major focus of popular opposition on the part of the Lebanese as well, an opposition which has grown considerably over the past 16 months of Israeli occupation in Lebanon, particularly in the southern region. The breadth of this sentiment is such that not only the opposition forces arrayed against Amin Gemayel's government, but some of his own ministers as well, have called for changes in the accord — although there is a wide variance, of course, amongst these forces as to just what this would entail. The main upshot of the "national reconciliation" talks held amongst Lebanon's various "god-fathers" and militia heads in October was that the May 17 accord was deemed the

major obstacle to any foreseeable Lebanese sovereignty and national reconciliation — the very watchwords which the U.S. has cynically employed this past year in defining its own Lebanese "mission." Given this, Gemayel had no recourse but to give lip service to the demand. Predictably, when Gemayel approached the U.S. last week, immediately following the Shamir-Reagan talks, he was rebuffed on this point (if, indeed, he even elected to make the argument). The U.S. and Israel remain adamant — there is no acceptable version of "Lebanese sovereignty" other than as an Israeli protectorate. This is a position which only the right-wing Christian militia leaders choose to publicly endorse in Lebanon at the moment. Nonetheless, Gemayel was told by the U.S., in the characterization of the *New York Times*, to "widen his political base, expand his army's control of the countryside, and act more 'presidential.'"

The import of all this is clear enough — no longer is the U.S. particularly interested in maintaining its threadbare charade in Lebanon that it is somehow interested in "restraining" Israel in its regional designs. The U.S. backing of the Gemayel government, which allowed it to maintain a thin margin of independence from Israel (whose 1982 invasion, after all, created the conditions of its formation), is henceforth more explicitly conditional upon Gemayel's fealty to Israeli policy and aims. The U.S. will no longer expend much political capital in promoting the illusion that it is primarily concerned with bringing about "Lebanese national reconciliation," other than an occasional rhetorical aside. The results of that reconciliation, such as it has been, were clearly heading in the wrong direction. And as for Gemayel, he can bend to these new (in any event, less ambiguously stated) "rules of the game," or get out of the kitchen — cabinet and all.

Indeed, the new "strategic cooperation" between the U.S. and Israel in large part consists of restating, in the most brutally explicit form, the real "rules of the game" underlying the U.S.-Israeli relationship. The U.S. generally made the effort over the past decade to pose as the third party "mediator" between the Arab states and Israel, as the superpower which, because it was Israel's almost exclusive patron, could alone control its behavior. Even at the height of U.S.-Israeli collusion — such as during the invasion of Lebanon in 1982 — the U.S. made some effort to maintain this charade, even as it became all the more irrelevant to the actual alignment of forces and states in the region. The Arab heads of state, for the most part fully integrated into the Western bloc, have some reasons

for refusing to openly embrace Israel, mainly their domestic political stability. But in this respect, it is only their words that matter, as their deeds have long since spoken for themselves. And as for their abilities to maintain their own "sovereign" rule, the bottom-line guarantee of this has largely become the function of U.S. intelligence services and military assistance anyway.

The shift implicit in the "new" strategic cooperation is that now the U.S. has codified, indeed is openly flaunting, its "master/biting dog" relationship with Israel. It assumes that in doing so, the Arab heads of state (and some European powers) will fret, complain and gesticulate — but in the end tag along. Clearly, given its deteriorating position in Lebanon, and the substantial degree to which the Syrian position there is linked to the potential for a Soviet breakthrough in the Middle East, the U.S. is pushing hard to redefine, subordinate (and in effect, extinguish) the "Arab-Israeli conflict," or those aspects of it which basically represent lingering contradictions within its own bloc, in the interests of repulsing the Syrian-Soviet bid.

In the process, the U.S. is exacerbating contradictions within and among the states in its own alignment, even as it is pushing the volatile Lebanese situation very close to the edge of all-out war. The Soviet stake in Syria, while grounded in significant military assistance and coordination, is even more a function of its own imperial designs in the region. The interaction of all these factors, in the context of the growing global face-off, carries as yet unforeseen consequences.

An unknown, possibly important, factor in all this concerns the internal situation in Syria itself. Over the past few weeks a flurry of intelligence reports have been circulating the Western capitals concerning the apparently serious illness of Syrian President Hafez al-Assad. The active and unabashedly hopeful speculation is that he has suffered a heart attack or stroke, is presently unable to attend to affairs of state, and may not recover. If such were true, the ramifications could be substantial. Given the autocratic nature of Assad's rule, and the simmering conflicts inside Syrian society, the process of determining his successor(s) could be a turbulent one. Or so Shamir, for one, publicly speculated while in the U.S. In any event, the U.S. and Israel are apparently acting on the premise that there may be important internal weaknesses to exploit in Syria. Several U.S.-Israeli initiatives vis-à-vis the Gemayel government, designed to prod certain Lebanese opposition leaders away from Syrian influence, and even the timing of the December 3-4 air-strikes may have been intended with this in mind.

But even if such were true, it will take much more than this to "change the balance of forces on the ground" in Lebanon. For one thing, despite all the apparent sectarian strife in Lebanon (and the U.S.-Israeli-right-wing-Christian role in fomenting it), there is quite a bit more unanimity against the Israelis and the U.S. than the U.S. cares to admit. And while the masses are primarily under the sway of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois forces who are angling in diverse directions to cut an acceptable deal, the obstacles towards even a partial settlement are formidable. Similar to Israeli policy on the West Bank, the U.S. and Israel are in the market for Lebanese "moderates" — i.e., collaborators — to bolster Gemayel's position, but are offering terms to them which would seriously undermine their popular credibility.

Nor can the U.S. and Israel simply continue sending "signals" to Damascus and elsewhere via air and naval artillery strikes. Their political "solution" for Lebanon indeed requires that the "situation on the ground" be changed. And while air raids and naval artillery can wreak havoc and destruction, they are of little ultimate consequence unless ground troops enter combat, seize and hold territory, and the like. Throughout the period of the now rapidly crumbling cease-fire begun September 26, the U.S. has been working feverishly to bolster up the Lebanese Army, in its training and weaponry, and it is now being called upon to expand its territorial base. (Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Arens, while in the U.S. during the Shamir visit, publicly called upon the Lebanese government to initiate "guerrilla warfare" in Syrian-controlled territory as well. Given the long-standing practices of Israeli intelligence in its collusion with the right-wing Phalangist militia, this almost certainly spells an intensification of bloody car-bomb attacks and the like directed against civilians living in Syrian-controlled areas.) Still, the Lebanese Army on its own cannot realistically be expected to extend its control very far. Which means that the introduction of Israeli and/or U.S. ground forces into combat — a contingency which in various forms has already been discussed within the Pentagon and between the U.S. and its European allies — remains a logical consequence of the U.S.-Israeli current course. The current proposal from the Pentagon to remove the U.S. Marines from their "sitting duck" position near the Beirut airport hardly signals a "de-escalation" of the U.S. military role in Lebanon. At the very least, it signals a desire to get them into a more militarily tenable position, if and when the shit really starts to fly. □



# Onward, Judeo-Christian Soldiers

As the U.S. and Israel openly celebrate their new "strategic cooperation," mapping out their political and military strategies for Lebanon and points beyond, a growing strain of religiosity and biblically-derived claptrap inspires the proceedings.

Just prior to Israeli Prime Minister Shamir's visit to Washington, Jerry Falwell and the Moral Majority held their 5th annual convention in Jerusalem. The value the Israelis place on this relationship is shown by Defense Minister Moshe Arens' appearance as a featured speaker at the convention; and Falwell held cordial talks with Shamir as well. Falwell, pointing to his assembled flock, proclaimed the support of "more than 110,000 fundamentalist churches in America and thousands more evangelical churches" for the state of Israel, and *aficionados* of the polyester preacher-circuit in this country can readily attest to unstinting efforts of Falwell and his ilk. The ties between the Israeli government and the Moral Majority, of course, go back quite a ways, but this most recent, conspicuous affirmation of religious-political affinities comes at a rather auspicious time — fire and brimstone, indeed.

Noteworthy as well was the timing of the joint U.S.-Israeli air raids against Syrian positions last weekend. It may be only coincidental that they occurred at the advent of the Chanukah season,

which commemorates the victory of the Maccabees (a Jewish dynasty circa 200-100 B.C.) over the ancient Syrians. In any event, these connotations were hardly lost on the Israeli milieu, teeming as it is with biblical contrivances and reference points for current events and territorial conflicts.

But what might be called the "last word" on the subject has come from Ronald Reagan. Portions of a telephone conversation between the Great Communicator and Thomas A. Dine, Israel's chief lobbyist in Washington, were recently printed in the *New York Times* Sunday magazine. In his own inimitable style, the commander-in-chief ventured an opinion as to where things in Lebanon seem to be going:

"We've got to find a settlement there. You know, I turn back to your ancient prophets in the Old Testament, and the signs foretelling Armageddon, and I find myself wondering if — if we're the generation that's going to see that come about. I don't know if you've noted any of these prophecies lately, but, believe me, they certainly describe the times we're going through."

The statement suggests Reagan is possessed of an elevator that no longer reaches the top floors. But then again, that may be the intention; we may have here a replay of the old "madman in the White House" ploy. Certainly the "leak" of this purportedly private conversation to the *New York Times* must be taken with a touch of suspicion. Henry

Kissinger, for one, has acknowledged that, during the Nixon White House era, the president and his aides worked deliberately to give the Soviet leaders the impression that Nixon was a touch "mad," and was capable of *anything* — up to and including starting thermonuclear war. All this was designed to put the Soviets on the defensive and give Nixon and Co. that certain "psychological edge." Reagan's current visions of Armageddon could be a ruse along these same lines. Then again, maybe not. In any case, the developing world situation is such that whatever boundaries might exist between "play acting" and the "real thing" are becoming less and less definite. [1]

*And speaking of Warmongers for Peace... This ad for the British Army from the London Times speaks for itself.*

## Another Warmonger for Peace

Continued from page 11

to retaliate not by going after just their remaining missiles but by hitting both military and civilian targets intensively" — i.e., to get the job done as fast as possible by wasting their population centers as well, without blinking an eye!

Here, according to Turner, the "slower, more deliberate" cruise would supposedly give the Russians plenty of time (about an hour and a half after launch!) to reconcile themselves to a U.S. nuclear attack and the fact that they had better "absorb it and then negotiate" or else "our entire remaining arsenal would immediately be launched in one devastating blow. This would provide more margin for reason to reassert itself..." — and, need we say, for humanitarianism, mom and apple pie to prevail. All in all, a most devastating, and quite bloodthirsty, critique of the doctrine of nuclear war-fighting!

So it turns out that Turner's opposition to certain aspects of the U.S.'s military buildup, like that of many of his imperialist peacenik brethren, arises from tactical and strategic differences, not over *whether* but over *how best* to fight in the upcoming war(s). And while his nuclear stratagems differ in some ways from mainline U.S. war planning, certainly his recommendations for more flexible, mobile and dispersed "world intervention" represent an area of great concern to every imperialist war planner, as events in Grenada and Lebanon show. [1]

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## Army Officer



# 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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