



# REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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**Step Into  
1984**



"This Year's For You": A Modern Rendition of the Four Riders of the Apocalypse



# Holiday Greetings From The D.C. Police: Murder

Washington, D.C. On Thursday, December 15th, police brutally murdered Darryl Rhones, a young Black man widely liked in the community. Rhones was standing on a D.C. street when cars pulled up, plainclothes police jumped out and grabbed Darryl from behind. He was handcuffed and thrown to the ground. A crowd gathered as cops beat Darryl, who kept saying, "What did I do? I didn't do anything." Darryl's aunt, Shirley, was arrested for disorderly conduct when she ran out to try to help him. "The cops were acting like they wanted to provoke people," a witness told the *RW*. "They had guns and knives out. When Darryl's 11-year-old sister protested one pig put a gun to her head and told her be quiet or I'll blow your head off."

A friend of the family told the *RW* that Darryl had come to S Street to pick up his little sister who was visiting on the block. When this friend went outside after hearing the commotion, the street was filled with unmarked police cars, and plainclothes cops were beating Darryl while holding the gathering crowd of people back with guns.

Neighbors told the *RW* that cops dragged Darryl to a police car, threw him on the car and beat him some more. "He looked like he was dead or dying when they took him out of here," neighbors said.

Two days later, on Saturday, the *Washington Post* reported in a front-page story that a man had died in police custody. According to the *Post*, Darryl had been pointed out to police by an "unidentified citizen" as a suspect in a shooting that had occurred about two hours earlier on the same block. The police story, repeated with slight variations for the next five days, was that Darryl had been "apparently high on PCP and had put up a fight." The *Post* reported that in an "apparent violation" of routine procedures, police had taken Darryl to an upstairs office when they brought him to the station, then down to the cellblock where he was found unconscious by an officer who attempted to give cardiopulmonary resuscitation. An

ambulance was called and Darryl was reported dead on arrival at George Washington University Hospital. The next day the *Post* reported that no charges had been filed against Darryl Rhones until 3:15 a.m. Friday, five hours after he had been pronounced dead. Nine officers were placed on routine administrative leave pending investigation.

On Sunday morning the news broke of a second death in police custody. Loren Thomas, a Native American, had been arrested Saturday night for disorderly conduct at a downtown nightspot. According to the *Post*, he had been put into a squad car with another prisoner, and collapsed and died when police tried to "assist him" from the car upon arrival at the station. Three more officers were placed on administrative leave pending determination of the cause of death.

The D.C. medical examiner's office reported that Darryl Rhones had died of "cardiac arrest after a neck compression" and that Loren Thomas had died of natural causes, "positional asphyxia associated with acute alcohol intoxication." The officers who had been placed on administrative leave in connection with Thomas' death were reinstated and the case was closed.

"Neck compression"? "Positional asphyxia"? Evidently, use of the choke-hold is a common police tactic. D.C. police chief Turner appeared particularly sensitive to this after the murders, even suggesting that the department might "reconsider" its use of the choke-hold, though he demanded "medical evidence" that this "procedure" was actually "dangerous"! (Death, apparently, doesn't count as "medical evidence": a hold akin to the choke-hold had been reported as routinely taught at the D.C. Police Academy in relation to an earlier death due to "neck compression" while in the custody of the D.C. pigs.)

So much for this and other recent calls for "reform." Actually, the line overwhelmingly taken regarding the murders of Rhones and Thomas has been to call for an internal investigation through the police department and a grand jury. The

attempt has been to stonewall any opposition to police murder. The *Post* ran an editorial stating that pending official findings, and in respect of the civil liberties of the pigs in question, "no assumption of fault or guilt should be made." The editorial suggested that if the eventual grand jury report did not call for any further proceedings against the cops, "then its decisions should be made public." Now it's up to the grand jury to heed the *Post*'s editorial advice.

## War on Black People

Darryl Rhones' murder in particular exposes the essence of the so-called "war on drugs" launched in 1981. Six of the nine cops placed on administrative leave were members of the narcotics task force, an elite 34-man team created to prosecute this "war." The street where Darryl was publicly beaten lies within the Shaw-14th Street area, the "riot corridor" only blocks from the White House and D.C.'s downtown office district. The "war on drugs" has been concentrated in this area and has in fact been a major focus of repression against the Black masses.

Over the past four years the tactics developed and used in the Shaw-14th Street area have included hosing down a street crowd with a water truck, driving motorcycles and squad cars into the crowd on the sidewalk, and thousands of arrests. Articles glorifying the tough tactics and psychological warfare waged by various "street cops" in this area have been major features of the *Washington Post*. Police operations in the "war on drugs" have focused on crowd control, dispersal, and the development of tactics to terrorize and intimidate people, especially the youth. Beatings of handcuffed youth are routine, and recently police have been putting guns to their heads as well.

According to the *Washington Post*, the narcotics task force, which has made over 8,000 arrests in its two years of operations, "often relies on a controversial tactic known as 'rip teams' or 'jump out squads.' An undercover officer finds out who was selling drugs in a street crowd,

then signals a squad of three to five policemen who approach in an unmarked car, jump out and arrest the suspect." What this "often relied on tactic" means for the masses can be seen in the events leading to Darryl's death.

The police story — that Darryl had been fingered as an assailant by an "unidentified citizen" — was so flimsy that it looked more like a threat than a cover. Why would anyone be hanging around on the same block after shooting somebody two hours earlier? To bolster the fantasy, a vicious campaign was launched against Darryl and, by implication, all young men like him. Legal charges which had been previously brought against Darryl were repeated ad nauseam, regardless of the fact that none of these charges had ever been brought to trial.

The public execution of Darryl Rhones was part of an intensifying police war of terror aimed at a section of the Black masses, a terror campaign which has been carefully built up as demanded and supported by the "decent citizens" against drugs. Ibrahim Munim, executive director of the Shaw Area Project Committee and much publicized community leader in the "war on drugs," told the *Post* that generally the community supports what the task force does, and that he objected "to the focus being put on one incident such as last week's death rather than on the larger question of controlling drug sales." This point of view contrasts sharply with that of a young woman we spoke with on the block where Darryl was attacked. "The police," she said, "just use that war on drugs as an excuse to do whatever they want to do. When those cops [on administrative leave] get put back on the street, there's going to be a lot more people killed."

And what about D.C.'s Black mayor, and mainly Black city government? They haven't been talking about these killings. They've been too busy having their pictures taken with Jesse Jackson, and arguing over whether or not support for the maverick or for the Mondale is in the "best interests" of Black people! □

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# OVERRULE THIS, MOTHERFUCKER

by Bob Avakian

We have to understand just how serious and how strategic this visit of Deng Xiaoping was for the U.S. ruling class. The rulers of China are pragmatists, narrow bourgeois careerists, who are looking out for the interests of their own clique and stratum of society, a privileged stratum that is feeding parasitically off the working people in China. They will sell China and the Chinese laboring people to whoever makes them the best offer. They are already offering foreign companies the opportunity to come into China and make one-hundred percent profit off of investing in China, so long as they leave behind a few machines (just as took place in old China under the domination of various foreign powers). They are offering these international corporations whole areas where they can come in, manage the factory and the whole production. And you know what that means. You know what it means when these bloodsuckers from Jones & Laughlin Steel or ARMO go to China and set up, organize and manage a steel mill over there. We've worked under them here, we know what it means — and it's got nothing to do with revolution and socialism! It's got everything to do with capitalism, exploitation, and degradation! That is what Deng Xiaoping is bringing back to China, and he will sell China to whoever offers him and his clique the best deal.

And that also includes to the Soviet Union. Mao Tsetung pointed this out himself — don't think that because today these Deng Xiaopings and Hua Guofengs and the rest of them are cozying up to, putting themselves under the domination of, and selling the Chinese people out to the interests of U.S. imperialism — that tomorrow they won't turn around and make an argument that they have to do that same thing with the Soviet Union instead. In fact, this is a very sharply debated question inside China today within the ruling circles. "Which superpower should we hitch ourselves and subordinate ourselves to?" There is a growing section of the Chinese ruling clique arguing for moving away from the U.S.: "It's too unreliable. It's too weak. They won't toughen up their military stand enough, so maybe we had better go with the Soviet Union instead."

When they brought Deng Xiaoping over here they were actually tightening up China under U.S. domination as part of its war bloc, getting prepared for World War 3. That is what they had him here for more than anything else, because China occupies an extremely strategic place in the world. Whichever superpower hitches it up to its bloc will have a tremendous advantage over the other one when they go down with each other. In fact, if the Chinese revisionists switched bandwagons and firmly hitched China to the Soviet Union, that might very well be the thing that would start world war. The U.S. imperialists would say, "That's as far as things can go. We can't allow Japan and West Germany, under the weight of all this, to leave our camp as well and also reach an accommodation with the Russians." So these are heavy things they are talking about.

Think about it. Deng Xiaoping came here to the U.S. and ten days after he left this country China invaded Vietnam. Now, anybody who thinks that Deng came over here and said, "Listen Jimmy Carter, come over here, I want to tell you something. We're getting ready to put a hit on Vietnam. What do you think about that?" But Jimmy Carter told him, "I don't want to hear a word about it! Please don't talk about such nasty stuff in the White House, you hear?" If anybody thinks that Jimmy Carter and Deng Xiaoping did not sit down and discuss this question before Deng unleashed forces to invade Vietnam — then such a person ought to himself get up and run on the Democratic or the Republican party ticket for President, because he is just fool enough and criminal enough to deserve it, trying to hide things that way. Even a fool can see that what they were doing there was plotting. What you had going on in Vietnam when China invaded was *not* (as the U.S. rulers sat back and pretended and talked about on all their media) two communist countries fighting each other. What you had was the Soviet Union fighting the United States by proxy. The Soviets were fighting through the army of Vietnam, where revolution has also been betrayed, and the U.S. was fighting with its forces dressed in the uniforms of the Chinese army. That's what was actually going on there; they were fighting by proxy, fighting warm-up rounds, preparatory bouts to the really big showdown they are preparing for, World War 3.

Of course Walter Cronkite and all the rest of them got up there and said, "The visit of Chinese Vice Premier Deng Xiaoping to the United States is a very important move in the efforts of the United States government to secure peace in the Asian area, and indeed, in the whole world. U.S. officials are very concerned that this move meet with success so that peace can be preserved until the year 2500. And that's the way it is." Bullshit! They brought Deng Xiaoping over here to try and brainwash us while they talked undercover about how to get better prepared for war.

## Preparations for War

If you don't believe they are getting ready to unleash World War 3, check it out. Look at the maneuvering they are doing around this SALT agreement — what does it represent? Just more of the same kind of thing. They're using it, both the rulers of the U.S. and the rulers of the Soviet Union; both have (so far at least) found it useful to have this SALT agreement for several reasons. In no way does it eliminate or even reduce the number of nuclear weapons, but it does allow them to scrap some weapons that they now consider outdated or of inferior quality and to introduce more technically sophisticated, higher quality, and more destructive nuclear weapons. That was clear when Carter came along and started to work on the MX missile. He authorized work on the MX missile immediately after SALT was signed. What they are doing with the SALT agreement is setting the framework within which they are going to fight this war and use all these nuclear weapons. That's what the SALT agreement is about. Being mad-dogs, like all imperialists, both superpowers want to control the world, and they are setting down certain ground rules within which to fight this war and even to use nuclear weapons (of course, they will both break them when the time comes).

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

# The Strategic Importance of the Visit by Deng Xiaoping to the U.S.



And we don't matter shit to them! We are only a digit in a computer. They are writing articles — you can read them right now in their scientific journals — coldly calculating how many tens or hundreds of millions of people are an "acceptable level of death" in this great contest to see which one of these gangsters can loot and rape and rob and plunder most of the world. That's all we are to them: people to work like dogs; bullets to be shot out the end of a gun or targets to receive bullets instead of them; figures they calculate, coldly and brutally and uncaringly, to see how they can maintain their system and keep their rule and their plunder going and breathe a little more life into their dying system.

They also want this SALT agreement so that each of them can portray the other one as the aggressor. That's one of the things they want to do besides setting the framework for this war. Each of them likes to talk about peace so they can say, "It ain't me, it's him! I want to have peace and I understand that you all want peace. I'm not aggressive, I'm not war-like. Forget about Vietnam and Korea and the Dominican Republic and everything else. I just want to be peaceful. I just want to be me and be peaceful here. It's them Russians. It's them Russians — they want to take what we have stolen fair and square. Now, we can't allow that, can we?" And, of course, you go over to the Soviet Union and they run the same thing at you only the other way. "We're a socialist country." (And that's a lie. They once were, but power was stolen back from the working class there. But they tell people...) "Hey, we're socialists, right? Socialists don't need war. Socialists are for peace. This country is a powerful bastion for peace. It's them imperialists over there. It's that United States over there. Look what they did in Vietnam. Look what they did in the Dominican Republic and Korea." But the really important thing is *they are both right* — both what the Soviet Union is saying about the U.S. and what the U.S. is saying about the Soviet Union, that they are the imperialist marauders, robbers, war-like aggressors — it's true on both sides. They are both dogs: one pack of dogs, another pack of dogs, both canines, both dogs.

We have to get down and understand the essence of all this so that we can learn how to deal with it, not just understand that it is the nature of the beast, but more thoroughly understand it in order to abolish it and move on to whole new heights of human history. They want the SALT agreement — and they also need the SALT *debate*. Now, they are not going to come out and run this debate like this: Should the people of the world condemn both these monstrous superpowers, these aggressive dogs, for the criminals they are, the robbers, murderers, and looters they are, rise up and struggle against them both, overthrow and abolish the imperialist system worldwide? Or, should we have the SALT agreement to limit strategic nuclear arms? That's not going to be the way the debate is presented.

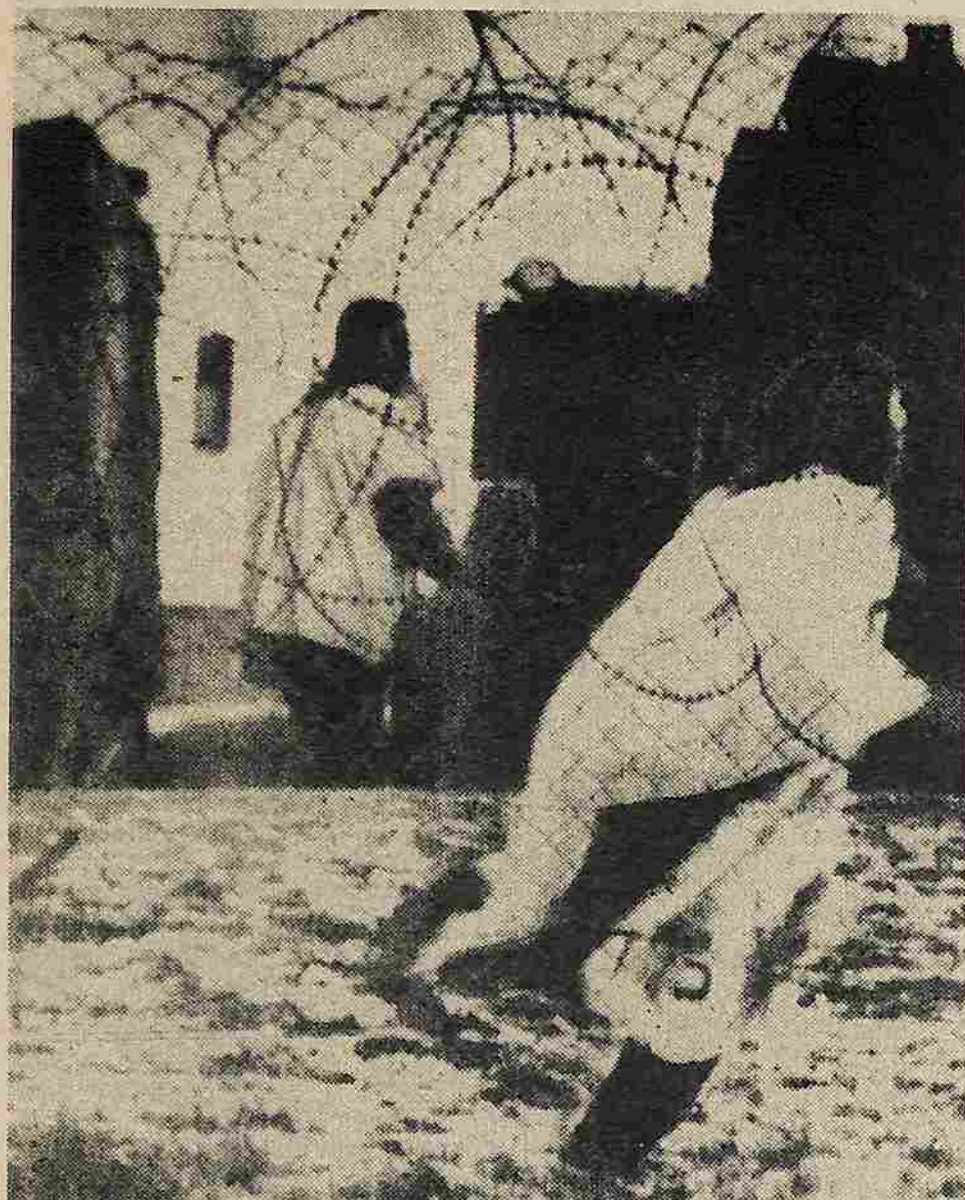
I think by now you got the point, and you already knew that anyway. What they are going to do is get out here and say: Does SALT and the SALT agreement weaken or strengthen America's defense capabilities? Does it help put us

Continued on page 4



## New York, West Germany

# Plowshares Action, Government Reaction



Through the fence.

Two recent "Plowshares" anti-nuke actions on military bases in the U.S. and West Germany dramatically challenged the war preparations of the Western bloc. On December 4th, Father Carl Kabat, one of the Plowshares 8 in the 1980 protest at the General Electric plant in King of Prussia, PA, joined three West Germans and the four took crowbars, hammers, and wirecutters to a Pershing II missile transport tractor at the Mutlangen U.S. army base. They had trekked through the woods for an hour to a point on the perimeter chain-link fence close to the tractor. After cutting through the fence they smashed several parts and controls on the missile carrier and cut its wiring and tubing before stunned U.S. guards arrived on the scene. All four were held for an hour and then released. The authorities obviously were hard pressed to know how to "low profile" this daring protest, which the *New York Times* described as "the first report of sabotage since protests against the nuclear missiles began last Easter."

Ten days earlier on Thanksgiving Day seven members of the Atlantic Life Community had also done some "turning

swords into..." work, at Griffiss Air Force Base near Rome in Upstate New York. At 4:30 a.m. four women and three men scaled the fence around this SAC base which is home to the cruise missile-equipped B-52s that regularly test fire into the Cold Lake, Alberta, Canada area and fly up to the Soviet borders. The seven got into a hangar, hammered on the bomb bay doors of a B-52 and went after the plane's engines and power support system. They poured blood on its massive wings and spraypainted "320 Hiroshimas" on its undercarriage. Then they walked out on the tarmac, held up a "Swords Into Plowshares" banner and prayed and sang for more than an hour until air force security finally arrived and asked them to leave. But when the guard took the protestors' advice to check out the hangar to "see what an act of disarmament looks like" the shit hit the fan. Fifteen to twenty M-16-wielding troops surrounded the seven and air force intelligence and FBI rushed in. The offenders were tightly handcuffed and held in base vehicles for 10 hours before being taken to the "public safety building" in Syracuse, New York. All seven refused to

post the \$10,000 bail. Two and a half weeks later on December 12th they were charged with "sabotage — interference with defense of the U.S.," destruction of government property and conspiracy, totaling 25 years and \$30,000 fine.

This is the first time such federal charges have been levied against Plowshares activists. This escalation by the state is clearly aimed at trying to cut off such bold and "treasonous" incursions on the military installations and to try to intimidate antiwar protests generally. However, at the same December 12th arraignment, which was attended by a full courtroom of supporters, the judge released the seven "saboteurs" without bail pending trial, which may be several months off due supposedly to case backlogs. The state, it seems, clearly wants to send a message with the sabotage charges, but is not anxious right now to deal with the publicity of continuing incarceration at the trial itself.

Another version of the bourgeoisie's tactical footwork around such anti-nuke protests was on display later in December in a Lowell, Mass., court where seven other members of the Atlantic Life Community were on trial for their Plowshares action at the AVCO MX plant last July. They went into the Boston-area plant and smashed testing and missile gear itself and poured blood on blueprints. The original charges and damages had already been scaled down to misdemeanor levels and at the trial itself some testimony was allowed on international law and U.S. nuclear policy. But as in all other cases the judge ruled that international law did not apply and especially struck down any "justification" defense. In a truly striking exercise of 1984 Orwellian legalese his honor insisted to

argue that the defense had to prove that they acted to prevent an "imminent" nuclear war, meaning "within the next month," and that their actions had the immediate effect of stopping the war, like "within the next five minutes." For good measure the judge also ruled that "legislative conclusion" applied to the whole business anyway, i.e., Congress had ordained that citizens do not have the right to interfere with U.S. foreign policy. The jury came back twice for clarification on the justification question and then dutifully found them guilty on all counts. Sentences were one to three months depending on one's prior anti-nuke record. From the beginning, both AVCO itself and the government have treated this case with a low-profile approach, carefully avoiding publicity, even deflecting, as is apparent, major courtroom argumentation. But the jury convictions show one advantage of this strategy of the government — convictions by a jury and a clear precedent has been set just as much heavier charges are being levelled in the Syracuse case.

As in the latest Plowshares cases, the U.S. has continued to meet determined resistance to its fast-accelerating war preparations. Especially against those who refuse to abide by the rules of responsible, patriotic protest, the government has responded with intense repression and — as in this and another case involving religious pacifists recently — with conspiracy charges. Even so, in this latest Plowshares case, which the bourgeoisie decidedly does *not* want to go unchallenged, the government must walk somewhat carefully, knowing full well the action symbolizes the hatred of millions for their war plans. □

## Visit by Deng

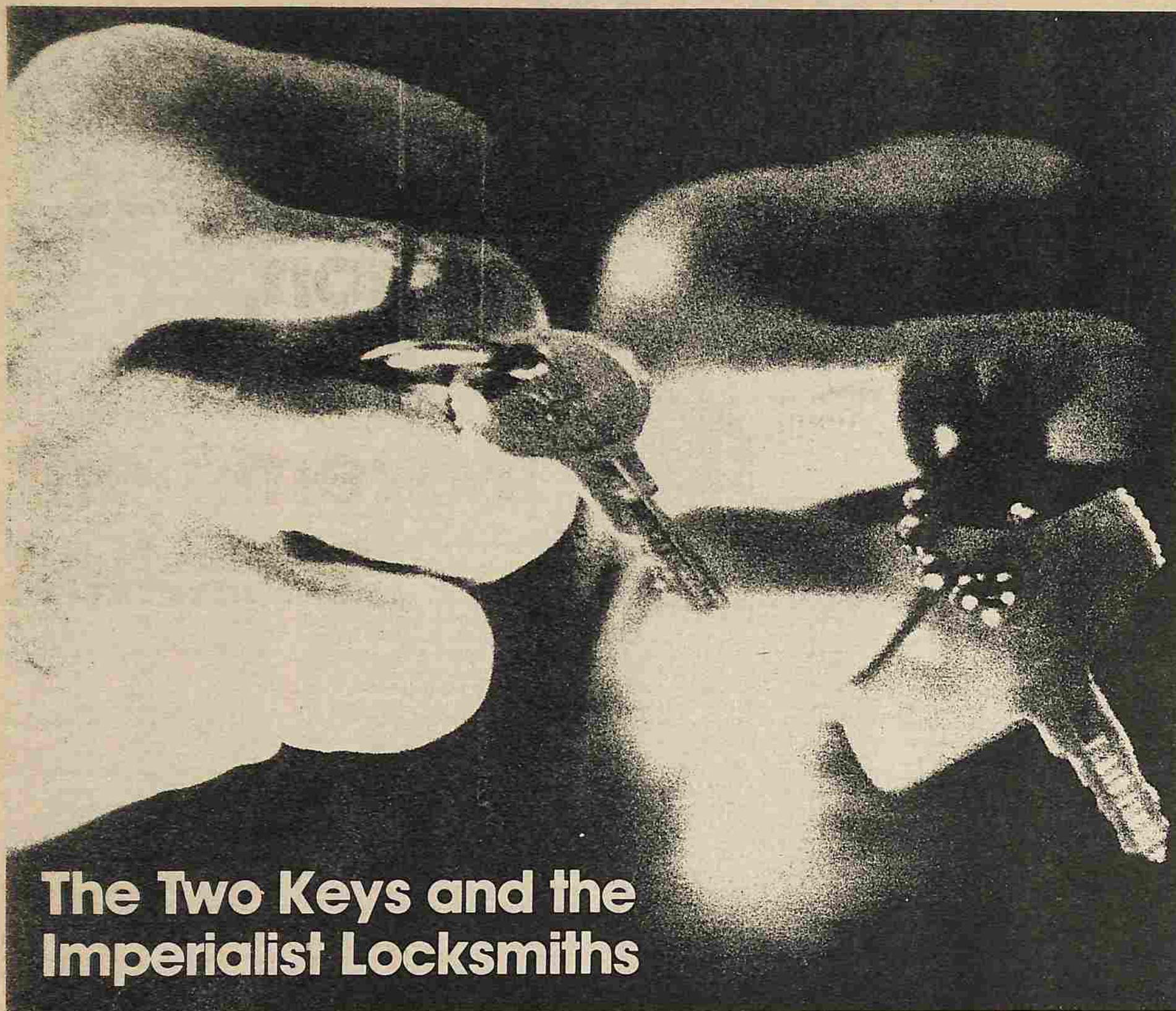
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in a better position to stand up to the Russians, or does it put us in a weaker position? They are going to tell us that *these* are the terms of the debate. They are going to have fools out here carrying on this debate for them, because let's face it, some people haven't woken up yet, and there are going to be fools out here arguing that foolishness back and forth. They are going to work people overtime trying to get us involved in this kind of ridiculous game of seeing who should take it worse from the system instead of uniting, seeing the real nature of this system worldwide, and rising up to overthrow it worldwide. We are going to have to help people get hip, wake them up, tap them on the shoulder, pull their

coat, and say "Hey! That's not the argument! The argument is and the clear question is: why the hell should we any longer tolerate a system that is plotting, planning, and preparing to unleash a world war as well as all the other atrocities it commits every day against us and people all around the world?" That is the question that we have to inject into the debate, into the discussion, into the argument, because nobody else is going to do it. But that *is* the real question for the masses of people. Our questions are not the same as their questions; by the same token, our answers are fundamentally different and opposed to their answers, and we have to start posing the questions and providing the answers in our own interests and not according to the terms they present us with. □

From a Speech  
in Cleveland, Ohio





## The Two Keys and the Imperialist Locksmiths

They may look like house keys, but they're not...

In the wake of the first Pershing II and cruise deployments in Europe, a flap has been raised especially in Britain about the launch-key to the Euromissiles, that is, about arrangements for actually firing the damn things. Representatives of loyal, but out-of-power parties have acted outraged over the so-called "one-key" arrangement whereby the U.S. nominally has control over when and where the missiles will be launched. The question is raised as a supposed issue of "European sovereignty": the day following the deployment in England, November 15, the leader of the British Labour Party, Neil Kinnock, made a big show of grilling Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher about how or whether she would confer with the U.S. on launching the cruises "assuming President Reagan bothered to ask you," Kinnock said, and went on, "Don't you know the difference between the status of a partner in NATO and a lackey to the Americans?"

Back in October, in response to the invasion of Grenada, another Labour Party leader (Denis Healey) had blustered that "Reagan has shown by his Caribbean action that his administration cannot command confidence, for example, in arrangement for controlling and if necessary, for firing cruise missiles." British newspapers chimed in with a poll which showed 94% of the people in favor of "dual-key," that is, joint control over the firing of the missiles.

There is an obvious attempt here to paint the U.S. as riding roughshod over the Europeans, bullying the poor, "over-the-hill-gang" imperialists into accepting the missiles as a lesser evil to the threat from Soviet SS-20s. This Europeanism has had an echo, too, in certain mainstream peace groups. The implication of all this demagoguery, of course, is that by taking the weapons out of the hands of a "trigger-happy Reagan administration," the European public would be reassured that the missiles would only be used for "national defense." And here we reach

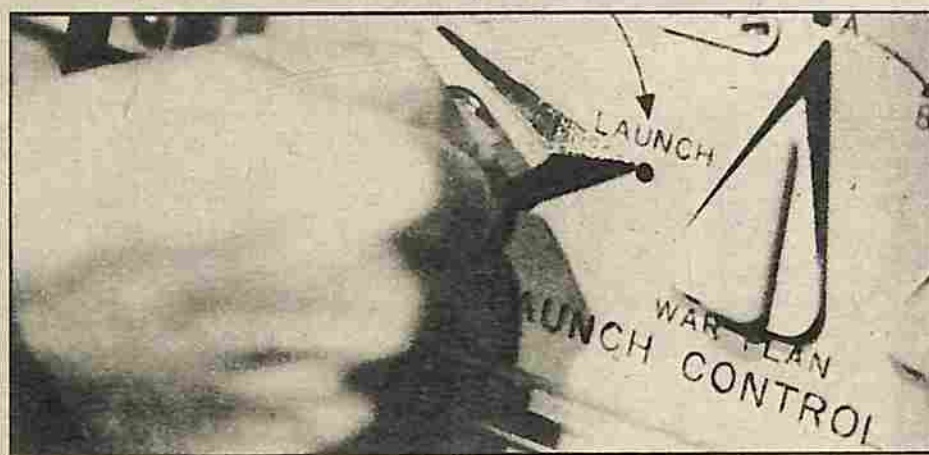
the deadly poison running within this issue. The European NATO powers are *not* quaint old, de-fanged powers, but imperialist, and every bit as interested as the U.S. in ultimately prevailing over the rival Soviet bloc and redividing the world to their benefit.

And fundamentally, this is no doubt why the U.S. — according to Flora Lewis, writing in the November 18th *NY Times* — did in fact offer "two-key" joint control to the European NATO powers in the first place:

"The other allies' (referring to the Europeans—*RW*) lack of power to control missiles on their soil has become a crucial issue. Not many know that the U.S. originally offered a "dual-key" system, which was rejected by all. The host country would have bought the launchers while the U.S. kept the warheads, so neither could be fired without the others' help."

Why was the two-key system rejected? Lewis cites, among other factors, the question of "responsibility." The single word speaks a mouthful about the nature of this alliance and its deployments. "All" the NATO powers finally decided against putting full responsibility on the Europeans for the weapons but instead, as has become apparent, a division of labor was worked out whereby the U.S. would bear the main onus for the deployment. The Europeans on the other hand are pictured as caught and forced to choose between the two superpowers — indeed this will certainly be the way masses in Europe are led into actual warfare as the conflict comes to a head. The "one-key" system shows not a U.S. running rampant over allies, but the extreme cynicism and deceit of *all* these imperialists who must stampede the masses into war preparations on a continent which has twice been devastated by imperialist war.

Moreover, a "one-key" system greatly enhances the "risk-sharing" strategy which is the very purpose of the deploy-



ment. In the bloody calculations of the West, the Europeans who receive the missiles risk attracting Soviet strikes on the missile sites on their territories while the U.S., by launching American missiles on the Soviet homeland, risks retaliation by the Soviets against U.S. territory. Plainly the U.S. risk is made far more dramatic and visible by placing the American missiles solely under American control.

But perhaps what most exposes the demagoguery of the "demand" for a "two-key" system is that previous to the Pershing and cruise deployments, the U.S. pushed rather consistently *in favor* of joint control. Indeed, prior to the current deployment, joint control was a major way the Western bloc demonstrated its blood-pact of unity, just as "risk-sharing" with its one-key system does today. In the 1950s, as the United States began to move thousands of tactical nuclear weapons into West Germany and the NATO strategy came to depend, politically and militarily, on weapons dominated by the United States, it became politically necessary to come up with some system that would at least in appearance give the Europeans some share in the nuclear war machine. "The logic of a tactical nuclear strategy,"

writes Robert Osgood in a standard history of NATO's early years, "seemed destined to jeopardize America's relations with her allies unless she would increase their share in the control of the decision to use these weapons." (Further citations in this article are taken from this same source.)

In 1957, the Soviet Union launched its Sputnik orbiting satellite program, thus demonstrating its capacity to produce booster rockets which would deliver nuclear warheads at intercontinental range. U.S. planners claimed that the Soviet Union might soon be able to obtain an intercontinental missile technology superior to that of the United States, and hence gain the ability to launch a pre-emptive first strike against the United States. In order to counter this alleged threat, in December 1957, the United States announced a plan to deploy American Intermediate Range Ballistic Missiles (IRBMs) in Europe which would be capable of striking targets in the Soviet Union — the first, and the forerunners, of the present Euromissiles. "At the annual North Atlantic Council Meeting in December... Secretary Dulles... tried to sweeten the pill by promising the dispersion of accessible nuclear stockpiles for

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# A Nation of Prisonhouses

A stark manifestation of intensifying national oppression has been the huge increase in the number of Black people incarcerated in the U.S. Indeed, side by side with the integration of a number of Black elected officials and others into the state apparatus (and the building up of a more privileged Black middle class) has come another trend of the 1970s and early '80s — the building of a mammoth structure of penitentiaries and jails at every level of government to imprison hundreds of thousands of Black masses, as well as the masses of all nationalities.

A qualitative leap in the U.S. prison population began in the early 1970s. In 1972 it was under 200,000. Within a decade, by December 1981, it had more than doubled to 412,000. Black prisoners make up about 50% of this total, up from 40% in 1969. From December 1981 to January 1984 the prison population is projected to increase nearly 100,000 — from 369,000 to 453,000 (not even counting prisons run by local governments). If all jails are included, a total of five million people were imprisoned in 1982, including juveniles. One half of this total were not convicted of any crime but simply being too poor to post bail. Breaking this down even further: one out of 13 Black people is arrested each year and Blacks are incarcerated eight and a half times as frequently as whites.

Illinois is a fine example. The number of inmates has increased 122.5% since 1974. Of more than 14,000 prisoners in state facilities, 61% are Black (including 62% of death row) and maximum security prisons like Statesville and Pontiac are 80% Black. This figure does not include local jails, like Cook County Jail in Chicago, or juveniles. During this time felony filings and convictions have more than tripled. But contrary to bourgeois hysteria that holds that the rise of the prison population is a reflection of more crime in the streets, in reality it's a function of specific policies implemented by the state from the police departments to the courts to the laws to the number of prosecutors. There's been an across the board beefing up of this repressive apparatus since the '60s. For example, one

change alone in the Illinois criminal code — making "residential burglary" a Class I offense equal in mandatory prison time to involuntary manslaughter — has meant an increase in 834 inmates in Illinois since January 1982.

The reality behind these figures can be illustrated by pointing to the Cabrini Green Housing Project in Chicago where 13,500 Black people live. In the first five months of 1982 there were 4,200 arrests. The police unit assigned to Cabrini is not even allowed to make arrests outside a three block radius of the project. Cabrini is an all-Black enclave surrounded by white middle-class areas so this policy means that this police unit is assigned to "head hunt" (a term used by the police) for Blacks. Their patrol cars are equipped with computers and they sit at bus stops as people go to work in the morning, ask them for identification and then run a check on them. People with warrants out for such things as child support payments or traffic tickets or anything else are then picked up. In other words the huge increase in arrests at Cabrini is due to an increase in the repressive apparatus which put Cabrini under a virtual state of siege starting in mid-1981.

This police rampage at Cabrini Green concentrates what is daily life for the oppressed masses. An American Civil Liberties Union lawsuit earlier this year put it this way: as a "conservative guess" at least 500,000 people in Chicago over a five year period, and perhaps as many as hundreds of thousands a year, have been arrested on disorderly conduct charges, some held for hours or others overnight and usually released the next morning when the arresting officer didn't show up in court. This massive jailing of people, the ACLU claims, was overwhelmingly directed against Blacks and Latinos. And this is only the tip of the iceberg because the lawsuit doesn't even include a whole series of other Chicago ordinance violations or misdemeanors. And for those with a police department rap sheet (people previously arrested and fingerprinted), their arrest record is further built up, which can then be used in future convictions to assess longer prison

time.

This huge imprisonment of the masses has given rise to something the authorities call the "prison crisis." The prisons are literally bulging at the seams. Last year in Cook County Jail in Chicago people were sleeping on the floors without heat in the winter, and prisoners lacked even basic supplies such as toilet paper, soap and light bulbs. Conditions rivaled those of a medieval dungeon. Murder outright is added to murderous conditions: in Chicago jails during a two year period from 1979, at least 27 prisoners, nearly all Black, were found hung to death. And this is typical of conditions around the country. Thousands of prisoners are living in tents in California, Texas and Florida. In New Jersey the federal government has turned over the stockade at Ft. Dix to the state for more prison space. However, the term "prison crisis" does not refer to the fact that there are too many people in jail. When the authorities use this term they mean that despite a massive effort to construct prisons over the last decade, there simply aren't enough and they are having to release some prisoners early. They want to lock up even more people.

How is the problem being "solved"? In Illinois their creativity has blossomed forth. Of course there are the old solutions of double- and triple-celling and simply building more prisons. Recently the governor announced yet another wave of prison construction which could ultimately cost one half billion dollars, and which adds approximately 3,000 more beds. Since the mid-1970s the state has already built prison space for 3,500. (Nationally \$10 billion is being funded for prison construction and in 1981, 557 new jails, state penitentiaries and federal prisons were either planned or under construction.)

Another creative solution is the experimental sentencing program underway in Lake County, Illinois, which is being evaluated by the National Institute of Justice. Prisoners wear electronic bracelets that are linked to a computer which allows authorities to know their exact location. This way a judge can

sentence them to jail in their own homes rather than a prison. A truly advanced form of house arrest.

Then there is the idea of turning state mental institutions into prisons. Illinois is already converting two mental facilities — the former Dixon Mental Health Center, and the Bowen Developmental Center located in Harrisburg — into prisons. Governor Thompson also had targeted three other state mental institutions that could be converted to prisons and just four weeks ago closed two of them at Manteno and Galesburg, while at the same time announcing some more new prison construction. Although the governor's office told us that there "are no plans" to convert these facilities into prisons, there is much to indicate otherwise: all the mental patients, for example, are to be cleared out by December 1985. (What happens to these former mental patients dumped into the streets is a whole other exposure. As just one indication: a recent study estimated that 23% of Chicago's homeless are former mental patients (one mental health clinic told us they thought the figure was really much higher). The clearing out of state mental institutions, themselves horrible torture chambers, is part of a longer-term trend over the last two decades with its criminal logic. But these closings have accelerated recently and at least part of the reason for this is to free up state revenues and space for prisons.)

But if these facts indicate certain trends, one should assess them all-sidedly. There may be some prison "reform" in America's future after all (on the heels, in particular, of the election of Harold Washington, the candidacy of Jesse Jackson, and the various other "revolutions" of 1983). The Illinois Justice Information Authority reports that during World War 2 not only did the overall prison population drop but in addition, 3,300 prisoners in the state were paroled into the military under a special program.

You can almost hear it now: "From the guttermost to the uppermost! From the depths of degradation to the champions of the nation!"



## Shine the Light of Revolution Behind the Prison Walls

Contribute to the Prisoners Revolutionary Literature Fund

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

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

Dear *Revolutionary Worker*,

I'm incarcerated in the Sheridan Correctional Center. I've seen issue 7/29/83 and WOW. You just got to send me one fast, and please put me on your mailing list now. Your story on Bob Avakian ("Bob Avakian Denied Political Refugee Status in France") was fantastic. Gentlemen, please consider and grant my request.

P.S. I'm indigent at the moment, but if you insist, I will get the subscription fee required.

Dvoted

Greetings to the voice of the Revolutionary Communist Party.

I am writing a few words, so I may be able to receive a subscription of the great *Revolutionary Worker* — RCP. You see I just happen to be residing here in San Quentin, when a comrade of mine passed me something to read — (RCP), and I must say the paper was equipped with real news, the kind of things I like to read about and really want to know about. Now my comrade has been transferred to another so-called prison and I'm without the RCP so I'm hoping that you will send me the papers. I would pay for my subscription, but I have little money so it will be highly appreciated if you would subscribe free to this prisoner of the world.

Respectfully



# The USOC and Women in 1984 Olympics: A Neo-Spartan Tale

According to early Greek philosophy, vitality was an exclusively masculine attribute, and women were therefore banned from the arenas of Olympic sports. They were not permitted to watch, let alone participate in the Olympics in which society paid tribute to its political and religious heroes. They were allowed to contribute though, for frequently a "beautiful and good woman" was promised as an extra reward to the victor of the running high jump.

But in the interest of fairness to these historical roots of the modern-day Olympics, it should be pointed out that there were exceptions to the rule that banned women from athletics. In the Greek city-state of Sparta, select women were trained from early childhood in running, jumping, wrestling and javelin- and discus-throwing. All this was done in order to enhance their future role as breeders; the conventional wisdom behind this being that women trained as athletes (even if they did remain the "weaker sex") would provide the physical and emotional stamina necessary to bear great male warriors. So it was that, even while banned from the most prestigious sports arena of the Olympics, an important army of women were physically trained in order to best contribute to the state's preparation for battle. In this day and age, such "archaic" treatment of women is — of course — only an "ancient" Olympic tradition, as the United States Olympic Committee (USOC) will be the first to tell you.

Indeed, women will surely reach new heights of athletic achievement at the Olympics this year. And, in general, women's participation around the world in amateur and professional sports has greatly increased over the last decade. The women's marathon will be run for the first time in the Olympics this year, after some 14-15 years of protest by women internationally to include this and other middle- to long-distance track events in the Olympics. But even after more than a decade of organized protest by women athletes to generally increase the participation of women in the Olympics, still, only one-third of the events in 1984 will be open to women.

Efforts to increase women's sports have gone up against a whole history in the Olympics, and sports in general, of specifically *discouraging* women's participation. Avery Brundage, for instance, who reigned as the International Olympic Committee's (IOC) president from 1922 to 1972 was known for his backward view that participation of women in the Olympic competition was "distasteful." And apparently this outlook accurately reflected a general attitude that wanted women to "keep in their place" — not on the playing field.

In the 1928 Olympics women were "allowed" for the first time to run an 800-meter race. The first three finishers broke records, but two others collapsed. Olympic officials promptly ruled that women would no longer be allowed to compete in this event (even though some men competitors had also collapsed in the

800-meter race!) and it would not be until 1960 (32 years later) that women were allowed to run the 800-meter race in the Olympics again.

In 1967, Katherine Switzer, a long-distance runner, registered in the Boston Marathon as simply "K. Switzer" and ran with an official number. But at the four-mile mark an official, shocked at the audacity of a woman running in this men-only race, physically grabbed Katherine and tried to prevent her from continuing. After quite a scuffle, she was able to get away from this frothing chauvinist and continue the rest of the marathon. But she was to pay for her uppity behavior as she was then suspended from the Amateur Athletic Union for breaking the rules that barred women from running in marathon races.

By 1971, even though an increasing number of women were running middle- to long-distances, they were still "officially" banned from such races. And that year, when Australian runner Adrienne Beams became the first woman to break 3 hours in the marathon (with a 2:46:30), because she did it in an officially men-only race, she was suspended from further athletic competition, including the upcoming Olympic trials.

Finally after a 1971 women's sit-down strike at the New York Marathon, women made their "official" debut in the Boston Marathon the following year. And it was around this time that a more organized effort began to pressure the Olympics to let women run the marathon, as well as other races like the 5,000- and 10,000-meter races. As Katherine Switzer put it, "We had to fight the notion that women who ran long distances would lose their femininity."

Looking at top women runners like Joan Benoit, who broke the women's marathon record in Boston last year with a 2:22:42, which is only around 13 minutes short of the men's record — as well as the literally millions of women internationally who have been and are running long-distance races today — it seems almost ridiculous, but only a few years ago women who wanted the IOC approval to add the women's marathon to the Olympics were told they had to come up with medical proof that women were physically and psychologically capable of running this race. All kinds of modern-day myths came out that had to be combated, such as the idea that running would harm women's reproductive functions or that they could not psychologically withstand the training and pressure that such events entail. (Unlike the physical strain involved in having babies and the difficulties in merely attempting to walk down the street at night without getting assaulted!) Other public opinion against women's long-distance running simply held that such events were "unfeminine" and made women look "distastefully muscular and athletic."

Joan Ullyot, a medical doctor, well-

known marathon runner herself, and author of several books about women's running, was solicited to help in the report written to the IOC. In response to the gynecologists who were against the addition of the marathon because they said that "a woman's uterus would drop out if she ran long distances," Ullyot made the quite biting observation that "if anyone shouldn't run for that reason, it's men — their reproductive organs are totally unsupported and subject to danger."

Finally, in February 1981, the IOC announced that the marathon would be added in the 1984 Olympic Games. The 5,000- and 10,000-meter races, though, remain closed to women, and athletes such as Mary Decker and others currently have a suit filed in Los Angeles to add these events.

Running is only one sport where women athletes continue to face stereotypes and discrimination. And the barriers that women runners have come up against reflect the overall lack of support women are given in sports as well as the general chauvinist ideology that is promoted about women. In 1976, it was reported that nationwide in the U.S. women's sports budgets only equaled *two percent* of the budget for men's sports. And when Walter Byers, the executive director of the NCAA, was asked to comment on this he simply said, "Two percent is enough." Byers apparently agreed with the Yale philosopher Paul Weiss, who wrote that women "should be viewed as truncated males, capable of participating in men's sports only in fore-shortened versions."

## Grooming For The Gold

Perhaps in light of all this, one could make the argument that the '84 Olympics will be in the forefront of championing the rights of women athletes. The women's marathon, after all, has finally been added and more attention and money is being given to the training of the women's U.S. Olympic team. The highest offices of the U.S. Olympic planning committee have even made public statements emphasizing that women's participation in the Games is of utmost priority. And, in fact, there is indeed a certain noticeable emphasis being put on highlighting the contribution that women will be making in capturing gold medals for the U.S. this year.

But before anyone starts claiming that '84 will be the year the Olympics breaks with ancient Greek tradition, the USOC's interest in women's participation should be examined a little closer.

As other *RW* articles have pointed out, the '84 Olympics is shaping up to be a highly-charged political event in which the U.S. will be using every opportunity to create public opinion in preparation for world war. Earlier this year when Miller Brewing, one of the Olympic sponsors, requested the go-ahead to use the campaign slogan "Let's Win the Games

Again," there was initially a question as to whether this slogan was appropriate. After all, as the Olympic Committee hypocritically pointed out — "America doesn't win the Games, individuals do." But Miller Brewing's response was sufficient to get them the green light when they answered, "We felt it would be easier to raise money if we worked the national pride angle." The Olympic Committee might well have patted them on the back and added that this slogan was right in line with the Olympic Committee's overall political aims.

Accordingly, as part of this utilization of the Olympics to use every opportunity to drum up patriotism and foster the "America Number One" mentality, some special attention is being paid to fully bring women into this "team spirit." And needless to say, this sudden "interest" in women is hardly a self-criticism of past USOC chauvinism.

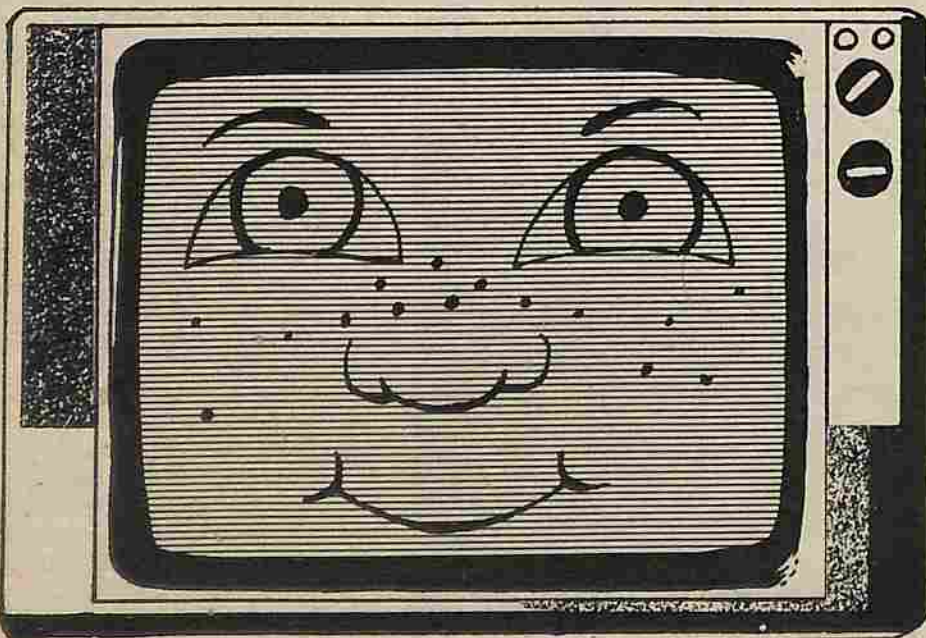
No, more accurately, it is because the Olympic planners want not only as many U.S. women as possible to win gold medals, but they also want to ensure that any gold medals that are won by U.S. women are explicitly won *in the name of and for the U.S.* (Medals won in the fashion of raised fists, as in 1968, are not considered victories by imperialists.)

In other words, the promotion of women's participation, from their point of view, is in order to facilitate and then realize a *greater contribution* by women to their overall political goal of making the Olympics a tremendous propaganda tool for the bourgeoisie. Specifically, you can bet that any gold medals that are won by women from the U.S. team will be touted as shining examples of the "tremendous degree of freedom and democracy" in this country... "where every individual can achieve their full potential"... and where "even women" (!) love to compete and win so that they can get tears in their eyes when the national anthem is played. And then on the other side of the patriotic coin, of course, is the particular "thrill of victory" that they specifically seek over the Soviet and Eastern European Olympic women's teams.

Indeed, the U.S. women's team has, by and large, been creamed by the Eastern European and Soviet women athletes, especially in track-and-field where the U.S. has done very poorly. (In Munich, in 1972, they made a pitiful showing with zero gold medals; down from a grand 3 in 1968!) And now, Olympic watchers will have to listen to yet another new version (à la U.S. Hockey Jocks) of how the "U.S. Underdogs" are going up against all odds in order to beat the "relentless" and "fierce" Soviet women challengers (read: "state-subsidized Soviet cheaters who are questionably women to boot").

And where things have reached a point where it is impossible for the USOC to totally ignore women's participation in the Olympics, even if they wanted to (due in part to the tremendous upsurge in women's sports and the demand for more attention and participation), they are doing their best to find and groom and then

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## Big Cabbage Patch Is Watching You

Consider the proposition that in the spirit of 1984, a social experiment has been performed, informing the Cabbage Patch craze with an historic purpose. An experiment to see how many people can be made to do any stupid thing, to look like fools and act like pigs. And if they can do that....



Special to the **RW**

# Notes From the Mutlar



RW photo

Frankfurt



by C. Clark Kissinger

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

*Achtung! Achtung! Hier spricht die Polizei! "Attention! Attention! This is the police speaking!" Again and again the litany of the police order to disperse rang out across West Germany as the "hot autumn" of protests against the stationing of the Pershing II and cruise missiles reached its climax. December 12 was the fourth anniversary of the infamous NATO "two-track" decision to station U.S. strategic nuclear missiles aimed at the Soviet Union on West European soil. And December 12 was also the date chosen by the war-chieftans of the Western bloc for the first wave of these engines of mass destruction to become operational — including especially a contingent of Pershing II missiles at Mutlangen airfield in south Germany.*

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*It was December 9, and I was once again on my way to Mutlangen. I had been there only two weeks before, the days the missiles actually arrived, and now I was headed back again for a national protest demonstration against the implementation of the stationing. Yet the empty seats on the train told me that this was not going to be a repeat of October 22 when 1.3 million West Germans took to the streets. In only a matter of weeks some rather stunning events had shaken the country, and their impact upon the various segments of the protest movement was both diverse and highly contradictory.*



Frankfurt



# ngen/Frankfurt Express



Mutlangen

For many, the November 21-22 debate and decision in the West German parliament to rubberstamp the real decision, made four years before, and the spirited resistance in the streets of Bonn, had marked a certain watershed (see "The Battle of Bonn," *RW* No. 234). Tens of thousands had honestly believed that if only a strong enough showing could be made, the decision would be reversed. This had, in fact, been the central theme of West Germany's mainstream peace organizations. The pro-missile leaders of the Christian Democrats, according to leading spokesmen of the Green Party, had become only "a rabid minority." The Social Democratic Party, the party that actually proposed the missile deployment and whose government had signed the agreements, had made what *appeared* to be a dramatic about-face. Thus for the first time since the end of the last world war, West Germany did not have a bipartisan foreign policy — at least and ostensibly on this one issue. Yet despite all the polls showing the opposition of a majority of the population, despite all the reasoned arguments, despite all the appeals to conscience (and national self-interest), and despite the "good behavior" of the mainstream of the peace movement, the stationing of the missiles had now become a reality.

Thus tens of thousands, for the moment at least, seemed stunned into quiescence. The rush of events had dramatically jacked up both the stakes and the consequences of action. Many, who had been willing to take part in the Sunday-stroll-type marches and form the human chains in the countryside, were now both confused as to the efficacy of such actions and unwilling to step forward into what appeared to be ever more likely pitched battles with the police.

On the other hand, a distinct minority of those who had sang, marched, and petitioned in good faith and "according to the rules" throughout the fall were

now drawing diametrically opposite conclusions. For these people, concentrated for the most part in the autonomous peace groups (local peace organizations not directly affiliated with the SPD/DKP/trade union spectrum) and among religious pacifists, the raising of the stakes called for an increased determination to resist (albeit nonviolently) what appeared to them as a hideous nightmare come true. And while the reality of the stationing was providing a distinct stimulus to this militant minority, the battle in the streets of Bonn on November 21 had also burst the bubble of constraint. If the bourgeois state paid no

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Mutlangen



Frankfurt



# Notes

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attention to the "will of the majority," then what was so sacred about wooing the chimera of a majority as against resisting the very concrete evils of the very instruments of mass slaughter? As readers of the *RW* will recall, the impetus for the action in Bonn had come from these autonomus peace groups and despite the attempt of the official SPD/DKP leaders to turn the Bonn action into a timid "begin," things had turned out quite to the contrary.

Among the *Autonomen*, the rebellious anarchist youth (not to be confused with the "autonomous" peace groups), the reality of the stationing also produced little consensus. As was the case with the Bonn demonstration, the various *Autonomen* groups were deeply split over what to do. After months of bearing the main brunt of the attack by the state as well as being restricted, encircled and suppressed by the "official" peace movement, pacifism frequently mingled with adventurism and no consensus could be found about taking up the concrete battles which presented themselves. Some were down for having it out with the cops in the streets while others complained that they were always put in the position of reacting to the initiatives of the bourgeois state. Some had argued that going to Bonn on November 21 would in some way concede legitimacy to what was going on in the parliament. Others argued that there had been many such mass demonstrations and that they had accomplished nothing. The pro-Soviet "Anti-impis," who try very hard to influence the *Autonomen*, vociferously op-

posed targeting both imperialist war blocs. And some people even argued that the whole "hot autumn" was a ploy by the state to distract attention from the rising unemployment rate! Few grasped the particular freedom to act created by the international attention. In the end, however, some of those who had argued vehemently against the Bonn action not only went to Bonn, but participated in planning for and marched with the anti-imperialist contingent called for by the Federation of Workers from Turkey in Germany (ATIF); *Fight Back*; the "World Without Imperialism Contingent"; the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade, from the U.S.; and the RCP, USA. In the aftermath of the November 21 actions in Bonn reaction among the *Autonomen* ranged from enthusiasm to reluctance, including one funny criticism I heard which was that the anti-imperialist contingent was "too big and too powerful" so that militants had no choice but to join it! Others, however, had steadfastly stayed home — and such was again the case on December 9-12.

If the changes brought about by the movement of the objective situation served to reduce the absolute numbers of those involved, so did the actions of the official peace movement. Faced once again with a wave of protests that would happen on the December 12th anniversary whether they were called or not, the Coordinating Committee in Bonn sought again to "lead" the actions in order to derail them. The reasons were clear enough. While the SPD, no longer in power, had come out ever so tenuously and cynically against the stationing at this time, as blood partners in NATO they certainly wanted in every way possible to prevent the movement from going over from protest to resistance and a questioning of the NATO war alliance. And in

pursuit of its own "historic compromise" strategy, the pro-Soviet DKP likewise sought to clamp down on any "provocative" actions and even opposed the slogan of West Germany out of NATO! Thus the circumstances were distinctly different from the Bonn rally of October 22 at the end of "Peace Action Week," only two months ago, when "NATO-Willy" Brandt was the star speaker and the SPD/DKP/trade union spectrum loaded the buses to bring out the crowd of 300,000.

Among the Greens the reality of the stationing was also producing contradictory positions and actions. Earlier in the summer the leaders of the Greens, invoking Gandhi, Thoreau, and Martin Luther King, Jr., had talked a lot about massive civil disobedience if necessary to prevent the missile stationing. But this was also in the context of trying to set a certain tone of passivity for the "hot autumn" as a whole. All talk of "massive civil disobedience" had now disappeared, as such a direction was incompatible with the *real-politik* strategy and program of a section of the Green leadership and their pursuit of a Green-SPD coalition. Still, at the grassroots level among the Greens, the slogan that was bandied about all fall, "From Protest to Resistance," now took on a demanding immediacy and local Green peace committees were chartering buses and building for action on the December showdown weekend.

Not surprisingly, such contradictory movement within the antimissile movement itself led both to contradictory plans and sharply differing responses by the police. The key "prominents" of the official peace movement all signed a call for a national action in Mutlangen December 10-12. Mutlangen was chosen in particular because it was the site of the first "official" symbolic blockade in September, which was engineered by the police and the "peace leaders" to set the tone for the "hot autumn." Mutlangen is also in the south, while most of the militants are in the north and in Berlin. And finally, Mutlangen's local peace group was appropriately conservative. The official program of the action called for a symbolic blockade of the base on Saturday morning, followed by an ecumenical church service and then a march away from the base to the town of Schwäbisch-Gmünd. Sunday was to feature a *Sonntagsspaziergang* (Sunday stroll) around the base, and on Monday there would be a "silent circle" and a presentation of a plow to U.S. General Sweet in Schwäbisch-Gmünd.

But in the light of what had happened in the world throughout the sure-enough "hot autumn" and the now reality of the missile stationing, such a staid event was highly unrealistic. In Frankfurt, for example, the local peace initiative was calling for a *real* blockade of a Pershing II assembly facility, an action which was being studiously ignored by official peace leaders and threatened with the most dire consequences by the police.

Such were some of the contradictory aspects of the complicated situation in Germany that swirled through my head as the train finally pulled into the station at Schwäbisch-Gmünd, the nearest stop to Mutlangen.

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The U.S. airfield at Mutlangen is actually a sleepy little helicopter pad comprising only a few acres and lacking even barracks for its personnel, who are bussed into the base each day. It sits atop a ridge adjoining the village of Mutlangen and overlooking the town of Schwäbisch-Gmünd. It has for years been the home of a unit of nuclear-armed Pershing I missiles. The area is politically conservative, voting always for the Christian Democrats. Here, Social Democrats are still considered "reds."

The selection of Mutlangen as the site of the first Pershing II deployment in West Germany suddenly catapulted Mutlangen into the international spotlight. Even some of Mutlangen's residents began to have second thoughts about living next door to a prime target for a Soviet nuclear strike. One local resident told this reporter that nobody in the town would admit to being opposed to the missiles for fear of being called a "communist," but that a national news magazine had conducted an anonymous poll showing 60% of the populace were opposed to the selection of Mutlangen. The local real estate agent bemoaned the

fact that the bottom has fallen out of the home market — it seems no one is keen on buying a house next to the Mutlangen airfield! And in the last year, a local "peace initiative" has even formed.

Since the first symbolic blockade at the base in September, Mutlangen has even become something of an international focus second only to Greenham Commons. For example, in just the last few weeks before my arrival, Mutlangen had been visited by delegations (particularly women's groups) from Spain, Portugal, Belgium, France, Austria, Ireland, Madagascar, Japan, Denmark, and the U.S. On December 9-12, there were three different groups of Americans at Mutlangen, including the "For a World Without Imperialism Contingent," a group from the Abalone Alliance in California, and a group of religious pacifists (the "Plowshares Group"), supporters of the Plowshares 8 in the U.S.

Activists, anxious to escalate the resistance, began pouring into Mutlangen days before the official events. Impromptu blocking of U.S. vehicles was going on every day, and in the two weeks before the big weekend, 87 people were arrested at Mutlangen. On the morning of the 9th, a big bust of blockaders went down and the remaining forces were somewhat dejected, when a part of the "For a World Without Imperialism Contingent" arrived. Soon the different forces were rapping politics together and staging hit-and-run blockades up and down the road leading into the base, causing the cops to run back and forth between the different points.

During the evening of the 9th, the police erected yet another line of defense 100 yards up the road consisting of interlocking steel fence sections, so that it seemed almost impossible to get into the base itself. Beyond the steel fence and across an open field there was a second fence of barbed wire strands. Then twenty feet further was an obstacle of three coils of barbed wire (called "NATO wire" in West Germany), behind which U.S. troops with M-16s patrolled. There was then yet another field to cross to get to the inner fence around the buildings and motor pool.

In all, the crowd of 5-6,000 which came to Mutlangen on Saturday was a quite representative cross section of the West German peace movement. Most were young and there were many students. A group of doctors and priests dressed in white carried 108 black crosses (for the 108 Pershing II missiles to be stationed in Europe). Activists from the Evangelical (Lutheran) peace groups wore their distinctive purple scarves. There were also militant anarchists with a black and red banner reading "Demonstrate, Boycott, Sabotage." Proletarians from Turkey passed among the crowd leafletting with the "Joint Statement of the TKP-ML and RCP, USA" (see *RW* No. 235). The "For a World Without Imperialism Contingent" banner showed the torch being put to the flags of the U.S., the USSR and the Federal Republic of Germany.

Thirty or forty "symbolic" blockaders sat in the road while monitors with bullhorns directed the crowd along the police fence to move to the Ecumenical service. Many went, but a new chemistry was also at work. It wasn't just hypothetical any more. The missiles were actually here. Right here. Right across this field. A crowd pressed against the entire length of the fence.

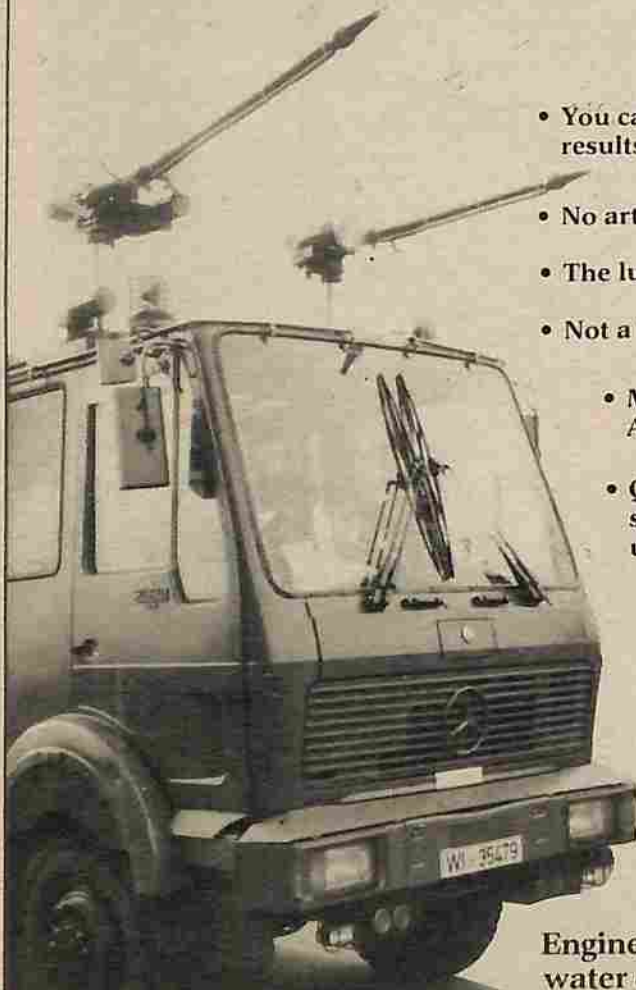
Then it happened. Ten anarchists were over the fence and racing across the field! Cops were in pursuit. It was electrifying. Everything else stopped. Suddenly, more leaped the barricades and were running. Then hands grabbed for sections of the fence itself, and whole sections were pulled out, with tugs-of-war ensuing between the outnumbered cops and demonstrators.

In the field now were forty or fifty people, the Contingent banner unfurled among them. Then whole sections of the fence gave way. Hundreds were streaming across the fence. Amazingly, there were only a few cops between the militants and the first barbed wire fence. Seizing the opportunity they pressed forward. The cops' emergency reserves were rushing up, but too late! Members of the official leadership now appeared urging people to remain nonviolent. Suddenly, a member of the Contingent jumped over the first barbed wire fence with the ban-

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## The Mercedes-Benz engineers' idea of a luxury water cannon

The luxury of superb technology creates luxury over-the-road performance. Mere sport is not the goal: tenacious roadholding, sharp reflexes, and precise control simply make better drivers — of aficionados and enlisted men alike.



- You can't argue with the results
- No artificial ingredients
- The luxury of retained value
- Not a blunt instrument
- Most powerful diesel in America
- Quantities limited, significance universal

Engineered like no other water cannon in the world







Mutlangen

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ner. A second member of the Contingent started over; he was pulled back by the "peace police" of the official action. Then more cops arrived.

Down the fence 50 yards, someone discovered the fence posts bent quite easily. In a flash, a whole section of the barbed wire fence was flattened to the ground. The crowd surged forward to the coiled barbed wire barrier. West German police and armed GIs were now coming up behind this last barrier.

I now turned around to see an amazing sight. Behind us, streaming across the open field, were dozens of activists carrying sections of steel fencing abandoned by the police at the first line. Their purpose was in doubt to no one — they were going to be thrown onto the coiled barbed wire to flatten the final barrier. At this point the conservative pacifists went berserk, trying to intercept the fence sections themselves to keep them from being thrown on the last barrier. Sharp debates and tugs-of-war broke out among the demonstrators. The cops sent reinforcements running back across the field to secure the abandoned fencing. But more than a half-dozen sections were thrown on the barbed wire coils, most of which were pulled off by cops on the other side.

As the proletarians from Turkey, German militants and Contingent members pressed against the final barriers chanting anti-imperialist slogans, the bullhorns were desperately calling people to form up the march to Schwäbisch-Gmünd. With overwhelming police forces now behind the last fence, the militants finally pulled back with the bulk of the masses. But the march (which was originally billed as a human chain between the two towns) was now infused with a new spirit. The high point was when the march went past the Bismarck Barracks in Schwäbisch-Gmünd. GIs hung out the windows and were amazed to see Americans in the crowd, including the Contingent singing, "In Vietnam we learned to frag, and not to fight for the bloody flag!"

If Saturday was not the sedate affair planned by the organizers, Sunday was even better. It seemed like nobody was into taking a Sunday stroll. Various affinity and autonomous peace groups took off around the base perimeter, cutting the wire at different points and leading the cops on a merry chase. The Turkish and Kurdish proletarians, a group of *Autonomen* and the Contingent also had their plans. These forces advanced on the coiled wire fence chanting anti-imperialist slogans. Police reinforcements rushed to this section, and pig photographers photographed the workers from Turkey who, in return, made various graphic gestures!

All of this created quite a diversion, so that further down the fence a rug suddenly flew over the coiled wire and four members of the Contingent scrambled across the fence, trying to light the U.S. and West German flags which they carried. One Contingent member took off straight for the inner compound. The crowd cheered... but then gasped in horror as an American GI leveled his M-16 at the Contingent member. He turned and faced the GI and hollered: "Go ahead, motherfucker, shoot me!" Then he ran on.

Two West Germans were over the

fence now joining the Americans, but West German cops closed in from all sides. In all, five Americans and two West Germans were arrested. On Monday, the cops brought in dogs to patrol inside the fence.

Sunday evening blockades of U.S. convoys continued, and on Sunday and Monday together 130 were arrested. Among them was a Japanese activist, busted shovel in hand for digging a grave outside the base! He handed out a leaflet saying, "I think the peace movement everywhere in the world should adopt the slogan of 'anti-Japanese militarism,' and 'international action.'"

#### Frankfurt

I hated to leave the action at Mutlangen, but by this time there were already radio reports of sharp struggle going on in Frankfurt, with the attempt to blockade the U.S. Army Equipment Maintenance Center in the Hausen neighborhood. Frankfurt is the major logistical center for the U.S. Army in both Europe and the Middle East, and the Hausen facility is widely understood to be the assembly site for the Pershing IIs, although this has never been formally admitted. The Hausen action was called by the Frankfurt Peace Initiative which already had a lengthy history in the battle against expanding the Frankfurt airport to accommodate Western bloc logistic needs in the event of war.

From the word go, the Hausen action produced a storm of struggle and controversy. In a newspaper interview, a leader of the Frankfurt group clearly expressed the new wind in a section of the West German peace movement:

Q. Actually, what is the much pro-

pagated difference between previous blockades and the one in Hausen?

A. Up till now, the responsible politicians were appealed to with blockades that were rather symbolic in nature, human chains, and demonstrations. Now the formal decision has been made, the stationing has begun. This means now it can only be a question of the actual prevention — or, more realistically — obstruction, within the framework of nonviolent means of course....

Q. (In the case of a blockade of the whole area) you'll also be blocking the bus depot and many private industrial firms.

A. On the one hand we don't want to blockade the bus traffic, on the other hand, it will unfortunately not be avoidable if, for example, a bus comes right behind an army vehicle....

Q. What other perspectives does this blockade have?

A. Firstly, the missile stationing, which will take years, is not irreversible; secondly, it is only a part of a development which is concretely heading toward war. Airland Battle, Master Prestationing Plan, to name only a few terms which recently or already for a while have turned up at our doorstep, must be more sharply pushed into view. And if there's a chance to stop their development, then it would not be found first and foremost in hoping for different parliamentary relationships, but in extra-parliamentary pressure. This means the people must finally renounce their loyalty. Civil disobedience must take on a quasi-epidemic character.

Such a line hardly went down well with the SPD-controlled government of the state of Hesse (in which Frankfurt is situated). The independent organizers of the Hausen action event went so far as to oppose even having an SPD speaker unless he explicitly endorsed the blockade of the U.S. facility. The SPD responded by refusing to participate unless a Saturday march did not go past the headquarters of the U.S. Army V Corps as planned, and unless the blockade was moved from the immediate vicinity of the U.S. facility in Hausen. The trade union federation announced it wouldn't speak if the SPD didn't. Finally the SPD government declared the proposed blockade illegal!

In a rare and purely symbolic break with the SPD/trade union spectrum, the revisionist DKP announced its conditional support of the blockade: "Except for the direct entrance to the Pershing depot, which can be blockaded without obstructing the populace, all the other streets connect with the homes of the neighbors and with the workers and employees of surrounding smaller firms. This fact sets a standard for the behavior of the blockaders. The Frankfurt populace, the worker and trade union

movements must be won to the demands of the peace movement. It's a question of stopping the missile stationing and conveying this demand to the population in Frankfurt and Hesse. In the sense of the Hessian Constitution — which forbids war and declares war preparations to be unconstitutional — it is important to act against the missile stationing and create an even broader mass base for the peace movement." Thus, in a feat of political gymnastics, the DKP tried to straddle workerism, constitutionality, democratic illusions and direct action all at the same time!

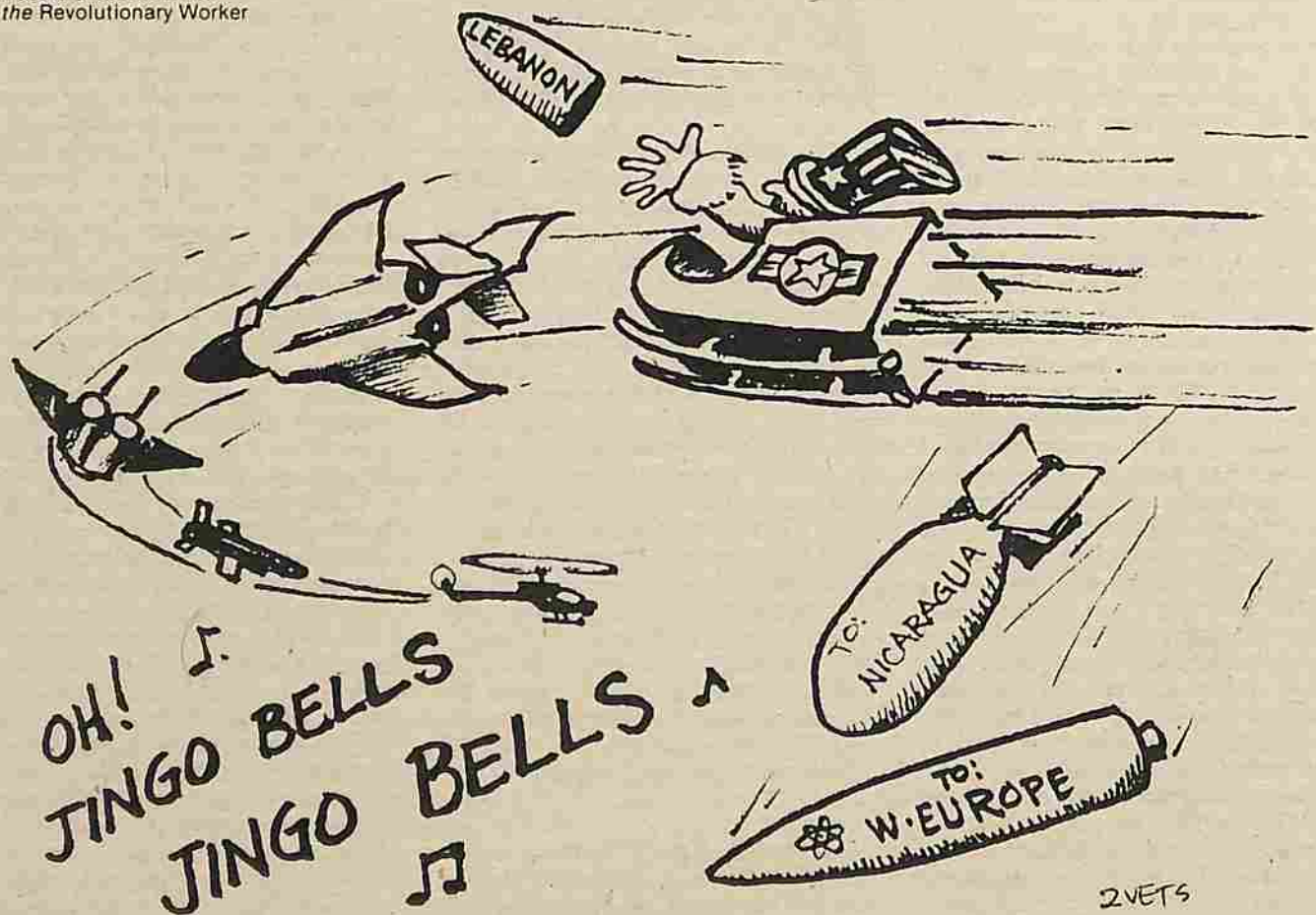
The local Greens generally supported the Hausen action, but the situation of the Green Party is conditioned by the results of the last election in Hesse. A special election called by the bourgeoisie to get rid of the Greens totally backfired, returning the Greens to the state parliament while keeping the SPD just below 50%. This gives the Greens the balance of power, and they are currently engaged in negotiations with the SPD to form a Green-SPD coalition government in Hesse. This is seen by the national Green leadership as a prototype of what they are working for nationally, and they want nothing to upset the apple cart. At the same time, the CDU raised a giant stink charging that constitutional government itself was threatened, since the Greens were negotiating to become a part of the government while simultaneously supporting an illegal demonstration. Nationally, the Green Party scheduled a conference in Bonn for the weekend of the demos on the topic of "Concepts for Europe After the Stationing."

The blockade of the Hausen facility began at 8:45 Friday morning with about 1,000 people, including Green members of the state parliament. The cops appeared to be letting the blockade run, but then at 2:00 they seemed to receive new orders and attacked the blockaders with water cannon, dispersing the action with 87 arrests. Also in the morning, the "Kripas" (*Kriminale Polizei*) raided the South Star Cafe, which served as a mobilization center, seizing all the leaflets and records at the center. That evening the independent and *Autonomen* forces held a mass meeting at the university which was followed by a nighttime march to the police headquarters, during which one bank was trashed and a lot of graffiti hit the walls. The split between these forces and the SPD/DKP/trade union spectrum is very deep.

On Saturday there were feeder marches which went past the U.S. V Corps Headquarters and the American Counsel-General, in the course of which an American flag went up in flames. By afternoon, over 4,000 were back at the Hausen complex to renew the blockade. The militant pacifists held to their posi-

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Recently submitted to  
the Revolutionary Worker





## Notes

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tion to renew the blockade. The militant pacifists held to their position in the middle of the street in spite of being hit by three water cannon simultaneously. The *Autonomen* used more flexible tactics, and when the cops waded in with clubs they fought back with stones, bottles, firecrackers and flare guns. Large trash containers were rolled into the street and set afire. The result was a pitched battle in the streets for several hours. Several Green state deputies were arrested, and the cops roughed up a West German TV camera crew. This time 204 were arrested.

That evening saw another mass meeting on the university campus in which there was sharp debate over the role of the *Autonomen* and who was responsible for the violence. But now in contrast to earlier in the fall there was no talk of excluding the *Autonomen*, who in fact participated in the meeting. There was also sharp disagreement over how to proceed tactically in the face of police attacks.

On Sunday, 500 attempted to take up the blockade again beginning at 11:00 in the morning. This time, however, they took up mobile tactics: getting up and moving whenever the cops brought up the water cannon and issued warnings. At one point the cops, decked out in helmets and clubs, were made to look like fools as they were pelted with hundreds of foam-rubber balls by the demonstrators. Then in late afternoon, as the bulk of demonstrators were about to leave, the cops began driving their pig wagons deliberately through the crowd. In response the wagons were blocked. Then with no warning the cops unleashed a brutal clubbing attack on the departing demonstrators. No one was arrested Sunday, as the sole object was to bust heads and thoroughly discourage any renewed blockade on Monday. Several demonstrators were taken to the hospital, and cops pursued fleeing demonstrators for several blocks.

During the night there was an attempted renewal of the blockade with 30 arrested, but the bulk of the demonstrators did not return until midday Monday. Again the water cannon were used to clear the street for incoming military vehicles, and then an overwhelming police presence drove the demonstrators step by step entirely out of the area.

Both in Mutlangen and in Frankfurt, I was able to observe, as I had in Bonn several weeks earlier, the impact of the proletarians from Turkey on the anti-missile action. In the first place, for all the cant of the revisionists and Trotskyites about "welding the unity of the working class and peace movements," the only significant involvement by proletarians in these sharp and significant battles was by the workers from Turkey. The reality of the working class in West Germany, as in other imperialist metropolises, is in large part shaped by a highly bourgeoisified upper strata of native German workers whose sights range little further than their *Hündchen* (little dog) and their *Schrebergarten* (a little private garden plot that most upper strata workers and petty bourgeois in West Germany maintain). Only in the last few years has the material well-being of these strata been seriously threatened for the first time since the so-called "economic miracle," with unemployment reaching record heights for West Germany (6.8%). As but one example, I saw a few West Germans working on garbage trucks — a job that only a few years ago would have been utterly disdained as work exclusively for immigrant workers. The social-chauvinist SPD/trade union leadership incessantly promotes the demand for the 35-hour work week while the DKP promotes "Jobs Not Rockets." Little wonder then, in such circumstances, that many of West Germany's antiwar activists are a little jaded by talk of "the leading role of the working class" from various quarters. The mere presence then of numbers of proletarians, immigrant workers (who every West German knows are the ones who do the most back-breaking shitwork in German industry), was cause to sit up and take note.

Already the role of the proletarians from Turkey in the Bonn actions of November 21 had been spread around by

word of mouth (certainly none of Germany's "working class newspapers" would have said a word about it), and there was repeated experience with people coming up to "World Without Imperialism Contingent" members to ask them if they were the Americans who had marched with the workers from Turkey in Bonn. Their presence was doubly impressive to the W. German activists because of the danger which faces Turkish and Kurdish proletarians if arrested — the threat of deportation into the hands of the fascist junta in Turkey.

The presence of the proletarians from Turkey also challenged some of the underlying assumptions of many of the W. German antiwar activists, that "their" movement was one directed against a "Euroshima" — the destruction of *Europe* at the hands of the two "superpowers." Now what were these workers from Turkey doing here? Now that's something to think about.

Finally, the comrades from Turkey were obviously *not* there to join the "workers movement," and all its economist 35-hour baggage, with the "peace movement." Instead, they were handing out the joint statement of the TKP/ML and the RCP/USA, which explained the real source of war in the imperialist system and the need to counter the threat of world war with concrete preparations to overthrow imperialism itself. In Frankfurt alone, 1,800 copies were distributed which many activists were seen carefully reading. Undoubtedly many sharply disagreed, but for the first time in a long time proletarian politics has definitely reentered the area of serious debate over the road forward.

On Monday, while the demonstration was still going on in Frankfurt, there also resumed the formal negotiations between the SPD and Greens on forming the new coalition government. At the insistence of the Greens, these meetings are public in a theatrical show of "accountability" to the "basis." But this backfired as on Monday the gallery was filled with rank-and-file Greens demanding that the negotiations be broken off in retaliation for the SPD-controlled cops' attack on the Hausen demonstration. The SPD state president was booed and jeered when he entered the room. When the Green deputies criticized the police and demanded an official investigation, the SPD president fully backed the police action, enraging the audience even more by declaring, "Democracy needs teeth in order to defend itself." Green Deputy Roland Kern then suggested that the violence in the streets might have been precipitated by police provocateurs! By this point the audience was as mad at the Green deputies as it was at the SPD. So another Green deputy addressed the audience, saying: "After all, we are not the parliamentary avant-garde of the extra-parliamentary movement" and told them that people who can't differentiate demonstrations from parliamentary work shouldn't be in the party. When it was all over the audience had gotten an eyeful of exposure, and the Greens and SPD had hammered out several new planks in their new partnership agreement.

If the SPD and a section of the Green leadership were being cast in sharper relief by the course of events, the DKP on Tuesday went out of their way to re-emphasize their strategy. Party leaders speaking in Bonn professed to discern "remarkable developments in the SPD," referring to the SPD's vote in parliament against the stationing, and proposed a new era of joint action between the SPD and DKP in the peace movement. Of course, the SPD and DKP have been acting jointly in the peace movement for years to kill any breath of anti-imperialist politics and ensure a thoroughly national-chauvinist orientation, but never mind. As for the Greens, the DKP called only for "cooperation," for, you see, the Green Party is "not a workers' party." DKP Presidium member Deumlich solemnly declared: "An essential difference between the DKP and Greens is that Communists think that the SPD belongs in the peace movement!"

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Meanwhile, the Christian Democrat/Free Democrat coalition picked up the ball in waging the battle for public opinion over the implementation of the stationing. The first salvo of this campaign was the much ballyhooed (in

Europe) "Declaration of Brussels." Meeting in Brussels on December 9, the foreign ministers of the NATO countries issued another blast of banal and hypocritical rhetoric to cover the clinking of champagne glasses over the actual consummation of the missile stationing: "For the benefit of mankind, we advocate an open, comprehensive political dialogue, as well as cooperation based on mutual advantage. We extend to the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact countries the offer to work together with us to bring about a long-term constructive and realistic relationship based on equilibrium, moderation and reciprocity." And the foreign ministers declared their solemn eagerness to meet with the Soviet Union at the forthcoming Stockholm Conference on "confidence building measures" for Europe.

Please gentlemen, spare us. Don't make us barf. The words of Bertolt Brecht do you justice:

"When the leaders curse war,

The mobilization orders are already written out."

The *International Herald-Tribune* dryly commented: "The policy declaration adopted by the ministers was an initiative by the West German foreign minister, Hans-Dietrich Genscher. According to a European official, the document was meant to show to public opinion, in particular that of West Germany, that after demonstrating its strength through the start of deployment of the Pershing II and cruise missiles, the alliance was now seeking to establish a wide-based dialogue with the Russians."

Then on Monday, December 12, West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl delivered a major speech in Berlin which touched all the bases. He called for renewed cooperation between East and West, for a summit conference between Reagan and Andropov, and expressed his desire for the success of the Stockholm Conference. He spoke of the commonality of responsibility with East Germany and urged that peace must go out from German soil. He announced that the scheduled talks between the Soviet and West German foreign ministers would indeed go on, and that he would personally visit Hungary in the spring.

Commenting on Kohl's remarks, the *International Herald-Tribune* said they "were apparently aimed at reassuring domestic audiences along with foreign ones, as hostile demonstrations continued in West Germany for the fourth consecutive day."

All this, mind you, is going on the very same day that Reagan is giving his "mad dog" speech to the Medal of Honor Society in New York, declaring: "With the best of intentions we have tried turning our swords into plowshares, hoping others would follow. Well, our days of weakness are over. Our military forces are back on their feet and standing tall."

Yet in spite of the West German bourgeoisie's "dove of the week" performance, West Germany still exploded in a wave of protest during the four days from December 9 to December 12, involving tens of thousands of demonstrators, over 600 arrests, and scores of injuries. Besides the actions in Mutlangen and Frankfurt, 129 were arrested in Stuttgart as protesters, chaining themselves together, blocked the entrance to EUCOM (headquarters of the U.S. strike-force in Europe). In Köln, the headquarters of IBM was blockaded for three hours, with arrests during a march which followed. In Düsseldorf, a Nike-Hercules anti-aircraft battery was blockaded. In Göttingen, 150 blockaded the German Research and Experiment Institute for Air and Space Travel. In Mannheim, demonstrators blockaded the Military Transport and Command Headquarters of the U.S. Army in Mannheim. And in Freiburg, 2,000 demonstrators blockaded major traffic arteries and streetcars.

In short, objective events themselves — the imperialists' own necessity to carry through on their war preparations — served to undermine the bourgeoisie's grand strategy for taming the "hot autumn" of antiwar protests. The ruling class had set out early in the summer to contain the protests through an adroit combination of political and police moves. Key to this was defining "success" in terms of remaining non-violent rather than in terms of stopping the missiles; splitting the antiwar movement so as to divide off and isolate its

anti-imperialist, militant section and then clubbing these into the ground if they persisted.

While it would be incorrect to conclude that any kind of wholesale shattering of bourgeois-democratic illusions has occurred, a small but significant section has become seriously alienated from the official peace movement. The leaders of the "official" peace movement have temporarily lost the initiative, and a new militant minority within the movement has been forged. It is just this development, and more importantly what it could lead to in the period which we are now entering, that has caused a new paroxysm of alarm among the West German ruling class. This fear was summed up in a front-page editorial in the influential *Frankfurter Allgemeine* of December 13, entitled, appropriately, "Discouraging":

"... Mutlangen and Hausen represent warning signals. In Mutlangen, church people forge the cohesion of religious zeal and readiness for violence — granted, without equating Christian duty and breaking the law. In Hausen the Greens put themselves in the front of an illegal action and at the same time negotiate in Wiesbaden with the SPD about bringing into being a government which would be dependent on them, without, it's true, the Social Democrats expressly conceding the acceptability of lawbreaking and political authority to their partners. Must the leading police officials in Hesse now learn what was learned by their colleagues 50 years ago, who had treated the 'storm troopers' of the 'movement' according to law and order before they came into government? The depressing part isn't that this or that happened in Hausen or Mutlangen; the gradually discouraging part is that perspectives like those recently hinted at in Hesse can no longer appear to be absurd."

This editorial was followed by a second, two days later, which repudiated the allowing of a peaceful blockade of Mutlangen back in September as a "trick" that no longer works and a bad idea to boot: "... after Mutlangen Number One came Mutlangen Number Two. The seeds sprouted other places as well. ... The 'Mutlangen Model' must disappear into the archives and must not resurface. Blockades of the peace movement must be prevented everywhere, and right from the beginning. The police may order the blockaders once or twice to disperse. But if that doesn't work, they have to put an end to such mass coercion."

And the next week the *International Herald-Tribune* wrote: "The great mass rallies for peace are over in West Germany. The first Pershing IIs, which hundreds of thousands of demonstrators tried to prevent from being stationed, are in place and operational at Mutlangen behind barbed wire, American sentries and, on days of even the smallest demonstration, a wall of police."

"The question now is whether the West German peace movement will turn violent after having failed to reach its first objective peacefully; whether the mass of protesters is willing to demobilize and stay home, and whether large numbers of resentful young Germans will seek refuge in a bitter anti-everything counter-culture."

"... the nature of the protests is changing. The demonstrations are getting smaller but the demonstrators tougher and more willing to accept arrest and face water cannon."

Yes, the missiles are in and on schedule. But the ruling class through its own bitter experience is only too aware of the potential of a seriously disaffected minority in the explosive atmosphere of world war. Who will be the gravedigger of whom is far from decided. □



# Boot Camp at the Net

In the 1970s the Japanese Women's Olympic Volleyball Team stunned the world with numerous victories, but at the same time serious questions were raised by many sportscasters in the U.S. as to whether or not their method of training was a case where the "means don't justify the ends." Film clips were widely shown of the team training where the coach relentlessly kicked and threw balls at the players as they took turns standing before their teammates. And most striking was the showing of several players being reduced to tears and literally being forced onto their hands and knees begging and pleading with the coach to stop throwing balls at them. U.S. sportscasters gasped and commented in earnest, criticizing this "dictatorial-type" training — so unlike the "American Way."

But there is very little mention these days of these film clips, as it seems that the coach of the U.S. Women's Olympic Volleyball Team, Arie Selinger, has decided that physical abuse, dictatorial coaching and the psychological humiliation of players are all fine methods of training... as long as they're put in the service of winning gold for the U.S. And although there has been some controversy about the training of the U.S. women's team in volleyball, it overall appears that Selinger is considered by Olympic planners to be the "man to do the job" — of getting the underdog U.S. women's team in shape for the Olympics.

In fact there has been much concern that the U.S. will not score the much desired propaganda points in this Olympic event (the team didn't even qualify for the 1972 and 1976 Olympic Games), and a tremendous increase in effort and money (with an annual budget of \$300,000) has gone into grooming another "U.S. winning team."

Selinger has taken up this task with zeal, working the team year round (this is unique even for Olympic teams), 9 hours a day, 6 days a week and isolating them in a training camp in Orange County that some ex-team members describe as Selinger's "Concentration Camp."

Today, Selinger could probably teach Coach Daimatsu, who was depicted in the famous film clips, a few new things about the usefulness of militarizing his team. And even a recent *Los Angeles Times* article on the team's training was entitled "Going for the Gold the Boot Camp Way." True to this, Selinger does indeed run his team like the army where, as another ex-team member described it, "He likes to talk about us as an army and he's the general and we're his little soldiers."

Big in Selinger's training manual is the importance of completely isolating the team from anything else (none of the 13 players are married, none go to school and none have a job), outfitting them in uniforms (they all wear the same street clothes when they're on the road), making players do their laundry by hand

when they're traveling (survival skills are very useful, after all...) and even hypnotism. Last year a film crew hired by *Sports Illustrated* did a documentary on the team and nicknamed Selinger "Svengali" (a hypnotist who exercised mesmeric powers over people in a famous 1894 novel) after they witnessed him hypnotizing (as part of training) one of the players.

Selinger himself is the perfect implementer of this now "American Way" of training for the Olympics, given that his background is used as an almost soap-opera-type story of the "goodness and rightness" of America. Selinger was born in 1937 in the Jewish ghetto of Krakow, Poland and spent three years in a concentration camp in Germany during World War 2. He escaped death only because the train carrying him to an execution site broke down and he was then rescued by American soldiers. He then traveled to Israel after the war and played volleyball for the Israeli national team and coached the women's team there also. Finally he ended up in America where, as Selinger says in his own words, he can coach the team the "American Way... which is to be the best at everything we do."

With only six months to go, Selinger is surely going into high gear to get his team in shape to win both gold and propaganda victories for America. And along with the overall prewar/anti-Soviet sentiment that is being generated around the Olympics, his "Boot Camp" methods are sure to become increasingly more acceptable and implemented — not only in terms of the immediate goals of gold at the Olympics, but also in providing a shining example of a handful of women who excel and train "like the army" to keep America on top. (After all, a few real boot camp sergeants might learn something from Selinger about the particular problems involved in getting women ready to go into battle against the Soviets!)

As for the seemingly controversial aspects of Selinger's methods that have led to much emotional as well as physical stress on his players — one ex-team member recounted that, "Once, in Japan, he took us up to a room and asked us if he could physically slap us around when we played poorly." — there seems to be various conclusions being voiced that Selinger's means surely justify the political ends of the U.S. bourgeoisie.

One psychologist who spent several days with the team offered up perhaps one of the most sickening apologies for Selinger as well as the general militarization going on in various arenas of sports. He said: "Every drill they are fighting for their lives. They must provide excellence on demand... (International sport) is no longer a game, it's a political and sociological weapon... We're turning out another machine. This is General Motors. They're out there to get another gold. That's reality baby."

Olympics — the talk has been less of the "unfeminine" Soviet women and more on the U.S. women who will hopefully become Olympic heroes.

Of course there are still the slanderous swipes made at the women athletes who represent Eastern bloc countries, but the new emphasis seems to be now on the formidable U.S. women's Olympic team that will not only take on the Soviet threat, but can still maintain their femininity. A *Newsweek* article last summer on "America's Chances for Olympic Gold" said of Mary Decker, "Unperturbed by the suspiciously broad-shouldered, fuzzy-lipped challengers that the communist bloc 'sports machine' continues to produce, Mary looms as a gold medal favorite in the Olympic 1,500-meter event..." And accordingly, the media image of Decker has been that "she never goes on the track without her make-up on."

It has also been of some concern to these planners of the Olympics that some women athletes seem to lack the proper "team spirit" and "aggressive" attitude of their male counterparts in organized sports. And here, it must be said that competition and "aggression" have class content... indeed, the proletarian welcomes and seeks to unleash the fury of women as a force for world revolution,

including transforming the class character and relations in the arena of sports. The bourgeoisie, on the other hand, channels and utilizes sports in line with the overall exploitative nature and cutthroat relations of capitalist society.

Sports institutions are, after all, an important opinion molder for the ruling class. And those athletes who are elevated in the public spotlight must convey the proper image and promote the proper values. Jack Scott, author of *The Athletic Revolution* wrote, "Like all other institutional activities, sport reflects and in turn helps to reinforce dominant social values. If the dominant values of a society are alienating and destructive, then any major institutional activity in that society will reflect these values regardless of how pure and intrinsically valuable that activity may be."

One aspect of this American sport ethic, needless to say, has been the oppression of women — the decidedly male nature of organized amateur and professional sports in which the so-called "weaker sex" has largely been kept on the sidelines (as cheerleaders, etc.) or in those sports considered appropriately "feminine" such as figure skating, swimming or gymnastics (where, as in sports generally, conformity is enforced as the price for success).

Even aside from such "battlefield" sports as football, there is a whole macho and dog-eat-dog attitude that is generally cultivated and celebrated among male athletes along with "male camaraderie" which is based on the oppression of women. And all this is eagerly looked upon as quite fertile ground on which the Olympics can whip such fervor up into a patriotic and anti-Soviet hoopla. But while the term "super-jock" has been justifiably bequeathed on many sports heroes that gnash their teeth and talk about "killing their opponents," there is a certain lack of this among some of the masses of women athletes where there is a trend toward a different kind of camaraderie that runs counter to such a "macho—we're No. 1" mentality. While there is a feminist view which holds that such camaraderie is the result of some innate "cooperative feminine spirit" (a view with which we disagree), objectively there is the oppression of women — in sports as in life under imperialism — and to the degree that this camaraderie is an expression of protest against women's oppression and the atrocious social relations generally, the imperialists don't like it.

Many women athletes recognize that they've had to go up against systematic barriers just to compete, including going up against all kinds of ideological barriers. There are, of course, those women's athletes who will and do seek a "piece of the American pie" in sports, who want "in," and subsequently become rather adept at the dog-eat-dog and become sickening and conscious upholders of the bourgeois nature of organized sports in America and the "American way of life" in general. And for their efforts, the bourgeois commentators will heap praise on them for sacrificing all. At the same time women who dare to do something as "unfeminine" as run long distances or play basketball and jump over hurdles, not only face rules banning them from competition and training, but the threat of social ostracism as well — if they step out of line the same bourgeois commentators are quite ready to chastise them in the most duplicitous fashion for pursuing careers and neglecting their husbands and all that sort of thing.

Perhaps another reason why women's sports is (thus far) not so completely infested with the qualities deemed essential by the Olympic guardians is that women's sports has mainly *not* been on the frontlines in America and particularly the areas where women have been most excluded have to a large degree developed in the shadow of the main apparatuses of organized amateur and professional sports. The U.S. imperialists, therefore, find that when it comes to bringing women into the athletic and political arena of the '84 Olympics, they have a little extra work to do to get the women ready to play starring roles in their orchestrated prewar rally.

Regardless of whether some women athletes would like to develop sports in a different direction, and exactly because there is an increase in women athletes and therefore spontaneous demands for more

money and training in amateur and professional sports, the bourgeoisie sees the necessity and opportunity to channel women's sports in a direction that works for and not against the interests of the good old cutthroat "America No. 1 spirit." And this is all the more important, and possible, in light of what they hope to achieve leading up to and at the 1984 Olympic Games themselves.

## Grooming for the Khaki

While the general nature of sports in America, including the Olympics, aims to elevate a few heroes, as opposed to encourage broad participation throughout society in sports — the political aim of promoting certain model athletes is geared toward the broad masses. For example, there has been real political motivation on the part of the bourgeoisie in highlighting the Black athlete who "makes it out of the ghetto through hard work and faith"; becomes a gold medal winner and is then flashed across national and international television proudly waving an American flag. The message being that even the oppressed in America can put aside their grievances and stoop to the occasion to join in and defeat the Soviet competitors or anyone else who would challenge the American "We're No. 1" claim.

Similarly there is an effort to increase the coverage of women's participation in the Olympics together with promoting the image of "strong" and "capable" women. This is part of drawing the broad masses of women into the general Olympic spirit. But it is also an attempt to somewhat change the notion of the "frail, helpless woman" who can't physically exert herself.

While it is certainly refreshing and quite exciting to see women training and mastering numerous sports events, and physically exerting themselves in ways generally frowned upon by upholders of tradition — it is also true that the bourgeoisie seeks to bring out and promote such talent and potential in its own interests. And in particular, with renewed talk about passing legislation which would include women in the draft, there is quite a lot of interest on the part of the bourgeoisie to begin making it socially acceptable for women to "dirty their hands" and physically train their bodies.

Gerald Ford once said, when asked about sports in America, that "There are few things more important to a country's growth and well-being than competitive athletes. It has been said, too, that we are losing our competitive spirit, the thing that made us great, the guts of the free enterprise system. I don't agree with that; the competitive urge is deep-rooted in the American character." And a *New York Times Magazine* article on "Sex Differences in Sports" seemed to pick up on this notion, as well as the fact that women appear to be lagging behind in this regard, when it noted that "Some women have lacked competitive experience that conditions a winning mental attitude..." but that "this is undergoing a change." The article then goes directly on to cite studies done at *West Point* on this very subject.

With the future plans to draft women, and the present efforts to find the best ways to utilize women in the armed forces, the military has been very interested in studying the physical and psychological differences between men and women, not only as regards specific military situations like actual combat, but in the ability to undergo "ordeal and training" and putting the good of the team above all else.

As West Point sees it — such valuable military qualities can be measured and developed in sports. After all, it was General Douglas MacArthur who stated that sport is "A vital character builder... that molds the youth of our country for their roles as custodians of the Republic." And while his statement that "fathers and mothers who would have their sons be men should have them participate in sports," was obviously not referring to the "daughters of America," today, with world war on the horizon, the military is much more "modern-minded," and both sons and daughters alike will be called upon to be "custodians of the Republic."

Some bourgeois feminists have also noted this link between sports and preparation for war and therefore argue that since women have proven themselves

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## Olympics

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promote like hell women who will not only be capable of a shot at a gold medal, but will be enthusiastic and publicly sincere about using their well-trained muscles to not only win but wave the American flag as hard as they can. The planned "tortuous rise" of the (historically weak) U.S. women's Olympic team is hoped to be, when all the gold tallies are in, one more edge to the argument that Olympic competition only proves once again the superiority of the U.S. "way of life"... over the Soviet bloc.

All this has added an interesting twist to the particular chauvinism that usually accompanies the press treatment of the competition between the U.S. and Soviet women athletes. In previous years there has always been somewhat of a campaign launched about the "masculinity" of the Eastern bloc and Soviet women in the Olympics; the chauvinist message being that while the communist women may have beat the American women, at least the American women are still feminine and pretty. But with this increasing necessity to bring about and politically utilize any and all U.S. victories in the



# Guess Who's Watering God's Garden

One of the most particularly nauseating aspects of presidential elections is the seemingly endless stream of accolades predictably heaped on the state of Israel by virtually all the "front-runners." In its own small fashion, this says something both about presidential elections, and about the state of Israel.

Serious contenders, of course, must speak to the issues. And so it is that in the course of an interview with the *New York Times* last week, the Rev. Jesse Jackson once again made clear just what ring his hat's in. This he did throughout. But what concerns us here occurs as the interview turned to Middle East policy. Jackson criticizes Reagan for "escalating tensions" in the area, for "tilting" toward Israel (as opposed, Jackson seriously suggests, to tilting toward Gemayel!), and so on. It isn't exactly blistering; he doesn't stray far beyond what other well-known extremists, like Tip O'Neill, have articulated off and on. But he does introduce a novel dimension to the subject of defense of Israel:

"The paradox is that the best way to defend Israel is to relieve Israel of having so many enemies. And you bring about some of this relief by bringing about a measure of fairness and justice in those relationships.

"If America used its strength to get the P.L.O. and others to recognize Israel to exist and Israeli leaders to move toward a mutual recognition policy which I'm convinced forces like the Peace Now and the Labor Party would go for. If Israel were relieved of the tension that comes as the result of being the object of the anger of so many people, Israel could become the

capital of commerce in the Middle East. Israel would be exporting talent and businesses and training. The flower in the desert could bloom all over the desert. Because Israel really is the most brilliant flower in God's garden."

Leave it to Jesse Jackson to come up with a *better* way to defend Israel: relieve it of enemies. Now various Zionists would certainly argue that Israel has done a damn good job over the years of relieving itself of enemies, so who's to talk? Why, just to consider recent history, Israel relieved itself of well over 20,000 enemies in the process of "securing" its northern border in the summer of 1982, and then in autumn of the same year, relieved itself of a few thousand more at the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps. (The Labor Party, which ruled until 1976, can claim equally barbaric acts to its credit.)

Oh, but if certain "tensions" could be mitigated, then what? Then the "flower in the desert could bloom *all* over the desert"! Our "peace candidate" wants that tiny democratic flower to export even more "talent," even more "business," and even more "training" than it has to date — there might be some basic Arab masses who haven't experienced first hand the degree to which Israel has "blossomed" already! Appropriate suggestions, coming as they do from a fellow seeking the post of Commander in Chief of U.S. imperialism.

Naturally, Jackson hasn't forthrightly stated his views to prove to everyone that he can be as rabid out of office as anybody in office. And he does, it is true, bandy about phrases such as "mutual

recognition" between the PLO and Israel, "self-determination" for the Palestinians, etc. But this by no means separates him from an important line of policy presently being advocated by significant U.S. ruling circles. In fact, Jackson is articulating this line.

The idea is that in the broader interests of anti-Soviet unity in the Western bloc, and specifically the shape of the alliance in the Middle East, the Palestinian question needs to be "solved" — imperialist style. This would involve some kind of Palestinian "autonomy," probably on the West Bank, and the elevation of a Palestinian "leadership" deemed reliable lackeys — like the so-called moderate West Bank mayors, or maybe an Arafat-Hussein team, or some combination of both. This, it is thought, would "relieve tensions" as Jackson put it, Israel would remain a keystone of U.S. power in the Middle East, and then everybody could get down to the business of cementing the regional alliance for war with the Soviet bloc.

A genuine solution remains the task of revolution.

The assertion that Israel is the brightest flower in God's garden is undoubtedly true, at least in terms of the Middle East. But that's hardly news, coming from an American politician. The deeper import to be drawn from Jackson's remarks is that whatever new particular configurations (if any) develop in the near-term in the region, "God" is not happy with either the size, or the condition, of his garden, and he's arranging for an exorcism. □

## Olympics

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capable in athletics they should be given a bigger role in the imperialist military. In the book, *Bring Me Men and Women* (about women in the military), Judith Stiehm devotes a whole chapter to the question of how physical education and athletics fits in with the new "military-women." She says, "The military competes on behalf of a nation just as an athlete competes on behalf of a school, yet women are not often included in either of these forms of ordeal. Is this so because women only represent women? Is representation of a nation or an institution basically a male prerogative?" In her argument for an *increasing* role of women in the military, Stiehm then goes on to complain that women are denied full citizenship in the U.S. because they "are prohibited from sharing fully in the state's defining function — the practice of legitimate force."

Historically this is not the first time public opinion about women's physical and athletic capabilities has been guided by a bigger necessity to create prewar patriotism and preparedness. In fact, the same *New York Times Magazine* article cited earlier continues to make a link between trends in women's sports and war when it points out that the period between World War 1 and World War 2 was generally regressive in terms of women's participation in sports and characterized by a lot of medical nonsense about how women were too frail to compete, etc. But it then goes on to say, "Then came WW2 and Rosie the Riveter and her sisters to prove themselves. 'Anything you can do, I can do better, I can do anything better than you!' sang Ethel Merman in *Annie Get Your Gun*. Shortly thereafter, the communist world began to score propaganda points in the Olympics with the formidable showing of its female athletes...."

Interestingly, other writers have noted that from the period *after* World War 2 (from the mid-'40s, when women were encouraged to buy their silk stockings and get back in the home) up until the beginning of the 1970s, women's athletics actually went through another regressive stage. In the '50s the proper position of women in sports was considered to be in the cheerleading squad. And even throughout the '60s, high-school gym classes specialized in teaching "girl's versions" of "men's games." Girls gym classes even into the 1970s still taught the version of basketball where each player

could only bounce the ball three times and had to stay in one small section of the court, lest the feminine physique got taxed too strenuously. A 1967 article in *Today's Health*, published by the American Medical Association, put the official seal on these attitudes when it advised for "sound reasons" that girls refrain from contact sports. Included in the article were all sorts of medical reasons for this, like the argument that the "danger of scars, broken teeth, or other results of injury probably are more of a psychological hazard for girls than boys."

With the '60s came the general rebellion of women against sexual discrimination in various aspects of society and a general assertion of women to express themselves in different academic, occupational and artistic arenas. This had its effect on the participation of women in sports which greatly increased in the 1970s.

By the end of the '70s there had been a six-fold increase (since 1970) of girls in high-school sports with 33% of all high-school athletes being female. In college, over this same period of 10 years, women participating in athletics grew to compose 30% of college athletes — an increase of 250%. And while Katherine Switzer was the only woman to try and run in the men-only marathon in 1967, today a good one-third of the 18-plus million joggers in this country are women.

One indicator of the increase of women in organized sports is that women as a whole are breaking records at a faster pace than men. For example, from 1970 to 1980 the men's record in the 1,500-meter race dropped only one second while the women's mark dropped a full 25.8 seconds. In swimming, while men have made gains, with the record for the 1,500-meter dropping 58.83 seconds, the women's record has dropped 83.91 seconds. And in general the gap between men's and women's standards in world records has been decreasing rapidly. All this reflects the fact that quantitatively more women are participating in amateur as well as professional sports and that more attention and money (even if still only a tiny percentage of that allocated to men) is being given to women's athletic programs. And all this also has made it necessary for the bourgeoisie to carefully guide and control this upsurge in women's sports — in its own interests. The 1980s have again become a period in which it is in the interest of the bourgeoisie to encourage women to take up the American "sports ethic" — and to promote certain models in women's sports. They hope the Olympics will go a long way in accomplishing this ongoing goal.

In its own poisonous way, the Olympics will be dressing itself up as the biggest champion of equality when it comes to women's athletics — and working its damndest to both stomp out any rebellious aspects of the women athletes as well as channel and mold the real strength, assertiveness and talent that women athletes are developing into the framework of its prewar patriotic extravaganza.

As for the women who are indeed coming forward and reaching new heights in

various arenas of athletic competition, as well as the masses of women who are going against tradition which has barred them from sports — this is generally a positive thing. And while the bourgeoisie, for its own reasons, works to use this and open up further opportunities for women athletes, they might find some of the new strength, aggressiveness and self-confidence being gained by millions of women athletes just one more factor working not for them, but against them in the future. □

The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have...

# A WORLD TO WIN

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# The Two Keys and the Imperialist Locksmiths

Continued from page 5

tactical as well as strategic weapons, giving assurances that the decision to use the missiles would be bilateral and stating that the United States would, in the future, transmit to any interested ally the secrets of how to build an atomic submarine for a truly invulnerable strategic force, if Congress were willing."

The NATO council approved "in principle" a plan envisioning the negotiation of bilateral agreements between the United States and the allied "host countries" for the placement of IRBMs on their soil. "The understanding was that the United States would retain custody of the warheads, but the ally would operate

the missiles, so that the decision to use the missile would be a joint one, in which both powers retained a veto."

In February 1958, the first such agreement was signed between the United States and Great Britain. Missiles to be established in England would be controlled by a "double veto" arrangement, which was later revealed to include the installation of the warhead under a two-key system. During 1959 and 1960 four IRBM squadrons were emplaced, containing a total of about 60 Thor missiles. In 1959, further similar pacts were negotiated for Italy and Turkey.

In February 1960, numerous news-

papers and magazines reported that "warheads were actually installed in the Thor missiles in England under a system that required one key, operated by Americans, to be turned in order to activate the warheads, and another key, operated by the British, to be turned in order to launch the missile." There were other political and technical reasons for joint control also.

In July 1957, U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles announced "that the United States was studying a plan for transferring custody of nuclear stockpiles to NATO itself, so that allies would have equal access to nuclear weapons without

having to build their own or remain wholly dependent on the United States. The next day President Eisenhower emphatically endorsed this idea and asserted that the stockpiling proposal would make it unnecessary for others to manufacture nuclear weapons." Clearly, Eisenhower's statement was designed to head off the development of independent nuclear forces among the imperialist allies of the U.S.

France, of course, refused to accept deployment of U.S. missiles on French soil "unless she could control the warheads as well as the means of delivery" and begin development of her own *force de frappe*. It should be noted that French skepticism centered as much on a fear that the United States would not fire missiles to defend France (for fear of provoking a Soviet attack on the American homeland) as on a fear that the U.S. might precipitously launch weapons from French soil over French objections.

Both France and Great Britain proceeded steadily ahead toward the development of their own independent strategic forces: Great Britain with extensive United States cooperation, France under the banner of de Gaulle's axiom that "France must have her own role... and her own personality. This implies that she too must acquire a nuclear armament, since others have one; that she must be sole mistress of her resources and her territory; in short, that her destiny, although associated with that of her allies, must remain in her own hands. It goes without saying that such an autonomy must be coupled with an ever closer coordination among the Western world powers, regarding their policy and their strategy." France would pursue its own imperialist interests and a nuclear *force de frappe* would facilitate this, but it would do so necessarily with "coordination among the Western world powers," i.e., within the bloc. The *force de frappe* could not rival the U.S.-led, "jointly-controlled" nuclear umbrella.

By 1979, the "two-key" system was so embedded in NATO policy that it would naturally come up for consideration — as it did, according to Lewis — as the imperialist ministers sat down at Brussels. But it was a change that was called for from the point of view of these gentlemen, a shift that would shock the masses of the imperialist countries into war consciousness and demonstrate NATO "will" vis-à-vis the Soviets. The final plan flat out called for U.S. missiles controlled by the U.S. on European territory. Instead of "joint control," the European stake in the deployment was made clear by the power of the missiles themselves to hit the Soviet Union; by the fact that the European NATO had been for the first time involved in a decision to procure nuclear weaponry as well as deploy it; and with a promise by the European ministers that they would increase their domestic war budgets by 3% per year (something which has not occurred as yet however). All in all, it was an overt blood compact and meant to be seen that way. The "two-key system" as a symbol of NATO unity had been eclipsed by the needs of the moment: it would no longer do at a time when NATO was gearing up for the real thing.

The demand for joint control of the Euromissile launch key, then, represents more than the demagoguery of a very loyal opposition in Europe. It is a deception, designed to obscure the fact that the two war blocs are being impelled into collision and are making stepped-up preparations to fight and prevail. The real point of this debate is not about the best conditions for controlling the cruise missiles, but for, as Denis Healey had blurted, "if necessary, firing cruise missiles." □

## FOR A HARVEST OF DRAGONS

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

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

"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

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.

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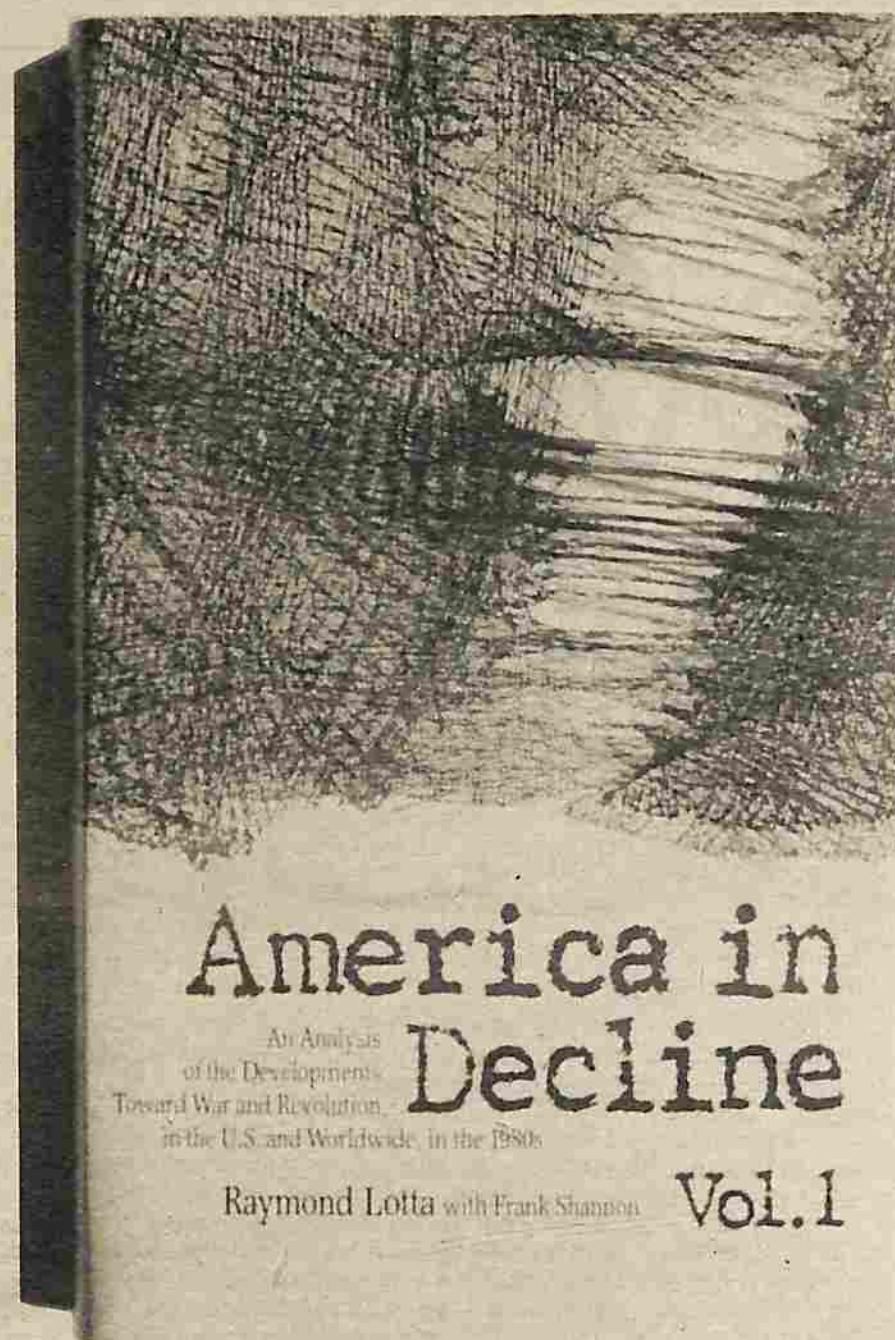
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