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real NERVE ... and plenty of GAS

Ronald Reagan began his Wednesday night press conference by announcing that he was sending Vice-President Bush to the 40-nation disarmament conference in Geneva to propose a bold new international agreement to outlaw the production, possession, and use of chemical weapons. Key to the bold initiative is the proviso that, as Reagan put it, "We must be able to deter a chemical attack against us or our allies and without a modern and credible deterrent...", without this, "the prospects for achieving a comprehensive ban would be nil."

Shades of the more generalized Peace Wars, but with the particular twist that the announcement came after two weeks of unprecedented exposure of U.S. and other Great Power involvement in the manufacture, testing and use of deadly nerve gas in the Iran-Iraq war.

The president stressed the need for complete verification, which, given the method of manufacture (see below), would require U.S. agents in hundreds of Soviet chemical plants. Since the Soviets obviously won't accept this, and since the U.S. won't either, the new treaty is already stillborn.

But the manufacture and use of nerve gas and other chemical warfare agents is not. More to the point in Reagan's press conference were his closing words: "Maybe General MacArthur was right. There's no substitute for victory."

The U.S. interests in a chemical warfare treaty is newfound indeed. The original international treaty prohibiting chemical warfare was signed in Geneva in 1925 — but not by the U.S. The U.S., in fact, didn't get around to signing the treaty until 1975, and then only amidst the political atmosphere following U.S. defeat in Vietnam and turmoil at home.

The current rush to flamboyant new "peace moves," however, comes on the heels of several weeks of revealing exposures and counter-exposures between the various imperialist powers over stock charges of Soviet "Yellow Rain" chemical warfare, and their own involvement in nerve gas warfare in the Persian Gulf. Scrambling about, trying to throw the blame elsewhere, it began to look like the famous Abbott and Costello routine "Who's On First?"

Several weeks ago a report from a well-known Harvard chemist and chemical warfare expert, Matthew F. Meselson, revealed that U.S. charges of "Yellow Rain" chemical warfare by the Soviet Union in Laos were, well, just so much

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Raymond Lotta

On The
Contemporary
Relevance
Of Lenin's Theory
Of Imperialism

See Centerfold

Protest Mounts In Wake of Turkish Prison Hunger Strikes

Last month, the *Revolutionary Worker* carried an initial report on a hunger strike that had broken out in the Diyarbakir Prison in the eastern, Kurdish portion of Turkey (*RW* No. 247). At least eleven people were reported to have died after 45 days of a strike starting January 14. Among them were five members and supporters of the Communist Party of Turkey/Marxist-Leninist (TKP/ML).

Thanks to the formation of a solidarity committee in Europe, new information is breaking through the systematic news blackout imposed by the junta. The committee reports that a second hunger strike broke out in the Mamak Prison in Ankara and that the confrontation continues to intensify, with authorities wielding all the brutal means at their disposal.

According to one report the protest initially started over the refusal of inmates to wear prison uniforms. On February 24, a wave of torture was unleashed to break them. In response, a hunger strike was called two days later — which still continues — during which the 1,200 inmates of Mamak are being subjected to beatings day and night. Mock executions have been staged to terrorize them; electroshocks have been applied; and there is a pointed refusal to administer any medical attention at all to the severely wounded. In fact, German shepherd attack dogs were released into the cells of hunger-strikers, severely wounding many of them.

March 1, lawyers were allowed to meet some prisoners for the first time, for only five minutes. One reported, "Some of the men had to be dragged across the prison floor to meet with us; they could no longer walk."

Meanwhile in Diyarbakir, at the other end of the country, guards opened fire directly on the inmates, and (as far as can be confirmed) murdered eight prisoners.

At this point, at least 14 revolutionaries have died in the two prisons, either from the hunger strike or from murder, and 40 are in critical condition, including some in comas.

At the same time it has proven impossible to get any reliable information from the military prisons in Istanbul, in the northwest. For eight months all contact between the prisoners and the outside world has been severed. Neither family members nor lawyers have had any opportunity to speak with them. It is not known whether similar struggle has broken out there, or who has been tortured to death within the walls.

Last summer, a wave of similar protests broke out in the prisons of the Turkish military regime which, by August 2, had been savagely crushed with hundreds of casualties. Since then the

regime further intensified its efforts to break the resistance of the revolutionaries in its clutches. This, after all, was the very political necessity which had originally brought the junta to power in 1980. At that time, rocked by three years of revolutionary upsurge, the military seized power to purge the nation, to strike terror deep into the heart of the oppressed (including the workers in the cities, restive peasants and the oppressed Kurdish people), and specifically to crush a whole new generation of revolutionaries that had been forged in those years of intense political struggle. The continuation of resistance, right into the torture chambers of the regime, has underscored the impossibility of wiping out the revolutionary movement. In the wake of last summer, the authorities lashed out with renewed determination.

Prisoners were denied any means of legal defense — many were refused trials, lawyers, and were even forbidden paper, writing implements and books. Systematic torture has continued, and has been applied to the political prisoners generally, using starvation diets without vegetables or meat, and repeated strip searches in which prisoners were raped by implements inserted into their bodies.

A particular focus has been to strike any overt signs of continued political opposition. Prisoners refusing to participate in "Ataturkism" indoctrination sessions, or refusing to sing chauvinist military anthems have been thrown into tiny, pitch-dark isolation cells for weeks or months. The many who have refused to wear prison uniforms have had their own street clothes stolen, and were forced to spend this past winter dressed only in underwear or pajamas in barely heated cells. Those contracting tuberculosis and other diseases in these conditions have been denied medical care. In fact, after denying warm washing water to the prisoners in the aftermath of last summer's hunger strikes, the authorities have now increasingly denied wash water altogether as punishment.

In short, the present outbreak of struggle in Turkish dungeons goes straight into the face of months of assault in which the state has used every brutal means to break the bones of resistance. Not only have they failed to subdue those already in their prison cells, but the resistance has increasingly found echoes outside, even breaking out in the streets.

Friday, March 9, dozens of wives and mothers of political prisoners gathered outside the Mamak Prison as usual to deliver packages of food and to pick up laundry. This time, however, the soldiers who met them threw clothing down at their feet that had been torn during the beatings and was smeared with blood.

Three-hundred women took to the streets, marching through the capital city of Ankara from one government-party headquarters to another chanting "Let our children live!" They confronted the newly legal civilian politicians demanding to know when confinements, torture and executions would stop. According to one report, professions of sympathy were used by these party leaders to back up their call for patience: "You are right," they told the mothers, "but we can do nothing. Calm must prevail so that we can reach that point when martial and emergency laws can be lifted, a point which hopefully will soon come." Faced with the intensity of the assault going on within the prison, this counsel appears to have had little effect. The demonstrations

letters and petitions of protest to both European and Turkish authorities and for support letters to be sent to the prisoners; and plans have been made for a "long march" to Strasbourg, France — where on May 6 the European Parliament will be meeting to discuss whether to allow Turkey to remain in the symbolic European Council. Marchers will leave Duisburg in the West German industrial heartland on April 15, and will meet with a sister march from Paris. On the day of the parliamentary debate, a public tribunal is planned which will put the Turkish junta on trial, and several well-known European political figures have been invited to attend, including Lady Fleming, an EC member from Greece and De Jardin of Belgium. Yilmaz



Photo reprinted from Mucadele.

continued through the city. Some women reportedly carried gasoline with them in order to commit public suicide in protest, but were prevented from doing so by others in the demonstration.

In Western Europe, which is now home to millions of immigrant workers from Turkey, a new campaign has been called for to publicize the conditions of the prisoners and to mobilize world opinion in the struggle to save their lives. One initial result of these efforts has been a coalition of diverse political forces that have come together in the "Committee of Solidarity with the Political Prisoners in Turkey." The committee has called for

Güney, the filmmaker and creator of "Yöl," has already announced that he will join both the long march from Paris and the tribunal.

On March 23, seven members of the West German Green Party staged an illegal demonstration in Ankara protesting the conditions in Turkish prisons and denouncing the close support the West German government has given the junta; their banners openly supported the hunger strikes of Turkish and Kurdish political prisoners.

In several ways, the whole question of Turkey places the Western European im-

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Greenham Common Women

Removed, But Not Repentant... And At It Again!



Police attempt to dislodge a woman from atop a truck while they are surrounded in turn by dancing women.

was hurriedly erected and ringed with cops. One woman mounted a police van with the cops trying to pull her off; the cops, in turn, were surrounded by more women.

Within an hour women had set up two new sites. As word of the main gate eviction spread, more women arrived at the base. And in an attempt to stop even more women and others from getting to the base, the authorities sealed off a main access road and broadcast on the radio that the roadway was impassable due to "an accident."

Drills

In addition to the assault at the main gate, the police moved on to clear out women from the seven other entrances to the base. And in all, 31 women were arrested. These clearing-out actions have intensified particularly over the last month, especially at Blue Gate, where convoys of missile launchers exit. During the very first drill of the missile launchers, staged on March 8, International Women's Day, 100 police surrounded women camped out at the gate in the middle of the night in order to get the convoy out without trouble (see *RW* No. 247). But on the recent and second drill the convoy's whereabouts in the countryside were tracked by people and reported in the British press. When the convoy returned to the base it was met by a blockade of women who forced it to a halt.

Clearly the continued presence of the women at the base poses serious problems for the imperialists and their war moves, problems which they have sought to deal with by evicting the women and, in a bid to demoralize them and others worldwide, then getting on the global airwaves to report a rousing success. Further, we have learned that ABC and CBS film crews were at the base on Monday morning when the authorities retreated in the face of several hundred determined women. The film crews told women there that none of *this* would get aired because "nothing had happened."

By the time the sun was beginning to set Wednesday at Greenham, seven gates to the base were re-occupied by women and more have continued to arrive. Some women reportedly have been sleeping out in the open in heavy-duty sleeping bags with plastic sheets overhead. When a group of local right-wingers on Tuesday chartered a small plane to fly over the Encampment trailing a banner reading "Ratepayers (taxpayers — *RW*) Say: Good Riddance, Girls" women responded with placards that read "Yes We Will Be Removed — Repeatedly." □

The plan was no secret. But what really went down is supposed to remain one. Months ago the British authorities had widely announced that on Monday, April 2, construction would begin to "widen the road" at the main gate of the Greenham Common Air Force Base where U.S. cruise and Pershing II missiles are stored. The intent behind this road-widening effort fooled no one, for the main gate is the site of the Greenham Women's Peace Encampment begun two and a half years ago which has inspired the setting up of similar camps throughout the world.

A woman from Greenham now in the U.S. told us, "The only reason, as far as I know, that they're widening the road is to get rid of the camp." And according to press accounts here, from film footage on *Good Morning, America* to the *New York Times*, which led off a photo caption on April 5 with "British peace camp torn down," one is supposed to conclude that the Women's Peace Camp has once and for all been ousted.

They wish it were so! Within one hour of a major, early morning police assault at the main gate, the Greenham women had regrouped and established two new sites and by dusk women were back at every gate — except the main one, which by all accounts has been turned into a barbed wire, *police* camp just to keep the women away.

Clumsy Legalisms

In a clumsy attempt to legitimize the road-widening stunt (as in "Peace Camp eviction") the British authorities went through a painstaking legal determination over exactly who owns what land around the base. Nothing like the rights of private property to polish a political assault. That decided, a writ of possession was obtained by the Department of Transport. The eviction was slated for Monday, 8 a.m. But over the weekend more and more women kept arriving at the base. By Monday morning there were 4-500 women on hand. The police arrived in force, the sheriff's deputies and bailiffs turned up, eviction orders in hand, surmised the situation and, in a word, booked. The following day, Tuesday, the eviction order was again not carried out. And in an act of continued defiance, women on Tuesday blockaded one of the gates with ten women arrested.

It wasn't until 7 a.m. Wednesday morning that the authorities made any moves, having waited until there were less women at the base and clearly hoping to catch the women off guard. According to reports from London, 400 cops descended on the women at the main gate and ordered them to pack up their things and clear out. So distraught were the women at losing their worldly possessions that they set their own tents and things on fire! Other women had prepared by pouring wet paint on their belongings and then watched as the police had to pick it all up. So secure were the police in their efforts to dislodge the women that as soon as they were able to move the women away from the main gate, a barbed wire fence



Break Out, Break Free — Take History into Our Hands

A Few Who Refused

While Reagan has been making a big deal about the medals given to thousands of troops for the invasion of Grenada, there's been a total news blackout about the resistance to the invasion from within the military. Such resistance did occur, not on a large scale, but apparently to the degree that it was more than just an isolated instance. Understandably, nary a word about this has appeared in the U.S. press.

What is known about the extent of this activity is somewhat sketchy, based on some individual stories of returning GIs. The *RW* talked to Dave Stoller of the SOS: National GI Assistance Project and some other sources. The GI Assistance Project, according to its national newsletter, is a recently formed network of counselors, veterans and others seeking to serve as a "referral and assistance point for active duty and reserve servicemembers." They have established contact with a number of active duty GIs and have specifically talked to a number who returned from Grenada and others who were stationed at Ft. Bragg, North Carolina, home of the 82nd Airborne, one of the main assault forces used in the invasion.

One guy Stoller talked to had gone AWOL from Ft. Bragg. "He said the order to go to Grenada came down three weeks before the assassination of Bishop, the pretext for the attack. The 82nd Airborne had been put on alert three weeks before, passes were rescinded and restric-

tions put into effect." In addition Stoller had talked to a ground crew mechanic who serviced some of the aircraft that fly reconnaissance. "He says the servicing schedule had been stepped up about a month before Grenada and he estimated the reconnaissance flights over Cuba had doubled."

When the invasion order came down, Stoller continued, at least eight (mainly white) soldiers in the 82nd Airborne refused to go to Grenada. The reason this is known is that one of them went AWOL, bringing to light the situation inside the base. There was evidently respect throughout the unit for this stand. It is also a good likelihood that there were other refusals to go that this guy hadn't heard about. The Army's response in two of these cases was to give them medical excuses, in effect saying "You're not medically qualified to go anyway." By the time this guy went AWOL there was some talk that five other guys would be charged with Article 15, "nonjudicial punishment," which usually results in a 15- to 30-day restriction to the base or barracks and a fine of several hundreds dollars. So in general, the response of the brass seems to have been to downplay the refusals to board the planes in order not to create public opinion or stir up more resistance.

The *RW* also learned of a Black Muslim in the Marine Corps who is being court-marshaled on charges of "missing a movement and AWOL" for refusing to

go to both Lebanon and Grenada. On October 16 his unit was ordered to Beirut. He went AWOL for two days, returning on the advice of counsel, after his unit had already moved out. It was made known to him, upon his return, that if he wished to rejoin his unit in Lebanon everything would be forgotten. He let it be known that he had no intention of doing such a thing. Subsequently he was also informed that if he wished to go to Grenada, where his unit eventually went to, the whole thing would be forgotten. He let them know again that he had no intention of doing any such thing. Apparently the prospect of going to Lebanon and killing Moslems had been a factor in his refusal, as was the prospect of going to Grenada and killing black people. His position now is that on both religious and moral grounds, he's not going to go anywhere the U.S. military sends him to kill anyone.

Stoller told the *RW* that he has also talked to several soldiers who have since returned from Grenada, who were stationed on various locations around the island, and each one reported seeing people (mostly Black) in the field refusing to fire their weapons and balking at doing anything further once they were on Grenada. In one instance a unit was ordered to open fire. One guy refused and still refused under a direct order. An officer then opened fire at him, shooting at his feet in an attempt to intimidate him. He still refused to fire and at that point

was removed and the person who witnessed this doesn't know what happened to him. (One Black guy who refused to fire his weapon — it's not clear if this is the same person — has been charged with an Article 91 violation, "Disobedience of a Lawful Order.") In another instance someone also refused to fire. Upon being given a direct order to do so he started to fire, the impression being that he was aiming carefully so that he wouldn't hit anything.

Stoller says the 82nd Airborne was really drilled on the importance of the Grenadan invasion beforehand. The Army ran out things like how they should go in there and win one for the Gipper, how there was a communist threat, etc., etc. But, he says, following the invasion the half-dozen soldiers he talked to said that if they had to do it over again they would refuse. They also said many in the 82nd Airborne didn't want to be there and were pretty horrified at what they did.

Returning soldiers also said that since the fire laid down by the invaders was so indiscriminate and intense, more than half the American casualties were inflicted by American fire. During the imposed curfew, sections of Grenada were treated like the free-fire zones in Vietnam. Troops were under orders that if it wasn't clearly identifiable as "one of us" it was to be fired upon. A number of rapes and looting by U.S. troops was also reported. □

The Big Medal Handout Syndrome

Dear *RW*,

An incident from the Vietnam War: the town of Tuy Hoa in the south was under siege by the National Liberation Front one day. A mortar round accidentally landed on a whore house, resulting in a U.S. officer being wounded. This brave American was later awarded the Purple Heart for injuries sustained "in the line of duty due to hostile fire."

I just read of new medal awards being given out for a very recent case of American rape, the U.S. military's invasion of Grenada last October. The Associated Press reported March 29, that 8612 medals have already been awarded to those military personnel involved in the invasion (which never saw more than 7000 on the island itself), and that after expected "Expeditionary Medals" are handed out in the future, the total could climb to 19,600. About 50 awards went to personnel who never ventured closer to Grenada than the Pentagon, and the Army said "many" others were given to support and staff personnel who never stepped foot on the island either.

The similarities and differences between the dump-truck method of medal

distribution in the U.S. Army off Grenada and in Vietnam are instructive.

Compare, for example, statistics from the recent past: in the whole of World War 2, the U.S. handed out 1.8 million medals for bravery. In Korea, the figure was 50,000. In the Vietnam War, the figure was 1.3 million! According to one source, "Virtually every soldier who managed to survive his tour (in Vietnam) was given a Bronze Star, if he had seen any combat whatsoever. . . . It was almost impossible to encounter a senior colonel who did not display the Silver Star on his chest or to meet a general who did not sport the Distinguished Service Medal." It is also a proven fact that some Awards and Decorations Offices assigned to process medal granting actively recruited aspiring young fiction writers for their staffs. Realize also that the number of combat medals awarded went way up as ground combat actually went down, according to the Army's own statistics. All this indicates the major purpose of the medals: to build *esprit de corps*, "unit pride," and generally "stimulate morale" regardless of whether recipients had ever engaged



U.S. troops in an expropriated auto during the invasion — an "inspiring" example.

in any bourgeois heroics, all of which were seriously lacking among broad numbers of the troops in Vietnam. As the imperialist nature of the war (its objectives, rules of engagement, etc.) became clearer to millions in and out of the military, and as demoralization and limited disintegration developed within the armed forces themselves, the military planners sought a variety of methods to bolster morale. Medals (awarded in "packages" to whole units after a certain point) instead became a standing joke among the GIs, eventually earning the sobriquet "gongs." As today, in other forms like the pernicious hoopla about "honoring" Vietnam vets, so too then, the ruling class thought that if the grunts just felt honored (by receiving a few awards) a little more, the internal problems among the troops would all miraculously turn around, or at least be largely mitigated. They tried to negate, thereby, the bottom-line feature of the U.S. military's problems, i.e., that there is nothing honorable about an imperialist war of aggression, or of carrying out the dirty work in such a war.

Among the similarities between the recent Grenada "expedition" and Vietnam, it seems to me, is the general question of methods designed by the Army to beef up lackluster morale among the rank-and-file. Specifically here, this results from the evident

lingering of the "Vietnam syndrome" (including widespread sentiments opposed to U.S. military aggression abroad), and from the concretes of the Grenada invasion, where thousands of elite Army soldiers (Rangers and paratroopers from the 82nd Airborne) together with 1000 Marines took on a few hundred poorly armed and trained people defending the island. The military's puffery following this "successful military operation" rang too hollow politically among too many, including, I imagine, even within those handpicked troops. Therefore, the Pentagon has apparently reasoned, a few thousand gongs could be used (to quote the AP dispatch) as a "valuable and effective leadership tool to build unit morale and esprit." Perhaps another morale incentive used in Vietnam has also been used: extended passes for soldiers with high KIA (enemy killed in action) figures. Undoubtedly some officers awarded themselves medals to swell their personal files with reports of bravery to increase their chances for promotion — but the overall rationale was much more sinister than self-serving lifers.

The key difference between Grenada and Vietnam is clearly what time it is in the world. In Vietnam, the U.S.'s military/political line guiding the war as a whole eventually became one of cutting losses in the face of defeat, and the

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Funky Accords And Other "Realisms"



In Southern Africa

Samora Machel and P.W. Botha conclude their deal

Over the last couple of months a number of dramatic and equally disgusting events have once again thrust southern Africa into the middle of the international spotlight. On March 16th, the FRELIMO government of Mozambique, led by Samora Machel, met with South African Prime Minister P.W. Botha in a white railroad car straddling the Mozambique/South Africa border to sign an accord of "good neighborliness and nonaggression."

The Nkomati Accord, named for the town it was signed in, stipulates that Mozambique will clamp down on the military activities of the pro-Soviet African National Congress (ANC) carried out against South Africa from inside Mozambique and will not allow the ANC to use Mozambique's territory as a transit point for infiltrating ANC members into South Africa. In return, the apartheid regime of South Africa has promised to officially end its support of the Mozambican National Resistance (MNR). (The MNR—anti-FRELIMO guerrillas inside Mozambique—was first formed in 1976 by the intelligence service of Ian Smith in Rhodesia to disrupt the rear base areas of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) in Mozambique and was later adopted by the apartheid regime after Mugabe came into power in Zimbabwe).

In addition, South Africa has also promised to step up its economic "aid" to and involvement in the Mozambican economy. These economic measures include increased South African tourism in Mozambique, a new deal around the Cabora Bossa Dam and the supply of electricity to Mozambique, and the revamping of Mozambique's main ports in order to handle increased amounts of South African exports.

One month prior to this agreement the MPLA in Angola (the pro-Soviet party holding state power in Angola) entered into a ceasefire with South African troops in southern Angola—South African troops have occupied large portions of southern Angola, nearly one-third of the country, since the summer of 1981. While there is no officially written out agreement between South Africa and Angola—the document used as the basis for the treaty is a memo prepared by U.S. Assistant Secretary of State, Chester Crocker—the terms of the ceasefire call for the MPLA to clamp down on the activities of the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO—a Namibian guerrilla organization strongly influenced by the Soviet social-imperialists and long based in parts of southern Angola) in exchange for the eventual and very

gradual withdrawal of the South African troops from Angolan territory.

Both of these agreements have given rise to a number of very ugly developments in the region. Ironically, both Mozambique and Angola have long attempted to present themselves as the vanguard of the "anti-apartheid movement" in Africa and were in the forefront of the more than two-year-old Soviet-sponsored campaign internationally to promote support for the ANC and SWAPO as the "sole, legitimate liberation organizations" in South Africa and Namibia, respectively. Today, as a result of the agreements, both countries are in the embarrassing position of doing an about-face on the issues and making a public demonstration of curtailing the activities of these two organizations. For its part, Mozambique has demonstrated its seriousness about the Nkomati Accord by raiding the homes of 12 ANC members in Maputo, the capital of Mozambique, on March 25 in a "search for weapons" and briefly detaining four ANC members for "questioning." And, although Mozambique has continued to declare its "diplomatic, moral and political support" for the ANC and did reject South Africa's initial demand for the complete expulsion of all ANC personnel from Mozambique (FRELIMO has announced that the ANC will be allowed to maintain a political office inside Mozambique), there have been a number of reports in the African press that FRELIMO did consent to the expulsion of Joe Slovo, a member of the South African Communist Party and military leader of the ANC, from the country. It has also been reported that in order to enforce the terms of the Accord, Mozambique and South Africa have formed a joint security commission.

Politically, Mozambique has been quite humiliated. Once known as the staunchest supporter of the ANC and the "most militant foe of apartheid," Mozambique now has the dubious honor of being the first African-run country of major significance to openly sign a non-aggression pact with the South African regime. (Since the Nkomati Accord was signed it has been revealed that South Africa had secretly negotiated a similar pact with the kingdom of Swaziland a few years ago. And, prior to the Nkomati Accord the only known similar agreements that South Africa had been a party to were those signed between itself and the various bantustans inside the country.) And complementing all of this, high-level Mozambican officials have recently begun to float out the idea that their sign-

ing the agreement wasn't really all that bad since, according to them, the struggle in South Africa isn't really a "national liberation struggle" but merely one against the apartheid regime and for "civil rights."

Mozambique's political humiliation was further enhanced when it also became obvious that signing the Nkomati Accord was enabling all sorts of worms to come out of the woodwork and lay claim to being staunch foes of South African apartheid. Almost immediately, Kenneth Kuanda of Zambia, once reviled throughout Africa for having been the first "frontline president" to meet with the South Africans, suddenly emerged in the wake of the Nkomati Accord as the "peacemaker who was ahead of his time." Kuanda immediately issued a call for all of the "frontline presidents" to sit down and meet with South Africa in the near future. Ironically, Mozambique and Angola's agreements with South Africa would seem to have effectively put

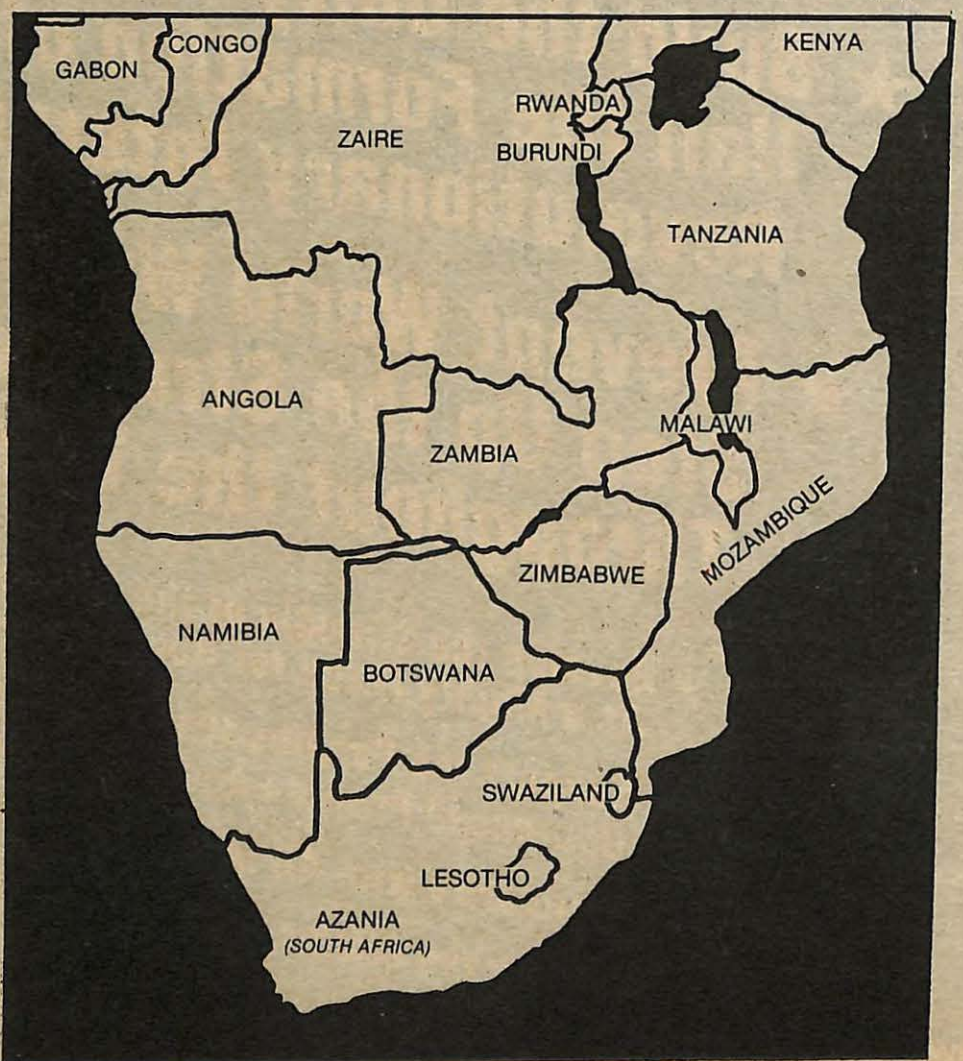
to rest the notion of "frontline states" as a solid bloc united in opposition to South Africa. (The point around Kuwanda was even driven home during the signing ceremonies themselves since the railroad car in which Mozambique signed the Accord was the very same railroad car in which Kuwanda carried out his infamous meeting with former South African Prime Minister Vorster.) But the most ridiculous newly minted foe of apartheid to emerge in the aftermath of the Nkomati Accord turns out to be none other than Mobutu of Zaire. The spectacle of Mobutu—a man who has become notorious for his alliances with the U.S., Israel and South Africa—warning Mozambique, Angola and other African countries against selling out the struggle of the Azanian people is almost too ludicrous to imagine. The Organization of African Unity (OAU), headed by Mengistu of Ethiopia, rejected a resolution fully supporting the accord; but settled on a statement expressing sympathy and understanding for the situation of Mozambique and Angola.

At the same time, the MPLA in Angola has wallowed in similar sewage. In order to enforce their informal agreement with South Africa the MPLA has formed a joint military commission with South Africa consisting of 600 soldiers—300 from each country. The purpose of this commission is to prevent SWAPO guerrillas from infiltrating across the Angolan border into Namibia. And, although MPLA and SWAPO officials deny it, there have been a number of reports in the Western press about joint military actions undertaken by the commission against SWAPO guerrillas over the last couple of weeks.

Switcheroo?

These developments have shocked many throughout the world who labor under severe illusions about the "realism" of "tactical alliances" with the Soviet social-imperialists. And a number of arguments and apologies have been advanced to excuse and justify the actions taken by both Angola and Mozambique. Some have entertained the notion that at least Mozambique may be bolting the Soviet bloc and hooking up with the U.S. imperialists. Here it should be pointed out that this particular argument has less and less credibility as time goes on. The response from the Soviet social-imperialists has been relatively mild as compared to what one would expect if such a bloc-switching had taken place. There have been no clear denunciations from any pro-Soviet forces. Even the ANC—the party most seriously affected by the Nkomati Accord—has been lenient, to put it mildly, in its criticism of Mozambique. For the most part the ANC has called for support and understanding for Mozambique and the crisis situation it is facing—interestingly enough, the ANC

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Greeting The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

The following letters and messages were received by the RW following publication in RW No. 247 of the Communiqué of the Second International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organisations which announced the formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement and important decisions and resolutions of the Second Conference, including the forthcoming publication of the Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement on May 1st, 1984 in 22 languages and the international slogans for May 1st. Further correspondence greeting the formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement can be sent via the RW, Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, Ill. 60654.

Dear RW:

As a sympathetic observer and reader of your organization and paper, I am both pleased and alarmed by the formal announcement of the formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement.

Solidarity is doubtless an important prerequisite for effective revolutionary practice, and the locking of so many hands across so many national and cultural borders bodes well for the future. International support, both economical and political, of regional struggles will enhance the sense of "belonging" of revolutionary combatants; for example, the Afghans' war will no longer, in fact, be solely their war — instead, it will be one of the wars of the Movement.

But let us not throw caution to the wind. It is of the utmost importance that the problems associated with the heightened visibility of the new Movement be scrutinized and dealt with. I refer, of

course, to the Movement's visibility to state powers. This is hardly a trivial concern. The inescapable dilemma is that the more cohesive, more centralized, revolutionary units become, the greater their vulnerability to infiltration, disruption, sabotage, etc. The enthusiasm generated by the formation of the new Movement must be tempered with an even greater vigilance on the part of revolutionaries.

Sincerely,
A Black Professor in Ohio

To the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement:

Let the bourgeoisie rage about the international communist movement...

The founding of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement is a very heavy thing because this movement adopts Mao Tsetung's Cultural Revolution theory of classes and class struggle under socialism, and the Leninist thesis of worldwide determinants of revolutionary possibilities in any country.

Let them laugh about the cry "Workers of the World, Unite," 101 years after Marx's death, with Mao's "great upholders" now cozying up to imperialism and feudalism, and with the "continuators of Lenin" invading countries, staging coups and subverting liberation movements, just like their archrivals in the West.

Any of the horrors that they can heap upon the forward attempts of a world proletariat learning to walk on its own is a thousand times surpassed by the horrors of the status quo, not to mention the horror of nuclear war for which imperialism is responsible. Imperialism wages wars of plunder in so-called peacetime. World

markets and the very conscious policies of finance capital have distorted and wrecked whole national economies, uprooted whole peoples from their land and urbanized, ghettoized and interned them in strategic hamlets. Committed crimes that we in the advanced countries don't even hear about. Created such depths of oppression that infant mortality rates among oppressed sections of people even in the U.S. metropolises and native reservations now approach levels in Central America from which many have been driven. In so many ways capitalism creates its own gravediggers.

Let them attack our answers to vexing societal and scientific problems as simplistic and hopelessly doctrinaire. Marxist dialectics penetrates and reveals all natural states and natural history from the most fundamental quarks to the Big Bang and posits a unity of infinity and finiteness beyond and in between. The achievements of the October Revolution and the Cultural Revolution over a span of 50 years and the consequent blossoming of an enriched revolutionary theory and practice on the planet demonstrates the power of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought to change the world. When the theory is combined with the daring and determination of the Palestinian people for one — through the work of a genuine communist party and the work of an International, then surely no force can stop them. We must decide to do our share of work so that in the next round it will blossom even more.

If the bourgeoisie attempts to smear the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement with its "web of terrorism" lies, fine. I will support any and all efforts by this movement to give material aid and

exchange opinions with all fighters against imperialism, whether in prison or on the battlefield.

A proletarian internationalist
in the U.S.
Buffalo, New York

To the proletariat and oppressed peoples of the world:

Greetings, I want to say that I welcome the formation of the Revolutionary INTERNATIONALIST Movement! It is an important thing for us to understand. It's easy to say you're internationalist, but many don't know what this means. It means breaking with all tradition; doing away with borderlines; further breaking with the view of "my country." Looking into the future, I think internationalism will take different forms as we seize more and more territory and as we move closer to communism and breaking down borders. For instance, are we going to have a bunch of separate communisms, or ONE WORLD COMMUNISM? Anyone who wants to free themselves from imperialism must understand this. When we're talking about internationalism, we're talking about communism. When we're talking about communism, we're talking about uprooting and burying imperialism. That's why we need a new communist international to lead us in doing that.

The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement is building off of the experience and lessons of the First, Second and Third Internationals, but we also need to understand the mistakes to forge a new international that will last and stay revolutionary especially now, in the face of world war.

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May 1st Slogans of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

- ★ Long Live Red 1st of May,
Symbol of the World Proletarian Revolution!
- ★ Build the Unity of the International Proletariat!
Hail the Formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement!
- ★ Prevent World War!
Step Up the Struggle for Revolution
Throughout the World!
- ★ Develop the Struggle of the Masses Against Imperialist War Preparations
As a Mighty Force for Revolution!
- ★ Support the Peoples War in Peru and All Revolutionary Struggles of the
Oppressed Peoples Against Imperialism and Reaction!
- ★ Solidarity with All Imprisoned Fighters for Revolution! Fight for Their Liberation!
- ★ Break the Chains, Unleash the Fury of Women as a Mighty Force for Revolution!

The following article continues the description of various social forces in West Germany by the RW correspondent who covered last fall's antimissile demonstrations.

I spent several days walking the streets of Hamburg, West Germany's port city on the North Sea. A city with much history, it was the scene in 1923 of a communist-led working-class insurrection. And in the postwar period it has emerged as a center of the radical youth counterculture. A true child of imperialism, ships from all over the world pull up to its riverfront docks, above which are piled a jumble of squatter-occupied houses, illegal Turkish workers working "under-the-table" for substandard wages, the infamous Reeperbahn porno district, night spots where the Beatles played some of their first gigs and numerous punk clubs.

Hamburg is a lively center of radical culture which boasts many local *autonomen* publications like *grosse freiheit* (a journal much like West Berlin's *radikal*) and *Hungrige Herzen* ("Hungry Heart," a music magazine which describes itself as a "magazine for laid-back insurrection"). Hamburg's *autonomen* and punk scene was anything but a passive observer of the fall missile actions, participating from the first demonstration in Bremerhaven throughout the fall. Hamburg's counterculture activists are also among some of the sharpest critics of the mainstream of West Germany's peace movement. The following article, "Don't Gandhi Me," appeared in *Hungrige Herzen* at the beginning of October. Written for a West German au-

"Don't Gandhi Me!"

dience, it of course contains a number of references to individuals and organizations in West Germany, for example, the SPD is the social-democratic party, the DKP is the revisionist German Communist Party and the DGB is the national trade union federation.

Intimate knowledge of the German scene is not necessary, however, to appreciate the anonymous author's biting sarcasm. The players could be recognized anywhere in the world, particularly the bourgeois leaders in the social movements who piously invoke the "leading role of the working class," then turn around and equate this with the reactionary trade union leadership who are thereby given a veto over any actions that might actually attack the imperialist system.

Don't Gandhi Me

There are people in this country, who drink mineral water with bloodstained generals, and at the same time presume to decide who is permitted to be described as an opponent of war and who is not. One could certainly say "don't Gandhi me" even if the nerve-racking discussion of violence, which is constantly provoked by

people like Kelly, Leinen and Bastian and which symbolizes the emptiness of the violence concept, had no other unpleasing consequences.

This was clearly shown everywhere in the preparation meetings for the fall actions. Wherever the little peace angels of the SPD, DGB, or DKP faith were present, their chief matter of concern was that resistance remain symbolic, and they loved most of all to talk about everything people should not do and thereby paralyzed and frustrated every original plan of action. The result: even the bourgeoisie was worriedly asking three weeks before the start of the peace week about the concrete preparations for blockades, which even to them appeared pretty weak. Will the whole mobilization of the police be for nothing? What would there then be to report?

The general- (pardon me: regional-) committee and "spokesperson" of this so-called peace movement began in concert with the DGB to sing "Beware!". Occasionally they practice a little resistance, only to become frightened of their own courage, and end up leaving the warmongers in peace. At the same time they make sure that, through voluntary

restrictions upon ever tamer forms of action, the legal scope of action is continually restricted. If a resistance movement does nothing but celebrate Holy Mass and release thousands of little white doves, then it will not grow (growth being always given as the reason for such peaceful rallies by their advocates) but rather will become ever smaller. This is for two reasons: first, actions of a ridiculous character have only ridiculous results, which can lead after the fall "defensive" and following deployment of the missiles to the spreading of frustration and an increase in political apathy, feeling of powerlessness, and resignations. Second, the exclusion of groups, which don't express their desire for peace according to the rules, creates a climate that makes it possible for the state to isolate, to criminalize, and to round up a whole lot of people. Precisely those who have tried out other forms of action and whose experiences are important for the resistance movement.

The pacifist way is not "the one and only" but a dead end, and it is not even peaceful. It is utterly hypocritical to always declare that one should preserve the peace, because, please, just where is this peace? Far away perhaps, in El Salvador or in Lebanon? Or somewhere in the Federal Republic, which still doesn't have a peace treaty and is ruled oh so peacefully with clubs, water cannon, and teargas. It really takes a lot of stupidity and ignorance to talk about the existing peace. Yet it would appear that the much invoked masses, who supposedly bring it and whom one must not frighten off with militant actions, make it all possible.

As long as the peace movement stares at the missiles like a mouse at the cat, and pisses in its pants from fear, the Americans will station as much as they want. And why not? The Pershing components are already here, and the mass graves for the '80s are already being dug "as a practice," as was shown on the TV news of September 24. And that is not intended to be symbolic.

Even if this escalation towards war is stopped, because the danger of a world war will remain after the fall season, mental laziness has to stop. This mental laziness confuses peace with mass murder (provided one is far enough away from it) and the means of war (like the missiles) with the causes of war, which still lie in this shitty social system, even if that is, "common knowledge." But there is another piece of "common knowledge" we can forget without any qualms, which reads: Nothing can happen without the progressive organization of the working class, the DGB (not to mention the DKP).

This fall exactly the opposite has once again proven true. It's precisely the randy actions which come off without the support of the shop committees, whose Mafia of functionaries would rather enrich themselves through shady deals (e.g., the "New Home" housing project: the Rothfoss blockade for example, which finally made a connection between the peace movement and the German armaments deals in Latin America or the Springer action which attacked the ideological warmongering of the newspaper Bild and was directed against the monopolistic media system of West Germany. One could recount even more actions, where the DGB distanced itself from everything that goes beyond a harmless happening in the city square. Yet from this some people draw the conclusion that everyone must wait until the DGB also brings itself to do something—which could be a good long time. Only maybe could outsiders be permitted to initiate a few things and give a helping hand to the Springer shop committee, because it still believes that the time is not ripe for a blockade. Yet it's been ripe for the last 15 years.

Worship of the majority must stop, because majority in itself is an argument for nothing. What's the use of actions which, sure, are supported by hundreds of thousands, but have no real effect because neither through their means nor through their goals are the causes of armaments attacked. The content of the protests must not be restricted from the start to superficialities, because crisis, unemployment, arms-mania, hatred of foreigners, and nationalism stand in a dangerous connection, which must be ex-

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Constantly Amazed!

To the Revolutionary Workers:

For those who want to know what the ruling class is telling its most faithful servants, there is the *Wall Street Journal*. The issue of Monday, March 12, 1984 was particularly revealing. On page 1 was another chapter in the Saga of the Great White Loanshark. The bankers have been wondering lately if they might not be wise to give countries like Brazil better terms on their loans, despite their refusal to follow all of the genocidal, excuse me, belt-tightening rules laid down by the IMF. It tells the anecdote of a meeting of the economists and executives of "one of the largest U.S. banks" talking about the repayment of the loans when the economy is better, in perhaps five years. Finally the chairman of the bank interrupted: "Impossible. They can't do it. I don't want to hear about the long-term prospects when the country isn't going

to survive that long."

For those who wonder about exactly how the demise might come about, there is the full-page ad on page 19 paid for by LTV, a major defense contractor. It quotes responses of the Democratic presidential hopefuls on the question of defense. While they all managed to mouth a line in support of the FREEZE, they did not want to send the wrong message to Wall Street or the Russians. The front-runners, in particular, might want the peace movement, currently embroiled in their campaigns, to know what they plan.

Gary Hart: "America needs a strong defense... we need better defense. That is the central theme of the military reform movement I have led in Congress."

Walter Mondale: "I support programs such as the Midgetman, cruise missiles, the Trident submarine, an accelerated

D-5 submarine missile, a new small submarine, Stealth bombers, and improvements on our Minuteman ICBMs."

I am constantly amazed that people in the peace movement, often including people who hate imperialism, put so much reliance on elections. As I write this, most of the peace movement in the state of Washington is preparing to go to tonight's caucuses to choose between Mondale and Hart. Many rationalize this by saying we have to beat Reagan. When these people see that elections are chains and start looking to the international proletariat instead of America's ruling class for leadership, then we might see some changes that could prevent nuclear war.

Jack Straw,
An Anti-war activist
3-13-84

On The Contemporary Relevance Of Lenin's Theory Of Imperialism

The following are excerpts from a talk delivered by Raymond Lotta on December 29, 1983 at the Annual Meeting of the Union of Radical Political Economists (URPE) held in San Francisco.

The purpose of my presentation is twofold: to discuss the nature of Lenin's contribution to Marxist political economy and to argue that the current world crisis is not only amenable to Lenin's conceptual framework but can only be fully understood and decisively acted upon on the basis of that framework. These ideas are extensively developed and substantiated in *America in Decline*, which I wrote with Frank Shannon. Here I can only offer the briefest of summations. Let me begin with a few introductory comments.

I

Marx of course had discovered the laws of motion of capitalist accumulation, central to which is the dialectical process of the destruction and restructuring of capital. The motive and aim of capitalist production is the expansion of value. And for capital to successfully accumulate, it must recombine its internal relations. But owing to the contradiction between socialized production and private appropriation, and specifically the driving force of anarchy, this is a process of episodic explosions and crises. In fact, as Marx shows, the contradictions of accumulation are both concentrated in and momentarily resolved through crisis. At the time of his investigations, this acute periodic process expressed itself through the industrial and trade cycle within individual capitalist countries. This was the essential framework through which capital became more concentrated, paving the way for more serious crisis and, at the same time, preparing more favorable ground for capitalism's overthrow. And through this process, although Marx could not foresee it, capitalism developed to a higher stage, imperialism.

Lenin set out precisely to explain the complex causes of both the continued growth of capitalism and the sharpening of its contradictions. What he shows — and to my mind this is what is so compelling in his account — is that imperialism grows out of the environment of capitalism, competition, and commodity production; while in its functioning it attempts to surmount that environment. Yet it cannot. And this makes for more acute antagonism and conflict. Is Lenin's theory basically a description of developments in the advanced countries? Some think so, but it is not. Is it a theory of the relations between the advanced and dependent countries? No, it is not that, either. Others have argued that Lenin was merely taking a polemical snapshot of the world on the eve of World War I. A few critics have sought to "disprove" Lenin by marshaling evidence showing that the five characteristics of imperialism that he enumerates were not simultaneously present in the major capitalist countries. But all of these arguments misapprehend the object of Lenin's analysis, that is, a system in its global totality. Marx of course placed great stress on the world market and the role of international relations in the history of capitalism. But the salient fact to which Lenin drew attention was that by 1900 the capitalist mode of production was rapidly enmeshing the world as a whole in its contradictions and bringing the various elements of the world economy into new relations with each other.

The key point is that accumulation takes place in a new context. What do I mean? First, accumulation proceeds through monopoly, specifically the dominance of international finance capital, which is the key activating and stimulating factor in the reproductive process. It proceeds on the basis of the division of the world into oppressor and oppressed nations. The oppressed nations are dominated by imperialism and integrated into its circuits of capital. Colonial expansion and superprofits play a crucial role in the overall process of accumulation. And, finally, in the imperialist era accumulation proceeds through rivalry among different national capitals. Each grouping of imperialists and colonies expand in relation to and, ultimately, can only do so at the expense of others. What I want to stress here is that these are not incidental phenomena. They define a new matrix of accumulation. Now of course some imperialist powers derive benefits from capital export through more indirect and convoluted means, such as through loan and trade ties; others may be cut out from such investment opportunities, as was Germany in the interwar period; and the institutional bases of finance capital will vary among countries. But the reality remains: monopoly capital is an internationalized mode of production which functions according to an inner compulsion. It is rooted in national markets yet requires a global field of operations.

This brings me to the central observation. What Lenin is telling us is that capital can no longer be decisively reorganized within a national framework. The laws of accumulation intract with the division of the world among the great powers and with political struggles, both among the imperialists and between the imperialists and the masses. What this means, then, is that economic processes by themselves and within individual capitalist countries do not furnish the means to fundamentally and qualitatively restructure capital. Earlier I mentioned the destruction/restructuring dialectic of capital. The reorganization of capital is now bound up with and ultimately hinges on the political-military defeat of some imperialists by others. A new division of the world, by which I mean the redistribution of power and spheres of influence, is the main determinant — apart from the limiting factor of revolution — of capital's ability to reorganize its international coordinates. In other words, world war is the necessary and inevitable

mechanism by which capitalism temporarily resolves its contradictions and creates a new environment for accumulation. The imperialists go to war for the purpose of *redividing* the world on terms more favorable to them; the result is the *restructuring* of capital on a world scale.

These are some of the important elements of Leninist political economy. I don't have the time to explore the question, but I want to stress that the kind of theoretical work begun by Lenin was not carried forward by the Comintern. Lenin saw imperialism as a dynamic system, which undergoes great expansionary leaps and cataclysmic eruptions. The Comintern theorists substituted a theory of stagnationism. Their idea was that imperialism had begun a kind of slow dance of death. In the time remaining, I want to sketch out — and this will of necessity be somewhat schematic — some of the ways that we have built on and extended Lenin's problematic.

II

Our view is that the two world wars of this century represented the critical turning points in the political and economic history of imperialism. The economic transformations associated with these wars, the new political alignments ushered in by them, and the global reorganization made possible on the basis of the shift in imperialist power relations established a new framework for and set in motion a certain trajectory of capital accumulation. Yet these interim years have been movements towards yet another explosion: the changes and transformations wrought by these new alignments, which initially stimulate expansion, eventually become sources of crisis and conflict. To make the point clearer, we can examine the dynamics of the post-World War 2 period.

What did World War 2 accomplish from the standpoint of world accumulation? To begin with, the Axis challenge to British, French, and U.S. capital was quashed. But the U.S. was not only able to vanquish its global antagonists; it also "cleaned up" against its allies as well. It was, for instance, favorably positioned to displace the traditional colonial powers in areas where it was historically weak, like Africa and portions of Asia. The U.S. emerged as an unprecedentedly dominant and organizing power. New global institutions reflecting this dominance were established: the World Bank, the IMF, the UN. But what must be stressed is that the expansion of the postwar period was chiefly a function of the total reorganization of capital and its spheres of influence; it was not a question of U.S. hegemony as such.

Some of the essential elements of reorganization can be identified. New investment and trade patterns were established. Germany, to take one example, was now *West* Germany. While its historic trade ties with central and eastern Europe were broken, it was now dealt into a new configuration. It could, for instance, obtain and rely on cheap oil from the Middle East. This influenced both the structure and profitability of German capital, and in turn influenced the profitability of Western capital in general. The removal of world trade barriers and the integration of what were previously more exclusive markets were a precondition for the kind of modernization in Europe and Japan that depended upon economies of scale. The establishment of a new monetary order and the related expansion of credit sped up the turnover of capital. These new arrangements also made it possible — that is profitable — to qualitatively transform key components of key social formations. In the U.S., Japan, and Italy literally millions of peasants, sharecroppers, and rural handicrafts workers were transformed into proletarians. In the U.S. in particular, agriculture was extensively modernized. And of immense and decisive importance, massive amounts of capital flowed into the Third World. The so-called multilateralism of the postwar years — that is, the relative absence of barriers in the colonies to different imperialist capitals — was a major factor facilitating a more efficient international division of labor.

All of what I am describing led to the renewed profitability of internationalized capital. And these changes were *not* principally the result of technological advances in themselves, nor of the accidental confluence of developments in different national economies, nor even of the long-term trend towards further internationalization of capital. They were principally the outcome of a qualitative and violent shift in international alignments. If we want to understand the structures and trend-lines of accumulation in particular national economies, we have to look first and foremost to the international arena, to the forces and relations of power in the world. Take the U.S. economy. Given its privileged position in the world, it did not have to revamp its productive base to the same degree as the other imperialists. Indeed, its strategic and integrating role within a new imperialist bloc dictated that it massively expand its financial and military superstructure. These phenomena have everything to do with the strengths and weaknesses of the U.S. economy. The so-called miracles of growth, Germany and Japan, cannot be understood apart from the fact that they were put back on their feet in part to play the role as economic and political bulwarks against the Soviet Union and a socialist camp.

It is our view that the resurgence of imperialism and the modalities of growth in the decade and a half following World War 2 were conditioned by two factors. The first was the formation of a new imperialist bloc whose defining feature was a high degree of integration among different imperialist capitals and the leading role of the U.S. within it. The second, and this profoundly influenced the specific character of that bloc, was the existence of a socialist camp headed up by the Soviet Union. This factor, more than any other, cemented the political-military unity of the bloc. And herein lies the particularity of the entire postwar period. There was no imperialist power within the U.S.-led bloc that could mount an all-out challenge to U.S. imperialism. When such a rival did in fact emerge, it did so from outside that bloc. I am speaking of the now imperialist Soviet Union (and the bloc it heads up).

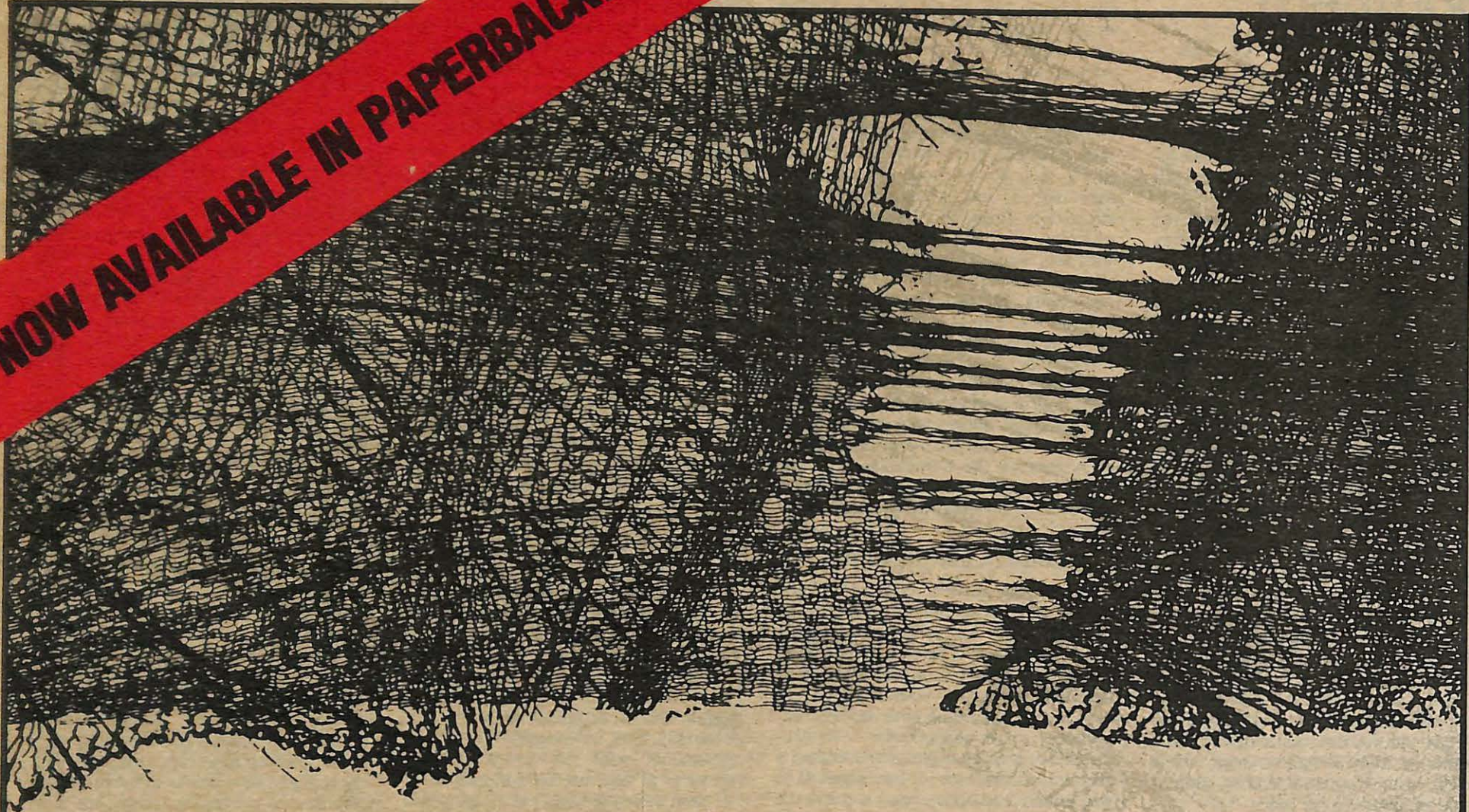
III

I would like to conclude by roughing out a general periodization of the developments that have brought us to a contemporary pre-world war situation. We believe that three distinct stages of the post-World War 2 trajectory can be identified, each marked by the dominance of a particular contradiction on a world scale. The first period, between 1948 and 1958, was principally shaped by the conflict between the imperialist bloc and the socialist camp. This period saw the U.S. both edge out Great Britain and France and prop them up, while overseeing reconstruction of Germany and Japan. And it saw a huge outflow of U.S. capital to both the industrialized countries and the Third World. By the mid-1950s, the limits of the existing division of the world were beginning to be felt. The 1957-58 downturn was the first generalized recession since the war experienced by the advanced countries. Had the Soviet Union remained socialist, it would have been necessary for the imperialist bloc as a whole to go to war against it. Their freedom to restructure capital would have been ever more constricted.

This of course did not come to pass. Which brings us to the second period, 1958-72. In the mid-1950s a new bourgeoisie, led by Khrushchev, came to power in the Soviet Union and began the process of capitalist restoration. Its international strategy was to temporarily avoid confrontation with the U.S., even by suppressing struggles opposed to U.S. imperialism, and to gain a foothold in pivotal areas of the world in order to strengthen its hand. This reversal of proletarian rule was the most significant realignment of international forces since 1945. And it had an enormous impact on world accumulation. The Western bloc was able to further restructure capital. It could export huge sums of capital to the Third World and carry out Alliance for Progress-type pro-

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America in Decline

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

Raymond Lotta with Frank Shannon

Vol. 1

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“Raymond Lotta's *America in Decline* is unique in that it is thoroughly contemporary and readable, yet grounded in the Marxist-Leninist tradition. The chapter on U.S. imperialism between the two world wars is the best analysis written on the subject. I am eagerly looking forward to the forthcoming volumes.”

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University of California, Davis

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

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

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Southern Africa

Continued from page 5
even refused to comment on the raids of its members' houses in Maputo in the interest of not straining its relations with Mozambique any further.

While it is certainly not beyond the realm of possibility that a country such as Mozambique could switch its bloc alignment — particularly in the highly complex and contradictory period prior to the outbreak of world war — this does not seem to be the situation here. For one thing, nothing that Mozambique has done is contrary to the Soviet strategy in that region or in many of its various neocolonies and client states. As was pointed out in the article "Angola: A Case Study in Soviet Neocolonialism" (*Revolution*, No. 51, Spring 1984), economic agreements such as those Mozambique has made with South Africa are an integral part of the Soviet theory of "socialist orientation" in the neocolonial and dependent world. And even political agreements like the Nkomati Accord — so long as they do not involve a fundamental shift in the political orientation of the Soviet client regimes — are not only acceptable but are often even necessary and encouraged by the Soviet imperialists when viewed in the context of their overall strategic needs and the international imperialist contention in preparation for war.

Among some forces, especially among pro-Soviet revisionists, the argument of "realism" has once again been raised to justify and rationalize the recent actions of Mozambique and Angola. It really is amazing just how many times this tired old argument of "realism" can be dragged out to rationalize gutter crawling. For almost a decade now, "realism" has been used to explain the "lack of transformation" — actually, the shoring-up of neocolonial society under Soviet domination — in both Mozambique and Angola. According to this argument, the "realism" of the situations facing both of these countries, especially the constant attacks — military, economic and political — from South Africa, dictated the need to "temporarily shelve" the transformation of society in order to throw everything into opposing South Africa. Now, the same forces are telling us that this same "realism" dictates the rapprochement with South Africa.

There's certainly no denying the fact that the situation in both Angola and Mozambique is very dismal. (For a thorough analysis of neocolonial Angola see *Revolution*, No. 51, Spring 1984.) Both economies are wracked with problems and both have suffered massive amounts of destruction and injury due to the almost decade-long attack by South Africa and its pro-U.S. surrogates in UNITA and the MNR. Of the two, Mozambique is probably in the worst straits — its economy is almost totally dependent on South Africa alone and extremely vulnerable to South African economic pressures in addition to the military assaults. In addition, Mozambique has been one of the countries hardest hit by the drought in Africa: already almost 100,000 Mozambicans have died and close to one-fourth of the population is in imminent danger of starvation.

Now, according to the current version of the "realism" argument, the newly negotiated agreements with South Africa will give Angola and Mozambique some sorely needed breathing space and allow them to take up and solve their internal problems. What this argument conve-

niently leaves out, however, is the fact that even though the South African assault against these countries has had a very serious effect in both of them, South Africa alone is not the cause of their internal difficulties. In fact, the bottom-line cause of this sorry state of affairs in both countries can be attributed to the fact that they remain under imperialist domination — à la Soviet social-imperialism in their case — and what has been constructed in these countries is a typical neocolonial society. And, as is the case with any neocolonial state, the reality that dictates their moves is a product of the reality faced by their imperialist overlords at any given time. More than anything else these agreements and the actions they have thus far given rise to are pursuant to Soviet strategy, not contrary to it. They are indicative of some fairly intense strategic maneuvering by the Soviet imperialists and as such provide a glimpse into some of the particularities of the Soviet strategy in the region today and some of the problems they are currently facing.

Strategy, Imperialist-Style

During the early and mid-1970s the Soviet imperialists made a number of strategic gains in Africa — especially southern Africa. This was a period in which the Soviet Union had emerged as an imperialist power both driven to and capable of contending with the U.S. imperialists on a global scale, and also capable of pulling together and leading a rival imperialist bloc. It was a period in which there had been a relative ebb in the revolutionary struggle worldwide and even a brief period in which the U.S. had been forced to pull back and regroup in the aftermath of their defeat in Vietnam and the domestic political crisis within the ranks of the U.S. ruling class. The Soviets were able to take advantage of this period and greatly expanded their influence among certain national liberation struggles and even captured outright strategically important countries like Ethiopia, Mozambique and Angola.

But even then, the Soviet strategy was not predicated on somehow seizing the U.S. empire country by country. Instead, the pivotal point in the Soviet strategy was, and remains today, positioning itself in the best possible way for a future all-out challenge to the U.S. imperialists. For instance, the main importance of Mozambique and Angola to the Soviet imperialists is the fact that they provide the Soviets with a foothold — and in the case of Angola, a virtual military garrison — in the midst of an area of prime strategic importance for the U.S. imperialists. This has been the primary factor determining the destiny of Mozambique and Angola since the mid-1970s. (In fact, as was pointed out in "Angola: A Case Study in Soviet Neocolonialism," even what has developed within these countries — the maintenance of neocolonial society, the economic and political crisis, and the continued massive penetration by Western imperialism — has been a product of the Soviet position in the world today, that is, the fact that it is a "challenging imperialist power," and the exigencies of the strategies designed to forcibly restructure the world in its favor.)

Given all this, it should also be pointed out here that over the last year or so the U.S. has been on a bloody offensive, politically and militarily, in southern Africa, both directly and indirectly through South Africa, UNITA and the MNR. And in this offensive Mozambique and Angola have been prime targets with everything possible being thrown at them in order to add on to and sharpen their internal crises with the aim of forc-

ing them, and through them the Soviet imperialists, into at least a tactical retreat. The most recent events in this offensive, both military and other attacks (including the most massive South African invasion of Angola since the summer of 1981), are what led to the various agreements with South Africa. And, just as the Soviet response was dictated by strategic concerns, so too was the U.S. offensive. That the U.S. engineered this offensive and these agreements is neither surprising nor much of a secret. In fact, it was a continuation of the moves begun by the U.S. in the region by Vice-President Bush's 1982 African safari. And more specifically, at the beginning of 1984 Chester Crocker, the U.S. State Department's top Africa man, and his assistant Frank Wisner, have virtually taken up residence in southern Africa as they personally have taken charge of all diplomatic negotiations between South Africa, Angola and Mozambique. Of particular importance in terms of the U.S. strategy is the need to pull together a working alliance between the apartheid regime in South Africa and the various pro-U.S., African-run countries. An important part of pulling this alliance together involves bestowing an air of legitimacy on the South African regime — a task which was given a considerable boost with the agreement between South Africa, Mozambique and Angola. Although Angola and Mozambique are not a part of the U.S. bloc, the overall effect of their agreements with the South African regime is to generate an atmosphere of "If even these militant foes of apartheid can coexist with South Africa, then anyone else can too."

In this situation the Soviets were definitely put on the defensive and pushed into some pretty intense maneuvering. The effect of the U.S./South African offensive and the general sharpening up of the contradictions of the imperialist system internationally greatly exacerbated the crisis situations in both Mozambique and Angola and generated a very unstable situation inside both countries. Given this situation, the Soviet need to hold onto to these outposts was made quite a bit more difficult and, at least in the case of Mozambique, the ability of the Soviet client regime to hold onto state power might actually have been called into question in the not too distant future. Thus, the new agreement signed by FRELIMO head Machel is not a case of Machel "falling off his chair" but attempting to keep it. What the agreements with South Africa indicate is that the Soviets have been pushed back into a sort of holding pattern — a position of pulling in the reins somewhat on the ANC and SWAPO in order to protect and hold onto the strategically more important possessions of Angola and Mozambique.

Here it should be noted that while the current situation in the region is a setback, the Soviet strategy is somewhat amenable to granting certain concessions — even with regard to these strategically important countries, although they are definitely not about to totally sacrifice either Angola or Mozambique. This point was emphasized by the fact that even as Mozambique was signing its agreement with South Africa and Angolan troops were carrying out joint patrols with South African combat troops, Angolan President dos Santos visited Cuba and issued a statement concerning the presence of Cuban combat troops in Angola. According to the joint statement issued by Angola and Cuba, the Cuban troops will remain in Angola until certain conditions are met, chief among which is the implementation of a settlement in Namibia which would guarantee the security of Angola, preferably the UN-sponsored settlement plan. Since South Africa has openly stated that as far as it is concerned the UN settlement scene is a dead issue, it is most likely that the bulk of the Cuban troops

will remain in Angola for the time being.

At the same time, all of this Soviet maneuvering makes an interesting comment on the Soviet imperialists' aims in South Africa itself and in Namibia, as well as on the place each occupies in the overall Soviet strategy. While the recent agreements with South Africa will definitely not spell the end for either the ANC or SWAPO, they will put a damper on their activities to make it a little bit more difficult to operate in the same old way. This too, however, is consistent with the overall Soviet strategy, a strategy which has not been based so much on seizing power in either South Africa or Namibia. (Although it should also be mentioned here that the Soviets would still probably not turn down an opportunity to decisively seize power in either country, if such an opportunity were to present itself and if other conditions were ripe.)

Instead, the Soviet strategy is more based on maintaining the ANC and SWAPO as loyal rearguard elements behind the lines of the most important U.S. ally in the region. At most, the Soviets have been pushing for some kind of "historic compromise" power-sharing agreement in Namibia, but even this has recently been pushed into the background as the Soviets have apparently summed up that to push it any further with the ANC and SWAPO could very well jeopardize their overall strategic setup in the region. Again, the key point in the Soviet strategy is not the immediate capturing of state power in the individual countries of the region today, but more one of holding onto what they have gained thus far and banking on a worldwide realignment of forces to settle the question in an all-around way.

Of course, this too has presented the Soviets with a few problems since the recent agreements have been a little hard for the ANC and SWAPO to swallow. At present, while SWAPO's leadership has somewhat reluctantly accepted the agreement between Angola and South Africa, there still remains some question as to how much they will be able to sell it to the guerrilla units in the field. But for the most part, while the ANC and SWAPO are not all that happy about the recent treaties, they are likely to go along with them. Actually, they too are quite "realistic" and are well aware of the fact that their own political fortunes — as much as those of the ruling cliques in Mozambique and Angola — rise and fall on the eventual ability of the Soviets to successfully challenge and defeat the U.S. imperialists on a world scale.

One final point remains to be made in connection with what has been going on in southern Africa of late. In the press of both the U.S. and Soviet blocs, much has been made of the new agreements of South Africa being a sort of harbinger of a long-awaited peace in the region. In fact, exactly the opposite is true. Already, the so-called "peace" has been effectively shattered in connection with every party involved in the agreements. The MNR, which South Africa provided with enough arms to carry on their activities for at least two more years, has actually intensified its activities inside Mozambique since the signing of the Nkomati Accord. On March 25, the ANC let loose with yet another bombing attack inside South Africa. And inside Angola, while Angolan troops and South African troops jointly worked to corral SWAPO, Jonas Savimbi, a notorious U.S. puppet, and UNITA have taken advantage of the situation to advance further north than they ever have before. Savimbi's forces also for the first time briefly seized a major coastal city close to the Angolan capital of Luanda. Rather than signaling some sort of regional peace, the situation in southern Africa — agreements and all — are indicative of the intensity of the maneuvering and jockeying for position among the U.S. and Soviet imperialists. □



**Revolution in the '80s . . .
Go for it!**

A Shnook Takes A Look At A Book



It's not everyday that a children's cartoon book occasions controversy in the book review sections of the most prominent of the national press — but then it's not every day that the Cat in the Hat takes on the arms race, and by clear implication, nuclear war. And, in the latest work of the pen of the 80-year-old Dr. Seuss (a.k.a. Theodor Geisel), *The Butter Battle Book*, that's just what happens — though the latest additions to the nuclear club are not top-hatted cats, but Yooks and Zooks, humanish critters with bird-like heads, harmless-appearing but a bit short-changed upstairs.

A political cartoonist, and failed novelist in his younger days, Seuss has styled his own work satire, and not whimsy, including his past cast of characters such as the tyrant Yertl the Turtle. Yertl, who believes that he can rule the muddy land of turtles as far as he can see, climbs

upon the backs of the other turtles until one small creature on the bottom burps; the pile collapses, Yertl lands ignominiously in the mud, while the others go free "as turtles, and maybe, all creatures, must be."

Seuss' illustrations are drawn through the eyes of the kids—"adults are obsolete children and the hell with them" Seuss has said — it is a perspective on the world of grown-ups "from the knees down," so to speak. Today, a certain class of people are apparently quite upset that such a look might reveal their feet of clay.

Yooks and Zooks

The tale opens with the narrator, grandfather Yook, explaining to his grandson how, while Yooks and Zooks may appear similar, there is a profound and weighty difference between them: Yooks eat their bread with the butter side up, Zooks prefer theirs butter side down. "So you can't trust a Zook who spreads butter underneath! Every Zook must be watched! He has kinks in his soul!" Indeed. A wall springs up between Yookland and Zookland, and one fateful day, as grandfather Yook does border

patrol with his "tough-tufted prickly Snick-Berry Switch," (with which he gives any straying Zook a twitch) a rival Zook, Vanltch, uses a slingshot to smash the Yook's treasured weapon.

The chief Yookeroo responds by ordering the "Boys in the Back Room" to devise a bigger slingshot, a "Triple-Sling Jigger," which the Zooks then counter with their own "Jigger-Rock Snatchem." After several rounds of an arms race (which includes weapons like the Kick-a-Poo Kid, whose explosive charge includes fried clam chowder as a key ingredient) the Yooks and Zooks sure enough come up with the real thing: the "Bitsy Big Boy Boomeroo" (which can blow all those Zooks clear to Sala-magoo) grandfather Yook carries the Bitsy Big Boy to the wall and prepares to drop it — suddenly Zook Vanltch hops on the wall with the Zook version of the bomb. The story concludes as Yook and Zook face off on the wall, and the Yook's grandson shouts: "Grandpa! Be careful! Oh, gee! Who's going to drop it? Will you...? or will he...?" "Be patient," said Grandpa. "We'll see. We will see..." And there the story ends.

Bitter Polemic

This little book has provoked some tempestuous reviews. The *NY Times Book Review* ran two features side-by-side on the book, one calling it a "bitter polemic," the other mainly favorable. But even the favorable reviewer apparently felt herself compelled to add: "dear Dr. Seuss, we want to protest — you can't leave us hanging like this. Can't the Boys in the Back Room come up with some equally clever peace machines, or the Cat in the Hat come back to save the day, if not the world?" The reviewer goes on to put in a personal request for a sequel with a "whizz-banger way" for Yooks and Zooks to coexist.

In general, Seuss' unresolved ending has provoked discomfort from liberal reviewers who might be expected to welcome a "condemnation of the arms race." Perhaps the *Times* review is a hint as to why — Seuss does not offer the "cheer" of a solution to the Yook/Zook confrontation from within the boundaries of acceptable discourse on nuclear war. No "peace machines," no arms control, or other coexistence agreements, no peace-y liberal politician to work diplomatic Cat-in-the-Hat magic on the mess in the world. Seuss simply withholds judgment and in doing so commits the sin, in bourgeois eyes, of adding to what is called "nuclear hysteria" — the widespread sentiment that the war preparations are out of control, might not respond to "normal" solutions, and certainly do not call for

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"Life In These United States"

Duck And Cover!

Jay Cleckner, principal of the Franklin Elementary School, in Oakland, California, has an approach to the situation and conditions that the 1,200 students and their families are faced with. "We have an obligation to teach the kids how to survive in this kind of situation," he says, "This is all part of today's world."

All schools in Oakland practice fire drills, earthquake drills, bomb drills, and nuclear war drills, but Franklin practices for urban violence. The plan runs like this — as soon as the principal hears gunfire, or any other signs of ongoing battle which mark everyday life in America's inner cities, he yells out to his staff "EMERGENCY!" Cleckner explains: "And that means battle stations for everyone. Everyone has a job to do."

Police are called by his staff, teachers lock all windows and doors, turn out the lights; the students dive for cover on the floor. Each wing of the school buildings has a teacher in charge, and the principal sets up a command post in his office. The school, like an old fort, is now locked down and no one can move—in or out. It remains under siege-like conditions until the cavalry, that is the police, arrive and restore order. The vice-principal is then dispatched room to room giving the all-clear signal by word of mouth. The school returns to business as usual. One can only wonder about the flashbacks

that the Indochinese immigrants endure, thinking perhaps, that once they arrived in the U.S., violence and bloodshed were behind them.

But...on the contrary. The "urban violence drill" is a genuine sign of the times, a little glimpse of what proletarians in the city must battle through in order to survive.

Franklin is very integrated, with a diverse population of Blacks, Latinos, and a very large number of Indochinese students who have just recently arrived in the U.S. The school is located only nine short blocks from Oakland's "jewel," Lake Merritt, which is supposed to offer a tiny bit of serenity in the surrounding city. The school, far from looking like a lakeside chateau, is built like, and very much resembles, a fort. The entire school grounds are surrounded by chainlinked fences with only one way in, and one way out.

The school is located on Foothill Boulevard, which is one of the main arteries from East Oakland to the downtown area — both of which are involved in quite a bit of drug trafficking. More than once, Franklin has been caught in a crossfire between warring factions. Five times in the last five years, guns have been drawn close to the school and bullets have flown wild. It is this kind of scene, as well as the neighborhood that

is becoming heavily overcrowded, that has led the media to brand the school as "Fort Franklin." It is the largest elementary school in Oakland and is one of two "K through 6" schools that actually has a full-time security officer assigned.

On March 22, the drill designed by Cleckner was put into practice for real. Two cars pulled up in front of the "Fort" and began exchanging gunfire. Over two-dozen shots were exchanged. One person was wounded and several tried to get into the school for cover. One teacher reported that the 25 minutes her students, first graders, spent lying under tables in the darkened room felt like an eternity.

Of course the local press has praised Jay Cleckner for his innovativeness and initiative and reports that schools all over Oakland are looking into the "urban violence" drill.

Principal Cleckner emphasizes, "You know there will be a lot more refugees flocking to the U.S. as the world situation continues to deteriorate." Franklin has 1,239 students, and of these at least fourteen different languages other than English are spoken as the "first" language (the majority of these are dialects from various parts of Indochina). As for the "quality" of education, one can judge from the frustrated comments of a vice-principal at the school who told us that "the

most" children can hope to obtain from Franklin is just to learn English.

And even this minimal goal, it appears, can only be reached if the students manage to dodge the stray bullets of dealers and cops outside the window. So while the urban violence drill may be a necessity, it's a little hard to share the ecstasy of the local press at this great "advance" for education in Oakland.

Cleckner was also clear that it isn't just conditions at "Fort Franklin" that led to his "urban violence" drill. His plan had been evolving for a long time, he told the *RW*. Years ago, when he was an administrator in a North Oakland school where prostitutes, pimps and drug dealers walked the streets right outside the fence, he saw the need to find a way to lock all this "out." But it was becoming principal at "Fort Franklin" that pushed him to actually develop the drill. There was the teacher who was raped on Franklin campus after classes were over. There was the time, he himself was cut by a mentally-ill man wielding a broken bottle in the schoolyard. And last but not least, he recently had to chase a loiterer off the school grounds who kept entering the schoolyard to expose himself in front of the children.

And they say this is the best of all worlds. Clearly, that depends on what part of it you live in. □

NERVE GAS

from page 1

"beeshit." For several years the U.S. has been loudly clamoring that Soviet client regimes in Indochina have been using Soviet-supplied mycotoxins against dissident hill tribes. Vivid reports of the "Yellow Rain," which fell from the sky, covered people and plants with yellow blotches, were bandied about. The issue was complicated by the fact that mycotoxins are produced by fungi and occur naturally in the wild. Samples of branches encrusted with the deadly "Yellow Rain" were reportedly carried out of Laos by brave tribespeople at great risk to life and limb, but subsequent lab analysis proved quite inconclusive (see "The Makers of Agent Orange Expose Yellow Rain," *RW*, No. 139, January 22, 1982).

Intrigued by the fact that the purported "Yellow Rain" samples were full of pollen, Professor Meselson took off for Thailand together with a bee expert from Yale University, Dr. Thomas D. Seeley. Working together with a bee expert from a Thai university, they found that several common species of giant wild honey bees in the Thai-Laos area had the habit of mass flight during which the bees defecated together. The result was to cover the area below with yellow splotches which fell from the sky. The three scientists not only observed this behavior, but were inadvertently caught in it at one point. They reported swarms of bees visible only with binoculars covering a swath 130 feet wide which contained hundreds of thousands of yellow spots. These were visibly indistinguishable from the much-vaunted "Yellow Rain" samples.

Undaunted, State Department spokesman Alan Romberg dismissed the findings, charging that it "only serves to divert serious attention from the real issues of chemical warfare." Not to Mr. Romberg's liking, however, some of these "real issues of chemical warfare" were to explode in the State Department's face over the next few days.

For several months, Iran has been charging the use by Iraq of chemical weapons in the Persian Gulf war. To dramatize the point, dozens of Iranian soldiers critically wounded from gas attacks had been flown to Europe, five of whom died there. But the United States, which was much involved in the initial Iraqi attack on Iran and still is, was quick to poo-poo the whole thing as wild charges by the Ayatollah. Finally, on March 5, the U.S. reluctantly admitted that Iraq probably had used "lethal chemicals," but mentioned only mustard gas (a blistering agent used in World War I) and added that the weapons were locally produced by Iraq.

But the stink would not abate, with Iran loudly claiming that Britain had sold the chemical weapons to Iraq. This Britain denies. But the result was that a United Nations investigations team was sent to Iran, and their report was a blockbuster. Not only had mustard gas been used, the team found, but also Tabun, a nerve gas. No countries of origin were mentioned in the 28-page UN report, but one unexploded bomb was described which had a time-delay fuse with instructions written in Spanish!

The U.S. State Department immediately said that it would have no comment until after it had studied the report. In the Security Council, Egypt, the Soviet Union, and France, all of whom are supplying Iraq on the sly, haggled for two days over the wording of a resolution of condemnation that would be acceptable to Iraq. The final resolution "strongly condemns" the use of chemical weapons, but doesn't even mention Iraq. America's Jeane Kirkpatrick dourly remarked that "It raises a very serious issue for the Council. You know we think the use of chemical weapons is a very serious matter."

Serious indeed, which is why all the imperialist powers have been up to their necks in it. These "field tests" of nerve gas in the Iraq-Iran war are the first fully documented use of nerve gases in warfare since their discovery in 1936.

Nerve gases are a qualitative leap in chemical warfare. Unlike the primitive irritants (mustard gas, phosgene and

chlorine) used in WWI, nerve agents enter the body and disrupt the transmission of electrical impulses between nerve cells. A single drop of some of the more powerful types on the skin can induce death in only a few minutes. The immediate symptoms include sweating, convulsions, uncontrollable vomiting and diarrhea, dimming of vision, and finally, paralysis of the respiratory system. Today both the U.S. and the Soviet Union have vast stockpiles of nerve agents.

Nerve gases are also very easy to manufacture. Chemically they are almost identical to common insecticides like Malathion, and any plant set up to manufacture organophosphate insecticides can be converted to nerve gas manufacture by simply changing a few ingredients. Many countries, including Iraq, have such plants.

With the exposure of the use of nerve gas in the Iraq-Iran conflict, the U.S. abruptly shifted gears from knowing nothing at all about it, to knowing everything about it. Suddenly, "State Department sources" became a veritable font of information about Iraqi nerve gas production — all of it conveniently pointing to somebody else as the responsible party.

First the *Wall Street Journal* unleashed a campaign in articles and editorials labeling the Soviet Union as the irrefutable source of Iraqi nerve gas. A March 16 editorial notes the finding of mycotoxins in the Iranian victims flown to Europe and then says, "The only question left is where Iraq procured this 'absolutely lethal' cocktail. Did it make it itself, or did it get it, in whole or part, from the Soviet Union, the common factor in all the other reportings of this horrible new form of 'CBW' — chemical/biological warfare?"

Well, maybe the Soviets have supplied it, and maybe they haven't. It certainly wouldn't be contrary to the overall Soviet pattern of "international solidarity." But unfortunately for the *Wall Street Journal*, the next couple weeks revealed a "common factor" on this side of the wall.

This came via a March 30 article in the *New York Times* by Seymour Hersh who obviously had his ear bent by someone in the know. Hersh says that the nerve gas was indeed made in Iraq and that the U.S. government has known about it for months, but it was a West German company called Kolb that sold Iraq the "production facilities." Whether the result of differences over policy in the Gulf or more generally, the article is chocked full of new disclosures by "senior officials." (The Gulf war will be addressed in a later issue.)

First of all, it seems that the U.S., which photographs the Iraqi battlefields daily from satellites and overflights, has had not only a longstanding interest in the nerve gas production, but also in its practical application and effectiveness on the battlefields. Hersh quotes U.S. officials on how Iranian troops retreated after one gas attack: "They pulled way back. As far as our military people are concerned it's only a question of production capacity before they (the Iraqis) attack further."

As for the production capacity, U.S. officials seemed to know it in detail. Or, as one "source" quoted said, we have "better than on-site" intelligence. The sources went on to name the German firm that had provided the equipment, and gave detailed descriptions of the Iraqi nerve gas storage facilities as being "built in deep underground bunkers, heavily fortified by concrete, that are reported to be six stories below the surface."

Finally the Hersh piece was used to float out some bickering within the administration on the part of some at the State Department who complained that the U.S. shouldn't have been caught in a public embarrassment over the use of nerve gas by Iraq (toward which the U.S. government "tilts"), since the U.S. has long known about it. What the Hersh piece discreetly omits is the reality that the U.S. was not necessarily interested in restraining the Iraqi use of nerve gas, and the administration is in the middle of trying to get a new \$121 million appropriation through Congress to fund renewed U.S. nerve gas production. It had plenty of reason to keep the story quiet.

The next day the Kolb Company in Germany denied exporting a pesticide plant to the Iraqis, but this dodge was

quickly shot down as the West German government admitted that the plant had in fact been sent to the Iraqis by the Pilot Plant company which shares offices and has common stockholders with Kolb. Not only that, German engineers and technicians are in Iraq operating the plant!

Finally, the whole myth of U.S. noninvolvement collapsed as customs agents, under orders from Washington, impounded 74 drums of potassium flouride scheduled to be shipped out of New York's JFK airport aboard KLM Royal Dutch Airlines, and consigned to the "Ministry of Pesticides" in Baghdad, Iraq. With the whole pesticide cover now blown, such shipments could not now continue via common carriers without being exposed. Potassium flouride is one of the basic ingredients for the compounding of GB, or sarin, which is the basic

nerve gas stockpiled by the U.S. government. The name of the "company" shipping the potassium flouride has been discreetly withheld.

The Dutch, incidentally, have not only been involved in the transport of the nerve gas components, but like the Soviet Union, France, and China, have been briskly trading with both sides in the Iraq-Iran war. In early March, reporters visiting the Iraqi battlefields found hypodermic syringes laying beside the bodies of Iranian soldiers. The syringes contained atropine sulphate, the standard antidote for nerve gas, and were marked "Made in the Netherlands."

It seems that the imperialists' dirty little nerve gas war has been going on for sometime, and it was just about all the imperialist powers pitching in to help — testing both the weapons and the defenses. □

"Don't Gandhi Me!"

Continued from page 7

pressed aloud. The peace movement can only be a real antiwar movement if it establishes these connections and fights the economic causes of the war danger on all levels. For this, the allowing of diversity of action forms is a prerequisite. One week of civil disobedience is not enough.

"Don't Gandhi Me" is a *cri du coeur* from West Germany's young militants who repeatedly and at every turn were encircled and suppressed by the bourgeois forces in organizational control of West Germany's least-common-denominator peace movement. The militants sought to break out of this death grip at the very beginning of the "hot autumn" by mobilizing their forces to seize the initiative at the very first demonstration in Bremerhaven, October 13-15. Yet even here the mainstream peace groups managed to diffuse the planned blockade of the U.S. Army port facilities by calling for a "mass demonstration" and then surrounding and isolating the militants with "peacekeepers." More generally, they became the targets of the political tactic of "distancing" by various forces (see "On The 'Reformed Police' and the Political Function of 'Distancing,'" *RW* No. 232).

These militants were, of course, not the only ones who rose up in rebellion against the heavy hand of the official peace leadership. Throughout the movement, the local autonomous peace groups (not to be confused with the *autonomen*) maintained their pacifist orientation, but at the same time forced the militant Bonn demonstration of November 21 over the objections of the SPD and DKP, and also initiated the blockade of the U.S. missile facility in Frankfurt in December (see "Notes from the Mütlangen/Frankfurt Express," *RW* No. 236). Here militancy continued to grow while pacifism remained both a commitment and an important question.

Among the *autonomen* who reject pacifism, different questions arose. While upholding and bringing out the economic roots of imperialism and its global operation, there was also a tendency among some to reduce it to a moral

stance — rejection of the "swine system" as it is frequently called. This cuts against actually studying the objective situation and using the laws of imperialism as a guide to its overthrow. Revolution was seen as a growth of the subjective forces, by the winning of people over to the culture of resistance through ever more militant tactics. But here there was an unmistakable desire to act to actually take on the warmakers and stand in solidarity with the oppressed peoples of the world, rejecting West Germany's comfortable social compact based on the superprofits of imperialism.

However, many of the *autonomen* and other militant forces did not grasp the importance of waging a political battle for public opinion around the deployment of the missiles or the tactics of the peace movement. There was much controversy around the November 22 demonstration at Bonn, including arguments from the "left" that going to Bonn would "legitimize the Parliament." There was even a tendency to see the whole "hot autumn" and the battle over deployment of the U.S. missiles as a "set up" and something of a diversion. The end result was, as "Don't Gandhi Me" predicts, an increase in frustration and a widespread feeling of defeat. Only a few years previously the antiwar movement had been a much smaller, close-knit community. Now mass demonstrations of hundreds of thousands were taking place, the Green Party was in parliament, and the militants were in jail. What happened?! Still plagued by these profound questions, some sections of the *autonomen* continued to take an active part in the events at Bonn, Frankfurt and Mütlangen.

"Don't Gandhi Me" is a fine example of the kinds of voices forcing their way up from below, and which are seldom made available internationally to antiwar forces facing the same problem. For anyone who has ever had to suffer through a tedious lecture by some old revisionist on the imperative of the grand coalition of trade unions, churches, and "progressives," it is a welcome breath of fresh air. □

Prison Hunger Strikes

Continued from page 2

perialists in a sticky political web of contradictions. On the one hand, the Turkish junta is essential to Western interests: the suppression of revolutionary upsurge there was vital to shoring up pro-Western rulers in the wake of the fall of the Shah. Turkey remains an indispensable barricade blocking Soviet access to both the Mediterranean and Persian Gulf oil; in that role it stands as an eastern anchor of NATO's war preparations. The Western imperialists not only "tolerate" Turkish fascism, they back it to serve their global strategic interests.

At the same time, however, domestic political concerns demand that especially the Western Europeans keep a certain distance from the splattering blood. After all, how can you claim to be defending noble liberal ideals of Western civilization and democracy against Eastern barbarism, if it becomes clear that this very civilization requires the torture and execution of thousands in such

a major client state and ally?

The most recent solution to this dilemma has been to try to use this winter's death-squad elections in Turkey to whitewash the regime there. Produce three junta-annointed candidates, herd the people into a gross plebiscite on military rule and suddenly there is "an irreversible turn toward democracy."

In the face of the most extreme brutality, the political prisoners of Turkey are slashing through these sleazy political maneuverings and issuing a courageous call for the continuation of the struggle against the regime.

The following address can be used to get further information:
SOLIDARITÄTSKOMITEE MIT DEN
POLITISCHEN GEFANGENEN IN
DER TÜRKEI
Michaelstr. 2b
5000 Köln 1
West Germany □

Planning an Internationalist Wall?

Публичные собрания Революционного Интернационалистского Движения

- ★ Да здравствует красное первое мая — символ мировой пролетарской революции!
- ★ Стройте единство международного пролетариата! Пусть строится Революционный Интернационалистский Движение!
- ★ Предотвратим мировую войну — Ускреним борьбу за революцию во всем мире!

(Additional smaller text in Russian follows)

consignas del Movimiento Revolucionario Internacionalista para el 1° de Mayo

- ★ ¡Que Viva El 1° De Mayo Rojo, Símbolo De La Revolución Proletaria Mundial!
- ★ ¡Construir La Unidad Del Proletariado Internacional! ¡Viva La Formación Del Movimiento Revolucionario Internacionalista!
- ★ ¡Impidamos La Guerra Mundial! ¡Redoblemos La Lucha Por La Revolución En Todo El Mundo!

- ★ Desarrollar la Lucha de las Masas contra los Preparativos Bélicos de los Imperialistas como una Fuerza Poderosa para la Revolución!
- ★ Apoyar la Guerra Popular en el Perú y Todas las Luchas Revolucionarias de los Pueblos Oprimidos contra el Imperialismo y la Reacción!
- ★ Solidaridad con todos los Luchadores de la Revolución Presos! ¡Luchar por su Liberación!
- ★ ¡Romper las Cadenas, Desencadenar la Furia de la Mujer como una Fuerza Poderosa para la Revolución!

* Lanzados en muchos países este 1° de Mayo.

شعارهای اول ماه مه جنبش بین المللی انقلابی

- ★ زنده باد اول ماه مه سرخ، سمبل انقلاب پرولتاریای جهان!
- ★ وحدت پرولتاریای بین المللی را برقرار کن! درود بر تشکیل جنبش بین المللی انقلابی
- ★ از جنگ جهانی جلوگیری کن! قدم گذاشتن در راه مبارزه برای انقلاب سراسری دنیا!

(Additional smaller text in Persian follows)

شعارات الأول من أيار للحركة الثورية العالمية

- ★ عاش الأول أيار من أيار فرسز الثورة البروليتارية العالمية
- ★ ولتكن وحدة البروليتاريا العالمية تحية لتأسيس الحركة الثورية العالمية
- ★ لمنع اندلاع الحرب العالمية! لتسعد النضال من أجل الثورة

(Additional smaller text in Arabic follows)

May 1st Slogans of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

- ★ Long Live Red 1st of May, Symbol of the World Proletarian Revolution!
- ★ Build the Unity of the International Proletariat! Hail the Formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement!
- ★ Prevent World War! Step Up the Struggle for Revolution Throughout the World!

- ★ Develop the Struggle of the Masses Against Imperialist War Preparations As a Mighty Force for Revolution!
- ★ Support the Peoples War in Peru and All Revolutionary Struggles of the Oppressed Peoples Against Imperialism and Reaction!
- ★ Solidarity with All Imprisoned Fighters for Revolution! Fight for Their Liberation!
- ★ Break the Chains, Unleash the Fury of Women as a Mighty Force for Revolution!

* Being raised in many countries this May 1st.

革命的國際主義運動的五一口號

- ★ 世界無產階級革命的象徵，紅色的五一萬歲！
- ★ 推動建造國際無產階級的團結！歡呼組成革命的國際主義運動！
- ★ 制止世界大戰！

- ★ 發展羣衆反對帝國主義備戰的鬥爭，作爲幹革命的一股強大力量！
- ★ 支持在秘魯的人民戰爭和被壓迫人民反對帝國主義和反動派的一切革命鬥爭！
- ★ 與所有被囚禁的革命鬥士團結一致！爲他們的解放而鬥爭！
- ★ 打破鎖鍊，化婦女的憤怒爲幹革命的一股強大力量！

Bomoyi Motane Molayi Ya Mokolo Ya Liboso Ya Sanza Ya Mitano (May 1st)

- ★ Bomoyi Motane Molayi Ya Mokolo Ya Liboso Ya Sanza Ya Mitano! Bokasi Ya Revolution Ya Basali Ya Mikili Mobimba!
- ★ Sala Liboke Pona Basali Ya Mikili Nionso! Kumisa Bo Salisama Ya Lingoba Ya Revolution Ya Mokili Mobimba!
- ★ Pekisa Etumba Ya Mokili Mobimba! Bunda Pona Revolution Ya Mikili Nionso!

- ★ Kumisa Etumba Oyo Eto Boma Monguna Ya Imperialist Babongisi Ya Bokasi Monono Ya Revolution!
- ★ Kumisa Etumba Ya Bato Ya Peru Na Etumba Ya Revolution Na Reaction!
- ★ Bokambu Ya Imperialism Na Reaction!
- ★ Bokala Na Bondeko Na Bato Nionso Oyo Ba Kengemi Na Nzeia Ya Etumba Ya Revolution! Bunda Po Ba Tika Bango!
- ★ Bokra Bokambu, Tinda Muasi Abunda Makasi Po Na Revolution!

Mots d'ordre de Premier Mai du Mouvement Révolutionnaire Internationaliste

- ★ Vive le Premier Mai Rouge, Symbole de la Révolution Proletarienne Internationale!
- ★ Construire l'Unité du Proletariat International! Célébrer la Formation du Mouvement Révolutionnaire Internationaliste!
- ★ Empêcher la Guerre mondiale! Hâter la Lutte Pour la Révolution à travers le Monde!

- ★ Développer la lutte des masses contre les préparatifs de guerre imperialiste comme une force puissante pour la révolution!
- ★ Soutenir la guerre populaire au Pérou et toutes les luttes des peuples opprimés contre l'imperialisme et la réaction!
- ★ Solidarité avec tous les combattants de la révolution emprisonnés! Lutter pour leur libération!
- ★ Rompre les chaînes, relâcher la furie des femmes comme une force puissante pour la révolution!

Now Available — Posters of the May 1st slogans of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement in French, English, Spanish, Lingala, Russian, Arabic, Farsi and Chinese.

Contact a Revolution Books store in your area (see page 4) or write to: RCP Publications P.O. Box 3486 Chicago, IL 60654

A Bit of Fury

To the RW:

On the morning of International Women's Day, the first thing I did was to open up the *Programme* of the RCP and read the section on Women. I planned to make a banner and wanted to read the *Programme* so I could capture more fully the spirit of the day. Besides the slogan, "Break the Chains—Unleash the Fury of Women as A Mighty Force for Revolution," I included a quotation from the *Programme*: "The struggle around the woman question will not be confined to any one sphere, but will go on throughout all of society. Revolution is impossible without the constant breaking with old ideas and old institutions, and the practices and values which promote the oppression of women are a key prop of the old; they must be a key target of the proletariat in destroying the old and creating the new."

With the banner in one hand, my young child in the other (my childcare fell through), we went out and talked to lots of people. We brought forth a lot of issues around the woman question. Not only did we debate around women's issues, like raising children, the home, and family relations, we tried to cover all the ramifications of being a woman in this present-day society. I mean, just look at all the shit you go up against every day, especially if you step out of the prescribed role for women.

To me, this year's IWD had a certain upbeat character. Like people were more aware of taking up this question because of the stepping up of war preparations in the last year. For me, last year was the first year I ever heard about IWD. Now, here I saw myself playing more of a sparking-off role and initiating discussion with others. We talked with some youth that were in the punk scene and they asked us if we were for ERA. We said No. And they said good. They were inspired by the RW and the leaflet, "What's Wrong with the Word Lady, Not to Mention Bitch." They bought the RW, took up the leaflet, and were really hot about getting together and talking again. One guy told us he was going to put the leaflet up in the coffee shop where he works. He was sure that the waitresses who worked there would really like it. I think that we really need a lot of follow-up on things like this, I mean one day is a far cry from where we really want things to go from here. We must search fertile ground to plant the seeds of revolution. And not by using people's immediate oppression alone, causing them to strike out in a blind revenge, but by bringing an awareness to them, wake them up so to speak, just like I was woken up last year.

One highlight of the day was a visit with a Zimbabwean woman and her brother. These people had been involved in politics and revolution in their own country and they sometimes get very outraged at the backwardness of some Black Americans. We struggled with them around this. Besides the backward, there are advanced Blacks in the U.S. There is a very strong history of the Black masses fighting imperialism — even with rocks and bottles — I could feel the impatience that came shooting through their expressions because they had experienced the ugliness of being under the control of U.S. imperialism first-hand and then coming here finding that there is not the same kind of sharp situation.

I think that their main concern was whether or not it was really possible to change any of this, and whether it's worth the risk factor, because they had already been through a revolutionary experience in their country. They both realized the importance of women stepping out into the forefront to change the direction of history. The brother was trying to deal with how to gather more forces around the Party's line and came up with the idea of just leaving the word "communist" out of things so as not to scare off potential allies. The sister said that it's true there is a great deal of prejudice and misconceptions promoted by the U.S. imperialists to put what real

communism is in the wrong light, but why should we hide the real meaning. We need to bring out the real meaning. They didn't say I'm not going to step forward, but more, have questions around why should I now, when everyone else is not. I was quite impressed that they still have a fire burning inside them.

In contrast to this, earlier in the day I really got pissed off. Myself and another woman were talking to this brother when these women passed by and heard me talking about internationalism. Well, they stopped and started laughing and yelled out, "international whores, ha, ha, ha." I thought, damn! Why should I have to take that chauvinist garbage from a female — you get enough of that from men! It just goes to show that a lot of people have the outlook — If a woman is not at home, or out doing domestic business, then she must be out trying to catch a man and/or get laid. So it is this terrible outlook that not only men, but also women, accept. It has to be changed now, if we are ever going to really "Break the Chains."

What it boils down to is we must use scientifically the strength and resources of the vanguard, to bring people, men and women, internationally together to unite against this shit that stands to annihilate all of us sooner or later. As conscious men and women we must let go of all the little prejudices and weaknesses that the imperialists use to control us, and to further drive in the wedges that keep us segregated and differentiated. All of us must be aware of all the slimy tactics they use to keep us in our place, "their place," rather. Our place is overthrowing all of this mad bullshit, through the science of proletarian revolution.

Proletarian youth
Oakland, California

To the RW:

The main slogan for IWD really struck a deep chord in me. A lot has to do with women don't get angry; they are not supposed to get angry; they are taught that women don't get angry; they don't express it. They don't get angry they get humiliated. That's what you do. You make excuses for the person. You blame yourself, you internalize your anger. "Good" women don't get angry. Rage, I feel enraged with the whole structure that allows all this contempt to continue against women. Women are subservient, women are property, women are to be used and discarded, or stupid or not important, they are caretakers of property and children and of course are themselves property. Women are supposed to be part of a man. Your purpose as a woman is to be "coupled" with a man for the purpose of raising children and staying home. You never, enlarge your brain in any way, you never think. You never have time to think. You have no chance to think. To emancipate women from the isolation of the home is very important. I think that it's really important for information like the *Revolutionary Worker* paper to be read by women so that they can understand what is really happening to them in this country and throughout the world. RW No. 245 was a powerful issue of the paper.

... A lot of women could relate to this issue who might not relate to revolution yet. They can relate to women, to the fact that women are getting screwed and it's really happening and they're getting screwed for various reasons. And the reality of women in this system, how they are just preyed upon. The issue brought up the point of how women on their own have to consciously be aware of all the predators out there, the cops, the pimps, the rapists. And women need to see how the system really doesn't care what goes on especially against working-class women. This issue lets you know that if you don't accept the traditional role of a woman what's going to happen to you. You're gonna be homeless, you're gonna be raped, you're gonna be jailed. You go up against this system and you're dead one way or another. If

they don't kill your mind they'll kill your body...

The "Christian Case Against Women" was absolutely wonderful. It was so repulsive and enlightening, especially the philosophers, Aristotle and Plato. I don't know what I would have expected but it's really disgusting their upfront superiority, that women are slaves and destined for subjugation.

The fact that our children don't belong to us, that point. That's really heavy because it's true. Children are programmed from birth on to take their image from television, books in the library and the schools. The schools constantly indoctrinate them to be submissive to authority, to not question authority, to "respect" a government not because it helps you but because it is and you can't fight it.

Battered women — which I am one of — represent all women. All women are battered, some get brutalized physically and mentally, sexually, emotionally. They are just constantly put down, overwhelmed with drudgery and no hope, no outlook, constantly told that they are really inferior, that they are scum. And that they have no right to want anything and that if they do, they'll fight and fight and fight for it and they still won't get it. They won't get anything, not under this system. It's not possible. Women gotta really understand this on a gut level in addition to an intellectual understanding. Then, only then, will their fury be unleashed.

They can't even get equal treatment, which is in itself disgusting and degrading. Who wants equal treatment? But the point is that women can't even get that under this system. I say who wants equal treatment because who wants to be treated like the poor oppressed men of this society. I don't want to be treated like that. I want to be treated like a human being. The men are enslaved too, they just have more power than the enslaved women. I don't want a chunk out of this system. Being a part of this system is just another form of battering.

I agree with the *Programme* of the RCP, that the way this system is set up, the man is placed in the role of bourgeois in the home. The man is so oppressed and he's given the license to oppress women. So the hierarchy continues of unfair power. The man has his own little kingdom with his own little slaves. And once he leaves his little kingdom he is constantly reminded that there is a bigger kingdom out there that will crush him so he returns to his own little kingdom and is a tyrant. He batters the women, he batters the kids because when he goes out he's on the front of a war. The way I feel, there's a war going on, we are in a war. It is a war being waged against the powerless by the powerful. Most of the powerless don't even know there's a war going on. They are being sacrificed every day to keep this war machine going on. There is such disregard for human life by the powerful.

The whole domestic violence "problem" is an important part of many women's lives. The frustrations of the meaningless lives that men live are dumped onto the women who dump their frustration on the kids who grow up and continue the cycle. It's set up that way. It's an issue that government perpetuates. The government's position is it's too much trouble. Who cares about women? It's a woman's issue, who gives a shit? It's just a bunch of women being beaten up. Battering in this system is the leading cause of injury for American women. The laws protect the batterer more than the battered. If a woman kills a man who repeatedly beats her, she goes to jail. She'll be on trial, not him. Just like Leslie Ermick... when she killed her oppressor, her husband, her torturer — only to be enslaved by the larger oppression of male-dominated judicial system that dares call her a murderer. They certainly would not want people to think that it's alright to kill your oppressor. The system is absolutely behind all the violence in the household and the

mounting number of rapes. The system is set up to keep women chained, there are no real alternatives under this system.

Women who talk about wanting to make it better under this system need to read this issue of the *Revolutionary Worker* to better grasp that it's not possible in this system, it's an illusion that there are alternatives. The only thing to do is eliminate this system, it's got to be torn down. Hopefully many women will read this issue, there are many articles women can really relate to and really sort of understand a little more how deep it all is, how it permeates every part of society to oppress women. And this issue didn't even have to touch on the powerful impact of the media on telling women to make themselves better, more desirable, etc., so that more profits can be reaped out of women's despair and feelings of inferiority, and subordination. The media devalues both men and women. Women are objects to be owned and men are portrayed as so stupid that the only thing they want is the piece of meat. Give a man a beautiful woman and he'll go to work supporting the system for the rest of his life.

Another good point the Black sister made (see "The Fury Unleashed" RW No. 245) was that never again would she retreat back into that life of drudgery and be kept in the dark about why this shit is going on. And how her "elders" always told her that she just had to put up with it because it'll never change. And this keeps people oppressed, keeps them from seeing what is really happening, keeps them immobilized so that they're kept from seeing it for what it is so that it can be changed.

I think there's a lot of hidden power in women to be unleashed. And this system does not want to unleash that power, women have been so oppressed forever back in time. You let women see and feel that they don't have to be oppressed and you've got a tremendous amount of rage.

Raise their consciousness... Let them understand the depth of why that is, that it goes a lot further than a batterer, that it goes all the way up. And when women can understand their oppression from that perspective I think again that a tremendous power will erupt to topple the system that can only enslave women.

A Battered Woman
Buffalo, New York

Dear RW:

My name is Red Angel and I read the paper weekly and I also help distribute it, and I am one woman who's madder than hell at the system and what it does to women and people in general. In the last paper I received "The Womens Day Paper" (RW No. 245) there was a follow-up article on the Detroit rapes. The first article on the schoolgirl rapes angered me greatly, but when I read the follow-up article where some women who report a rape have to take lie detector tests to prove their story I got so damned mad I couldn't see straight. I have never been raped, but I have several friends who have been, and it's hard enough just admitting to someone that you have been raped, and how these "pigs" are degrading women even further by making them take lie detector tests, or by saying the woman brought it on herself, well that just makes me sick. All those "pigs" are really saying (in a hidden way), of course, is that a woman who reports a rape is a liar if she doesn't take a lie test to prove her story. I would like more information on rape and rape prevention and protection if I could possibly get some. I would appreciate it very much. I would also like to say this: if I were ever in a situation like this and I was told by some pig that I had to take a lie test to prove myself, I would spit in the son-of-a-bitch's face point blank, for even thinking that I would make something up, as sick and degrading as rape.

Hating the system more each day

Red Angel in Kansas

Contemporary Relevance

Continued from page 8

grams. It was no accident that revolutionary struggles swept through Asia, Africa, and Latin America. In fact, in this period the principal contradiction in the world was between imperialism and the oppressed nations. This period also saw the most robust expansion since 1945. The expansion was fed by new opportunities for international investment and temporarily pushed along by the early stimulus of the Vietnam War. At the same time, the dissolution of the socialist camp unleashed centrifugal tendencies within the U.S.-led bloc. The alliance no longer faced the same strategic necessity to hold together as tightly. Thus we see political phenomena like Gaullism, while the economic revitalization of Europe and Japan now became a threat to the competitive position of the U.S.

Beginning around 1972, a new situation emerges. The Western imperialists were running up against certain limits; they could not press forward in the way they had in the '50s and '60s. To begin with, they have been engulfed by the most serious economic crisis since the Great Depression. International capital flows, which previously tended to open new opportunities and spread risks, were now more closely interknitting imperialist capitals, whose profitability was being pinched. The war in Vietnam had a profoundly destabilizing effect on the international monetary order. The kind of changes brought about in the Third World were now leading to even more severe disarticulation and a monumental debt crisis. This economic crisis is the result of the anarchy of a single, global reproductive process; it is an expression of thrusts forward turning into their opposite. But this is not all. Because the Western imperialists are also faced with the global challenge of a rival imperialist bloc. By the late 1960s, and accelerating in the '70s, the Soviets were increasingly forced — and capable — of mounting such a challenge. And this bloc itself is beset with serious economic crisis. Given this situation, the cohesion of the Western alliance is being reasserted on a higher level, even though the contradictions within it have never been more intense.

The principal contradiction in this current period is between the two imperialist blocs. Massive armaments programs, the stationing of Western forces in Lebanon, the Soviet-sponsored Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea, blocking and parrying from Central America to the Horn of Africa, the U.S.-engineered Korean airline incident, the Soviet "peace offensive" in Europe, while new missiles are emplaced — underscore what is going on. They reflect the underlying compulsion towards world war and are part of the military and political and ideological preparations for it.

Now Lenin's emphasis on the inevitability of world war under imperialism is considered by many to be the most antiquated aspect of his thought. According to this view, world war could only be the result of the madness of a Reagan or the product of shortsighted and bungled diplomacy. But the reality of the present-day world is that no realignment short of a total redivision of the world will enable imperialism to overcome crisis and resolve its political conflicts. The division of the world and the structure of world capital do not permit either the volume of capital flows or the requisite reorganization of capital internationally to fuel an expansionary process. World war is a question for this decade.

Let me close by simply saying that Leninist political economy represents the essential framework for grappling with the kinds of theoretical issues that confront us. Not only this, it is the foundation for the revolutionary, internationalist politics without which it will be impossible to destroy imperialism.

Raymond Lotta

Greeting

Continued from page 6

There are many questions the proletariat needs to understand more as we push forward. For instance how can we make a difference in Iran? What will aid the revolution and the party in Peru? Or in China? What is needed to move the Palestinian struggle forward? The Resolutions of the Second Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organisations helped give some real guidance in this regard.

One thing people need to understand that we learned from the people of Vietnam: The U.S. imperialists were put on the run by a people's war, a war the U.S. could not win. If you don't understand why this is, you end up compromising with imperialism. Many proletarians who have waged revolutions, for instance, from Latin countries, ask why revolutions go bad and leaders sell out? One problem we face today is that we have no socialist base areas like revolutionary China once was. The pressure to sell out from being surrounded by imperialism is great. But we must remember, who are they selling out to, except to imperialism and where does that get you but back to the same thing. As long as there is imperialism, there will be a lot of sellouts and capitulations. Before I had any understanding of things, before I was class conscious, I thought Mao and communism were the enemy. But when I understood much more differently, the death of Mao was a real loss to me. That's why it's so important to have this Movement to help forge socialist base areas for genuine world revolution.

One thing that I want to emphasize is the importance of the international journal that the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement has called for. I feel among many other things, this will give us the ability to further expose the social-imperialists of the USSR which is especially needed.

I myself, in the interest of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, will pledge to support the world fund drive,

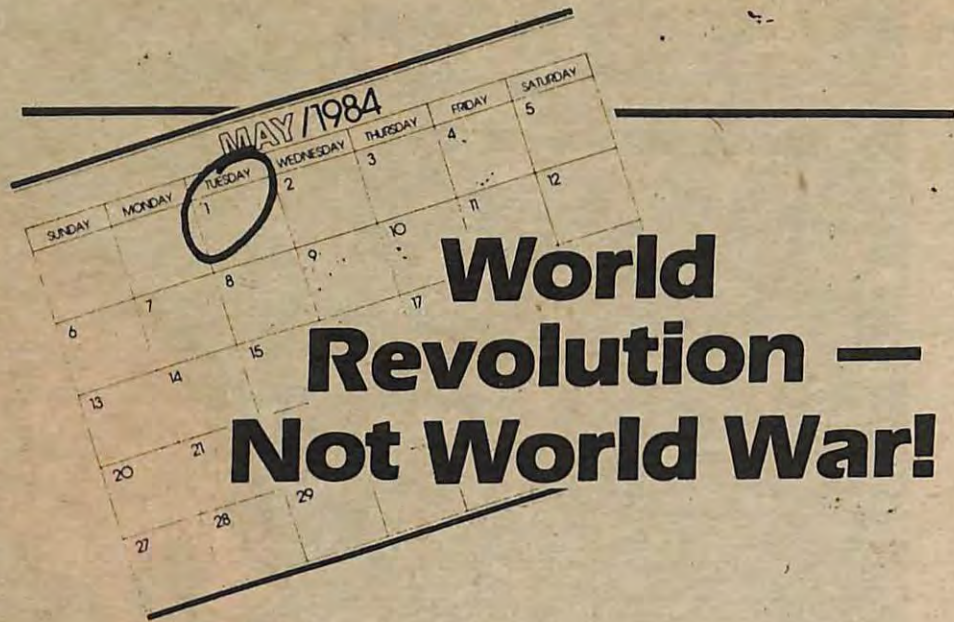
and I call on anyone interested in burying imperialism to support it too. It will take a lot of money to bury this sucker, especially to keep the international journal going. The proletariat and oppressed people need to play a role in this movement too. You need to decide what this role can and will be — whether as a supporter or active member of the parties internationally; but these parties do need to be strengthened and new ones built and the proletariat must participate in them. You can't just sit back and wait. You need to take responsibility and develop this movement, especially people in parts of the world who have been in struggle against imperialism for many years and yet are still oppressed by one imperialism or another. Like Sandino fought against the U.S. imperialists many years ago. Now the people of Nicaragua are still fighting against U.S. imperialism and have to take on the social-imperialists of the USSR as well. If we don't understand the nature of imperialism, we'll never get rid of it and the next generation will be fighting the same imperialists. We need to understand the nature of socialism as well and how to move ahead, because it is communism vs. imperialism.

Communism Will Bury Imperialism!
On To May First 1984!

An Oppressed Proletarian
Los Angeles

Correction

In last week's *RW*, No. 249 (March 30, 1984) a typographical error appeared on pg. 6, in the "Statement of the Haitian International Revolutionary Group (G.R.I.A.) on the Formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement." In column 2, the first sentence in the second full paragraph should read: Together with all the other revolutionaries who formed this Revolutionary Internationalist Movement and put out this *Declaration*... and continuing on as it appears in the paper. □



Shnook

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people to, as Grandfather pleads, "Be patient." (The *Times* actually raised the issue of a sequel right to Geisel in an interview, but the Dr. would only say that if a solution occurred, he would write about it.)

Political Broadside

New Republic columnist, TRB, adds a political broadside to the chorus of criticism. With tongue not entirely in cheek, TRB carps, "... Examined in the light of modern international relations theory and practice, Dr. Seuss' paradigm is defective." Clearing his literary throat, and getting serious for real, TRB then points out that, in the real world, it is not questions of dinnertime etiquette that are at issue: "Americans and Soviets disagree about freedom and democracy." See children, in the hard realities of the world, nukes may be unfortunate, deadly, and even awful... but necessary.

Needless to say, this is a criticism which goes well beyond the search for some rational, "normal," and by all means *electable*, solution to the arms race — it is one which finds *reason* in all the madness, where Seuss finds none. Of course, this is the very same "reason" which could (and would) be used to justify war itself.

And if TRB is perturbed at the book's lack of this sort of "reason," he is even more biting concerning its rhyme. Seuss' poetry is "lame," his drawings "tired,"

"gloomy" and "autumnal." Yet, even a quick flip through the book shows this seriously at fault; there is the usual shower of colors, characters as zany as ever, and all bound in a bright orange cover. What's the problem?

One suspects that a major part of the trouble is Seuss' cynical jibes at patriotic justifications for the war buildup. The Yooks carry flags aplenty, all looking ridiculous with a solitary piece of correctly-battered bread emblazoned. Carrying these, the Yooks ultimately go off to their underground hiding place as the narrative jeers: "for their country! And Right-Side-Up butter!" And there is Yookie-Ann Sue and the Majorettes, a sort of nuclear Dallas Cowboys cheerleading squad, who become genuinely depressed when the Zooks match the Yooks' latest nukes. All this, no doubt, TRB finds *politically dreary*.

TRB's summation of *The Butter Battle Book* is that it is "a sad illustration of one of Orwell's favorite themes: the corrosive effects of politics on literature." The good doctor, TRB lectures, should leave the political subject matter to others, to masters of foreign policy theory and practice... you know, the ones who came up with the idea that all these new weapons are really meant to keep the world safe and at peace.

On second thought, maybe TRB has a point. These bourgeois experts seem quite capable of spinning some thoroughly ridiculous yarns all on their own. □

Medal Handout

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dump-truck awarding of medals was largely used to chill out discontent and maintain internal cohesion as much as possible. This was not the guiding line behind Grenada. No indeed. Certainly a prime *casus belli* of that invasion was to show that the U.S. still had the virility to swing its military stick, and specifically to counteract the impotent image spawned not only by Vietnam, but more recently by the failed "hostage rescue" attempt in Iran in spring 1980 (and the recent *deployment cum retreat* of U.S. Marines in Beirut, occurring after Grenada). What the U.S. envisioned with Grenada was providing an "inspiring" and "stimulating" example of American firepower, willingness to exercise it... and especially the ability to win! This message was aimed broadly of course, but especially at the rulers' backward social base, and in the case of the military, it was meant to help establish the right kind of "mind-set" — e.g., nothing succeeds like success itself, etc., etc., no matter how puny it really is. It's with *this* kind of *esprit de corps*, not that off Vietnam, the bombing of U.S. headquarters in Beirut, and

so on, that the military seeks to condition its troops in preparation for taking on *and defeating* the Soviet bloc in an all-out, no holds barred, third world war.

Further, as to World War 3, morale among the troops will be challenged in ways and to degrees never before experienced in the history of warfare; this will be true for a variety of reasons, not the least of which will be the very methods of warfare the imperialists are planning to and will use.

So, while my first reaction upon reading of the recent medal shoveling episode of the U.S. Army was to chuckle and dismiss them as a bunch of idiots, on further thought it occurred to me both how seriously they are preparing militarily and politically among the troops for world war, and at the same time that there are several weaknesses on their side in operation. All this is implicitly revealed by such ridiculous attempts to win support for these war aims among those ultimately charged with the responsibility of defending the rule of imperialism... or not.

A reader

"The proletarians have
nothing to lose but their chains.
They have a world to win."
Communist Manifesto



Support The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement!

The Revolutionary Worker calls for a special effort to build support for the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement so that this new movement may launch its historic work in the most powerful way possible. We call for:

- Continued expansion in broad circulation of the *RW* No. 247, which carries the historic Communiqué of the Second International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organisations announcing the formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement and important decisions and resolutions taken at the Second Conference including international slogans for May 1st, 1984, and *RW* No. 248 containing the transcript of the London press conference, March 12, 1984 where representatives of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement made public these announcements and responded to questions from the international press. Readers are especially encouraged to put the paper in the hands of proletarians and others from countries around the world and to send this news to their friends, relatives and contacts internationally.
- Correspondence, statements and messages to greet the formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement. (These can be sent via the *RW*, Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, Ill. 60654.)
- Banners and other forms of internationalist exchanges to be circulated and readied for May 1st.
- **Full support for the launching of a worldwide fund drive called for by the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement by pledging and gathering funds.**

On May 1st, 1984 the Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement Will Be Published!