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ISRAEL'S TERROR CAMPAIGN IN LEBANON

The large scale Israeli bombing raids which struck the crowded slum quarters of Beirut, where the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) maintains its command center and offices, left behind blocks of burning apartment complexes and over 1,000 civilian casualties, including over 300 dead. The July 17th raid was only the latest in a series of Israeli attacks on civilian targets which had begun shortly after the June 30th Israeli elections, and which broke a 5 week lull. Several days before the Beirut operation, Israeli jets had raked the southern outskirts of the

city, bombing make-shift camps swollen with Palestinian refugees. At the town of Domur, a refrigerator factory was demolished. On July 15, two days before the wholesale carnage in Lebanon's capital, the *New York Times* reported predictions by PLO spokesmen of the coming assault on Beirut. But the reports were buried beneath coverage of U.S. special envoy Philip C. Habib's "continuing quest for peace in the Middle East."

When the PLO responded to the first wave of Israeli air attacks with rocket assaults on Israel's northern outposts,

according to *Newsweek* magazine, "Begin ordered the devastating raid on Beirut as a 'psychological shock' to the Palestine Liberation Organization." In the wake of the raid, conducted with U.S.-supplied F-4 Phantoms, U.S. television news, after a brief period of limited coverage of the scene of destruction in Beirut, focused almost entirely on prolonged shots of the small numbers of Israeli casualties in paramilitary settlements near the Lebanese border. Buried or altogether censored were reports of continued massive Israeli bombings on refugee

camps in southern Lebanon and another on a bridge which, according to U.S. newsmen on the scene, killed 50 civilians driving in private cars. The imperialists' view is apparently that Arab casualties really aren't worth reporting on in depth because, after all, the Arabs have a "lack of respect for human life." "Thus far in the fighting," mugged one N.Y. newscaster, "hundreds of Arabs and at least half a dozen Israeli citizens have been killed or wounded."

But U.S. imperialism, entangled in its own web of calculations in the Middle East, had its own reasons for publicly criticizing the Beirut raid as "going too far"—cold reasoning hidden beneath the hypocritical bewailing of "civilian casualties." Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger complained that the policies of Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin "cannot really be described as moderation." Deputy Secretary of State William Clark chimed in that the bombing had "embarrassed and disappointed" the Reagan administration. Secretary of State Haig announced another temporary delay in the transfer of the next shipment of F-16s to Israel. Concern became greater still as European criticism of Israeli (and U.S.) Middle East policy became loud and well-publi-

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"The Bok Stops Here!"

Angry Protests in New Zealand Greet South African Rugby Team

Tens of thousands of people in New Zealand are giving the Springboks rugby team from racist South Africa, as well as the government of New Zealand which is vigorously protecting the team's tour of the country, a very hot reception. Large-scale protests erupted even before the Springboks reached New Zealand, and the increasingly militant and determined demonstrations that have hit the tour since it arrived in Auckland on July 19 have made this the most massive outpouring of protest in New Zealand since the Vietnam War years.

The lines were already drawn sharply by the time the Springboks arrived Sunday morning at Auckland Airport. As Air New Zealand flight TE5 from Honolulu with the Springboks, an all-white team with one token "coloured" (mixed-race) player, touched down at 7:45 a.m., a line of police cordoned behind an airport perimeter fence braced themselves; behind the police line were mini-vans full of reinforcements. A helicopter circled low over the area. On the opposite side of the 8-foot high fence, 3,000 demonstrators surged to the fence with chants and banners of "The Bok Stops Here," "Shame," and "Remember Biko" (the leader of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania murdered in police custody several years ago). A number of protesters organized by HART (Halt All Racist Tours) broke through the fence well away from the main concentration of police and made it to the runway before being stopped. Seventeen arrests followed this breakout and more protesters were arrested as they jumped over the fence. Then 30 minutes after

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July 10th, Auckland, New Zealand—Demonstration held after the New Zealand government and the Rugby Commission decided to let the Springbok tour proceed.

Eyewitness
of Israeli Bombing
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Chiang Ching's Battle for Paper and Pen in Jail

Chiang Ching is still in rebellion against reactionaries. A brief article in a Taiwan newspaper reported recently that according to intelligence sources, Chiang Ching went on a hunger strike to protest the refusal of prison authorities to provide pen and paper so she can write her memoirs. The reactionary regime in Taiwan, of course, is just as rabidly against Chiang Ching and Mao as the revisionists in Peking are, so any-

thing they report about the revolutionaries in China must be taken with some caution. But it's been shown in the past that they are willing at times to lay out some of the truth in order to take some jabs at the rival bourgeoisie on the mainland.

Chiang Ching, along with Chang Chun-chiao, is under tight lock and guard somewhere in China after being sentenced by the revisionist rulers to a

"suspended death sentence" earlier this year for their "crimes" in leading the Cultural Revolution under Mao's guidance. According to the Taiwan sources, higher authorities intervened to order prison officials to let Chiang Ching write, explaining that "her memoirs might be useful to us as a teacher by negative example." Can it be that the revisionists have not yet learned their lesson? Have they so quickly for-

gotten how their well-laid plans to bring Mao's comrades into their sham court under chains and paint them as sorry, defeated figures were smashed to pieces by Chiang Ching's and Chang Chun-chiao's inspiring stand and revolutionary defense of Mao? Surely they are not serious about letting people read anything written by Chiang Ching, even as a "negative example"? More likely, the revisionists were forced to allow Chiang Ching to write, out of fear that her hunger strike might draw even more attention to her, and therefore came up with this feeble excuse. Though caged in jail, it seems that Chiang Ching is continuing her giant efforts to contribute in every way, including theoretically, to the international proletarian revolution. □



Chiang Ching as she entered the courtroom on the day the revisionists were to sentence her to death.

CORRECTION

In RW No. 114, in the article "Upside-Down History," a typographical error in the first sentence of the last paragraph in column 3 on page 16 significantly changed the content of the sentence and rendered it incorrect. The sentence was referring to Mao's analysis of the material basis under socialism of the

emergence of the bourgeois headquarters inside the Central Committee of the Communist Party. As it appears in the article, the sentence reads: It provided a nationalist basis for analyzing revisionism in power in the USSR in the highest levels of the Party. The sentence should read: It provided a materialist basis for analyzing revisionism in power in the USSR in the highest levels of the Party. □

Chinese RW's in W. Germany



Leaflet distributed to Chinese sailors in W. Germany.

The following is excerpted from a letter written to the RCP, USA by a West German revolutionary:

Dear Comrades:
I was very excited to receive the Chinese issue of your newspaper on the trial in China, and immediately made a leaflet out of it. Since I live in XXX and there are often Chinese sailors, and since I work as a taxidriver—I often meet these Chinese and give them the leaflet. That way they see that throughout the world there are defenders of Mao Tsetung Thought and that Comrade Chiang Ching (among others) is being upheld....

I think that a continuing exchange of ideas would be good. I believe that Mao Tsetung Thought has proven its historic and scientific correctness—even though it is being dragged through the dirt in the aftermath of the betrayal in Peking. Our ideas are correct, and we have no reason to show vacillation or unsurety.

Long Live the Revolution! Long Live the True Expression of Communism Through Mao Tsetung Thought!

With heartfelt and Communist Greetings,
XXX

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"Crowns Will Roll By Dozens on the Pavements... There Will Be Nobody to Pick Them Up"

"Prophetic Words" Now More Than Ever

The following is the first of a series of excerpts from a recent letter from Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the RCP, USA. (The excerpts from an earlier letter were concluded in issue No. 110.)

Normally people see the strength of the ruling classes but not so much their weaknesses. This is also the spontaneous tendency even among those with a deep hatred for their oppressors and a profound desire for radical change. The imperialists, and in particular the two superpowers with their huge arsenals of mass destruction, appear awesome, perhaps indestructible (or at least un-overthrowable). Not only in considering the prospect of going up against them but even in conceiving an all-out battle between them, it can seem that mass slaughter and devastation would be the only possible result. What is not seen spontaneously, what must be revealed from many different angles, is not only their strategic, long-term weakness but more specifically their greatly heightened vulnerability, especially at those times—occurring not that often but decisive when they occur—when all the contradictions of their system come to a head, on a world scale, and in particular when they are forced to marshal their forces and put it on the line against each other.

In this light, it is very interesting to read a short article, "Prophetic Words," written by Lenin in 1918, the last year of the first world war (and the year following the October Revolution in Russia during that war). Lenin cites Engels' "scientific prophecy" (as Lenin calls it), 30 years earlier, concerning the prospects of a world war. Engels not only says that such a war would bring "famine, pestilence, general descent into savagery both of the armies and of the mass of people produced by acute distress" but also economic crisis and "collapse of the old states and their traditional state wisdom to such an extent that crowns will roll by dozens on the pavements and there will be nobody to pick them up; absolute impossibility of foreseeing how it will all end and who will come out of the struggle as victor; only one result is absolutely certain: general exhaustion and the establishment of the conditions for the final victory of the working class." Then Engels concludes by addressing himself, on behalf of the class-conscious workers, to the "lords, princes and statesmen": "... The war may perhaps push us temporarily into the background, may wrench from us many a position already conquered. But when you have unfettered forces which you will then no longer be able again to control, things may go as they will: at the end of the tragedy you will be ruined and the victory of the proletariat will either be already achieved or at any rate (*doch*) inevitable."

It is no wonder that Lenin hailed this as "scientific

prophecy." And this is so even though some of Engels' particular predictions were (inevitably) wrong, at least in some aspects, that in general he overestimated how far the revolution of the proletariat would advance through that first world war and how close the final doom of the bourgeoisie, and the lords, princes, statesmen, etc., would be by the end of that war. Lenin, too, in this very essay as well as in general at that time, overestimated these prospects, saw things advancing farther, faster than they did. But Lenin, as well as Engels, not only correctly indicated the future course of development of things, in particular the heightening crises of capitalism and their explosion into devastating war—devastating not only for the masses but for the ruling classes even more so in the final analysis—but also the heightening prospects for revolution that would be bound up with these developments.

It was this that came to my mind when I read about the military commanders' open expression of anxiety (cited in two different articles in the *RW* within the last couple of months) that with the kind of warfare and battlefield they're going to have—and are now preparing for—in World War Three, the morale of their soldiers, their desire to keep on fighting for baseball, hot dogs, apple pie and Chevrolet, will quickly evaporate when they see that, win or lose, they have little chance of surviving. Engels' words, cited by Lenin, ring out with full force: "collapse of the old states and their traditional state wisdom to such an extent that crowns will roll by dozens on the pavements and there will be nobody to pick them up; impossibility of foreseeing how it will all end and who will come out of the struggle as victor; only one result is absolutely certain: general exhaustion and the establishment of the conditions for the final victory of the working class."

One thing about such a third world war, if it is unleashed by these imperialists—if the international proletariat is not able to prevent it through revolution—is that it will batter down the barriers of country and nation much more than any previous war. This doesn't mean that nations and the national question will no longer exist and will not have to be taken into account, but the very nature of the war will drive home that the field of battle is the whole world and things must be approached and resolved on a world scale. At the same time it will destroy more than ever before the superstitious awe for states and statecraft that is instilled in the masses, will make clear that boundaries and governments are established and enforced with cannon and missile and there is nothing holy or eternal about them, or about the ruling classes presently presiding over the fate of mankind with such unspeakable consequences for it.

Given all this, it might seem that the ruling classes would at all costs avoid such a war. But they do not recognize that its outcome can be anything other than a victory for the one or the other group of them, they cannot grasp what its consequences might be for them and for their system which drove them to this war in the first place. And that is the point, anyway: the imperialist system and the contradictions within it determining its motion and development are now rapidly propelling it once again toward such a war, one even more monstrous than the two previous world wars. The imperialists and other reactionaries are powerless to prevent this even if they wanted to.

It is only the proletariat and oppressed masses and the advance of the proletarian revolution throughout the world that hold the possibility of preventing this world war. For the literally billions of slaves in the world today, including millions of the proletariat in the U.S., such a war would be the continuation and concentration of the daily, seemingly endless outrage of life under the very system that produces such wars. But besides this, the very horror, the really terrible prospect of such a war, is not only another powerful reason for the proletariat to rise up in revolution but also strengthens the basis for it to win over other strata and forces to its banner, exactly because only the proletarian revolution can possibly prevent such a war. And, precisely for these reasons, the more open preparations of the imperialists for this war may not only provide powerful ammunition with which to expose them but might even provoke a revolutionary crisis which could be seized in one or even a number of countries. This is certainly something to actively, urgently prepare for.

But, if things turn out differently, if the imperialists hurl mankind into world war before the proletariat can prevent it through revolution, then it will be all the more crucial to keep firmly in mind the "prophetic words" of Engels that Lenin cherished and championed, for they will have meaning then more than ever. And we should hold fast to the emphatic words of Lenin, at the start of the first world war and in the face of the craven treachery of most of the socialists of the time: "pay no heed to the mawkish snivellers who are afraid of war; too much still remains in the world that *must* be destroyed with fire and sword for the emancipation of the working class; if anger and desperation grow among the masses, if a revolutionary situation arises, prepare to create new organizations and use these useful weapons of death and destruction *against* your *own* government and your *own* bourgeoisie." ("The Collapse of the Second International") □

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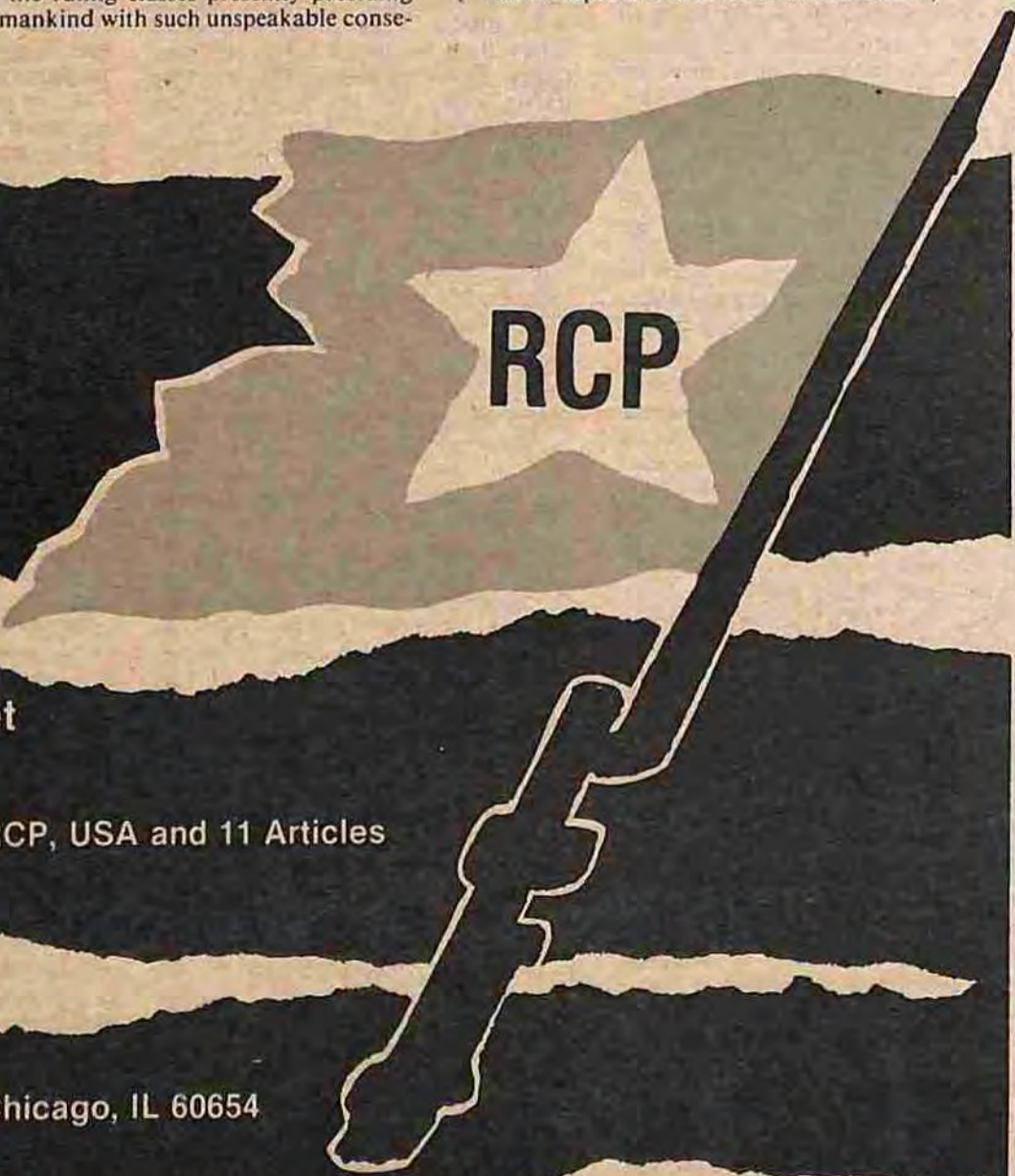
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3 TO 10 FOR HAMMERING U.S. WAR PLANS

VINDICTIVE SENTENCE FOR
PLOWSHARES 8

On September 9, 1980, the Plowshares 8 entered a local GE assembly plant in King of Prussia, Pennsylvania, destroying two of the government's prized nosecones for their Mark 12-A nuclear warheads and symbolically pouring blood all over the premises in a powerful exposure of the U.S. rulers' intensifying preparations for nuclear war. Last week after a lengthy kangaroo trial that compounded this exposure, the Plowshares 8 were sentenced. The government exacted its revenge. All received prison terms on charges of burglary and 5-10 year probation terms (to go into effect after the sentences are served) for "criminal conspiracy." The stiffest sentences were meted out to Philip and Daniel Berrigan, Rev. Carl Kapat and John Schuchart, who were given prison terms of 3-10 years. The other four—Molly Rush, Sister Anne Montgomery, Elmer Mass and Dean Hammer—were given sentences ranging from a minimum of 1 1/2 years to 5 years, and all were ordered to pay the prosecution costs for their convictions as well. Sentences for convictions on additional charges of criminal mischief were suspended—the government having made its point.

The harshness of the sentencing was a shock to many around the country for whom this trial has increasingly become an eyeopener—including local townspeople in Norristown, PA where the trial was held, the lawyers, and legal clerks. The government's early attempts to portray the 8—well known for their

pacifist views—as terrorists had run dry and fooled no one. As some 200 supporters who waited on the courthouse steps heard the announcement of the sentence, the reaction varied from open weeping to furious outrage.

While many began to pray and sing, sparks of anger erupted from the crowd. "Down with the judge!" shouted one woman. "Bring that judge down here! No bombs, no war, open up the prison door!" As some attempted to quiet her, she responded, "Unless you get angry, you're always going to get trampled on in this country." Inside the courtroom one supporter stood and shouted, "This sentence is outrageous and I stand in opposition to it!" For once, the bailiffs did not pounce at the first sign of another outburst. After all, as far as the government was concerned, the case was closed.

This case, however, is hardly closed—most especially the case made by the Plowshares 8 against the criminal plans of the U.S. rulers to plunge millions into the inferno of a third imperialist world war, something the 8 have struggled to bring out throughout the trial despite the efforts of the state to cover this all up with every means at its disposal, short of outright binding and gagging the defendants. Significantly, after the government had repeatedly refused to allow the defendants to present expert witnesses—whose testimony on the effects of nuclear weapons, U.S. war preparations, and other questions could

have proved most embarrassing for the U.S. rulers—they suddenly felt compelled to afford two of these witnesses (Dr. Robert Lifton, a Yale professor and a specialist in the psychological consequences of mass destruction, and Dr. Richard Anderson Falk, a Princeton professor and expert on international law) the "right" to testify at the sentencing in a feeble attempt to paper over their heavy-handed conduct of the trial itself. The sentences, however, had already been prepared well in advance during Judge Salus' consultations with a number of his "honorable" colleagues.

During the sentencing procedure, the judge mentioned his extreme displeasure that Daniel Berrigan had travelled to Ireland to express solidarity with the struggle there and attempted to visit Bobby Sands before his death, and that Philip Berrigan had been photographed by the newspapers at a demonstration in Washington. Not only were these actions possible violation of bail terms, Salus explained, but they "show intransigence and a penchant for professional protestations." He went on to make allegations that one of the Plowshares 8 supporters had spat on a juror, that the Plowshares 8 were somehow responsible for the press "harassing" several jurors and that one of the defendants had personally called up and "hassled" one of the jurors as well. When several of the 8 demanded that he corroborate his charges, he sneered, "I don't have to."

That the government has been particularly wounded and angered by this whole affair was revealed in the vengeful remarks of Judge Salus as he outlined his own "personal choices" for sentencing: "My first choice would be to send all 8 to a leper colony in Puerto Rico and have them minister to the people there. The second choice is to send them to Soviet Russia to make them commit a similar protest to the one they committed here and let them appreciate the democratic system they have... they would certainly end up in Siberia." The judge went on to mandate the prison terms as well as revoking bail in a move that one of the lawyers described as "highly unusual."

As it turns out, Siberia was unnecessary to make the 8 "appreciate the democratic system they have here." Indeed, this was an all-American sentence, and proof that the U.S. rulers wanted to see an example made of the Plowshares 8. The 8 have declared from the outset that it is their accusers who have been on trial. Judge Salus admitted as much stating, "The court is in a no-win situation. The court, the system, the accepted policies, the majority are all on trial here."

"Our aim during the trial," said Philip Berrigan, reflecting the defiant stand of all 8, "was to tell the truth, not to win exoneration or acquittal... GE is not only a corporate pirate, but a corporate war criminal as well." □

Rugby

Continued from page 1

the plane touched down, the demonstrators used their combined weight to pull down the fence.

Alarmed by the scene at the airport and worried about what the days ahead would hold, the *New Zealand Herald* summed up the next morning that the tour was entering "its second day with 28 people already arrested, a policeman injured, a prediction of many more arrests..." On the following day, according to sparse accounts of the protest against the tour in the U.S. press, there was a large and militant demonstration at the first match played at Gisborne on July 22, and the match at Hamilton last Sunday had to be cancelled after demonstrators stormed the field.

The rulers of New Zealand have good reason to sound the alarm, for a very broad movement has developed against the tour of the Springboks rugby team—targeting them as agents of the bestial system of apartheid in South Africa—and this movement is increasingly stepping outside the bounds of protest tolerated by the authorities. The extent of popular opposition was demonstrated earlier this year by the marches held throughout the country on May 1st. HART estimated these demonstrations to number 75,000 people in 29 localities. In Auckland, the march of 20,000, which at one stage blocked the entire length of Queen Street, was the biggest demonstration seen in New Zealand since the early 1970s.

In the weeks following these demonstrations, the New Zealand government headed by Prime Minister Muldoon made it increasingly clear that it was going to allow the tour to go ahead, public opposition be damned. But the government was already being thrown onto the defensive politically. Muldoon and Foreign Minister Talboys were forced to yap about their "personal opposition" to apartheid and the tour, and pulled out the lame excuse for allowing it to proceed that New Zealand has a long-standing "democratic tradition" of not denying visas or passports for political reasons. Slipping and

sliding, the government then passed the hot potato to the New Zealand Rugby Football Union, which the government urged to keep the tour on. Muldoon's attempted fence-sitting was not very convincing and only angered many more for his disgusting hypocrisy.

It was a foregone conclusion that the Rugby Union would approve the tour, and when it did on July 10, hundreds of demonstrators assembled that same night in front of the Air New Zealand ticket offices in downtown Auckland. When they began to move out onto Queen Street chanting and blocking traffic, scores of police, backed up with three paddywagons, went after them. "Flying wedge squads" of police were sent out to snatch selected protesters. Scuffles broke out in many places, 12 were arrested and charged with "breaches of the peace."

More peace-breaching took place the next day as Prime Minister Muldoon was on his way into a stadium in Christchurch to see a tennis match. There a Methodist minister dropped 30 silver coins at the Prime Minister's feet, as 50 people chanted "Judas." The minister was arrested, along with another protestor who burst through the police cordon to confront Muldoon, and a third man who was accused of trying to deflate the tires of a police car. In still another action, a clothed dummy was thrown in the path of Muldoon's car, protesting a recent statement of his that government cars might not stop for demonstrators.

These stepped-up protests against the New Zealand authorities and the tour led to a swift escalation in the government's attacks against the movement in the media. After the HART national council urged their supporters to use all means to disrupt the tour, going "to the edge of the law," they were accused by Chief Superintendent Davies, the man in charge of police protection for the tour, of "setting the scene for a violent confrontation." The presently out-of-power Labour Party then got into the act. The shadow Minister of Police called the movement's activities a recipe for "provocations, confrontation and disaster." According to the *Auckland Star*, this great friend of labor intoned that "the rights and freedoms which a democratic society granted and pro-

tested had to be exercised peacefully and within the law." In fact, the New Zealand ruling class is now demonstrating repeatedly that they make and enforce the laws of the land to defend their interests and theirs alone, and that their much ballyhooed "democratic rights" exist for the masses of people only so long as they do not mount a serious challenge to the rulers' authority and their system. In numerous statements and actions taken to date, the New Zealand bourgeoisie has made it very clear that it is fully prepared to meet this challenge with the naked power of their state apparatus—as many thousands more people have learned recently in increasingly tense and militant confrontations with the helmeted protectors of law and order.

The authorities here were surprised and extremely upset at the massive groundswell of public opinion and action against the Springboks tour. They undoubtedly hoped that because the vast majority of people in New Zealand are rugby fans, the prospect of hard-fought games between the national team The All-Blacks (which refers to the color of their uniforms not their nationality) and the South African Springboks would neutralize much of the opposition. But from the first protests and actions against this Springboks tour, the movement has broadened out to include large numbers of students and teachers, churches, many sports clubs, government workers, lawyers, etc. To date several TV sportscasters have refused to cover the tour, and two of the most outstanding members of the All-Blacks, including the captain, are refusing to play. Three others were still making up their minds before the first match.

In the week preceding the Springboks' arrival, hundreds of students at several Catholic schools held mass meetings and voted overwhelmingly to withdraw their teams from the New Zealand inter-secondary school rugby competition to show their opposition to apartheid and their government's complicity. Moves such as these, as well as the active role being played by students and youth in the demonstrations to date, have provoked a great deal of handwringing from various quarters

about "the kind of example" the tour is setting for "young people." In fact, thousands of youth are getting some very valuable lessons in class struggle today in New Zealand, something that can't be obtained in the classroom or on the rugby field (at least, playing there!).

As for the New Zealand Federation of Labour (FOL), it is living up to its social-democratic reputation by expressing verbal opposition to apartheid and the tour while refusing to take any practical steps to stop it. The FOL leaders are leaving it to individual unions to make their own decisions; and most of the unions are leaving it to their members to make their own decisions. But even this wishy-washy and really very reactionary stand taken by these labor aristocrats is a product of the growing opposition to the tour among workers and the masses more broadly. In many places, such as among hotel workers who have been hotly debating whether to serve the Springboks or not, the management and union hacks have agreed to allow staff members opposed to the tour to take off work without penalty in order to try to defuse potentially more powerful disruptions.

The vast majority of the people who are taking part in demonstrations and other means of protest are doing so on the basis of opposing the racist system of apartheid in South Africa, and among them there are those who see the struggle in broader terms, striking a blow against U.S.-led imperialism and its world-strangling empire. But there are also voices appearing from sections of the bourgeoisie in opposition to the tour—and for much different reasons.

As the tour has gone ahead, a recent editorial by one of New Zealand's leading dailies predicted that "the split in the country on the tour issue will certainly be intensified... And its consequences would be calamitous for this little nation." Even some trusted servants of the bourgeoisie such as the Maori head of the Race Relations Council came out against the tour, warning of its effects on "race relations" in New Zealand. While New Zealand's rulers have good reason to be deeply worried about the growing popular struggle and exposure they are

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“The Wedding”: Dredging the Past in Fear of the Future

“Let us never forget Milton,” wrote Frederick Engels of the 17th century poet of the English bourgeois revolution, “The first defender of regicide.” Milton, in his political tract “The Defense of the English People” celebrated the 1649 execution of King Charles I and jeered the Royalists who mourned his “ridiculous exit.” In a revolution in which gangs of the dispossessed destroyed crucifixes, sacked churches, and smashed stained glass windows as “monuments of the nobility and gentry,” Milton defended “this iron flail, the people, which drove the bishops out of their baronies... threw down their first High Commission Star Chamber, gave us a Triennial Parliament.”

For 11 years, until the victory of the counter-revolution, there was no monarchy in England. Charles II, the first occupant of the restored throne, was, even by royal standards known as a man of “formidable extravagance,” with dozens of mistresses by whom numerous offspring were sired—all of them duly recorded after the British passion for genealogy. (Lady Diana Spencer, by the way, traces her own lineage directly to one of these illegitimate offspring. After painstaking research, it was determined that this tie makes Lady Diana the seventh cousin, once removed of Prince Charles.)

In the end, the great rebellions of the 1640s, which had momentarily

threatened to thoroughly sweep away feudalism, found their sequel in what Engels called the “puny events of 1688”—a compromise between the rising bourgeoisie and the landed aristocracy which, despite the rise of British capitalism and the bourgeoisification of the nobility itself, has continued to shape the character of the British ruling class. “The English bourgeoisie,” Engels wrote in 1892, “are, up to the present day, so deeply penetrated by a sense of their social inferiority that they keep up, at their own expense and that of the nation, an ornamental caste of drones to represent the nation worthily at all state functions; and they consider themselves highly honored whenever one of themselves is found worthy of admission into this select and privileged body, manufactured, after all, by themselves.” The English bourgeois, which long ago had fought against the monarchy and the tyranny of the established church, now feared the revolutionary impact of any challenge to religion on the urban and rural masses; they reminded Engels of “a youngster who, when seasickness creeps upon him, quietly drops the burning cigar he brought swaggeringly on board...”

Of course, it is not feudal nobility that rules Great Britain today, but the capitalist class in its most moribund and

decadent stage, imperialism—a class which not only expended its last ounce of revolutionary energy many, many years ago, but has witnessed the collapse of its once mighty empire. Clinging to the shabby remains as viciously as they once plundered the world, gnashing their teeth at the loss, the British ruling class is gripped by a morbid obsession with the past, and a fanatical, neurotic attention to the symbols, the trappings, and the protocol of power.

In the old colonial haunts from Hong Kong to India, from Arabia to the Caribbean, British analysts continue to minutely sift events and pick through bits of local gossip over pink gins at the “Calcutta Club” or the “Admiralty Lounge.” From Lagos, Nigeria, the following dispatch came on wedding day: “Even at this range, on the moist south Atlantic seaboard of Africa, in a place that was once empire, the royal wedding stirred a heart or two among the ex-patriot Britains and stiffened the patriotic spine... The stewards circulated, bearing cheese on sticks, sharing a beer... there were cheers and sherry glasses raised aloft and a woman in the tunic of red, white and blue waved a little Union Jack she had bought in London, and said, ‘Hurrah!’... And then, for a brief moment, the sun cracked the clouds and the Union Jack on the flagpole fluttered a little.” Similar

scenes of nostalgia for empire were reported around the world.

Weddings & Rebellions

The outbreak of proletarian rebellions in British (and Irish) cities coincided with the preparations for the royal wedding. If we expected Britain’s rulers to tone down the gawdy magnificence of the ceremony, to mute the stark display of wealth against the background of grinding poverty and mass uprisings, we failed to understand the effect of mortal terror on the reactionary soul of the British bourgeoisie. As Engels pointed out, advancing the examples of the French revolution and the rebellions of 1848, when confronted with a threat from below the English bourgeois flees into the arms of religion, grips more desperately that “great retarding force” of tradition; the little boy hides in the capacious skirts of Queen Victoria.

150 years ago, Britain was still capable of producing a generation of radical bourgeois, who cried out with Shelley, “Oh, that the free would stamp the empire’s name of KING into the dust... that the pale name of PRIEST might shrink and dwindle into the hell from which it first was hurled.” Now, imperialist Britain’s chief literary figure, Anthony Burgess, writes in *TV Guide* that “it will be a shot in the arm

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Dublin Demonstration Rocks Ireland

On July 18, all hell broke loose in the Republic of Ireland’s capital city of Dublin. 15,000 demonstrators filled the streets in support of the Irish political prisoners on hunger strike in the infamous H-Blocks of the Long Kesh Prison near Belfast, Northern Ireland. As the demonstration headed towards the symbol of British imperialism in Ireland, the British Embassy, 1,000 police (Gardai) moved to block the procession and re-route the march away from the embassy. It proved to be their worst mistake of the day. Demonstrators were determined to sack the British Embassy. They attempted to go through the Gardai (see above). Failing that, they tried to scatter the police, hurling bricks, cobblestones, bottles, and even bicycles (see accompanying photo) in a steady stream for nearly a full half an hour. Reports estimate that “tons of debris” descended on top of the police lines. Suddenly the police sallied forth with a baton charge in an effort to disperse the crowds. What followed was four hours of street war, with Gardai brutally beating down anyone in their path and demonstrators staging hit and run actions up and down the streets and alleys. Even some house-to-house fighting took place as police fought room-by-room to dislodge demonstrators from an abandoned house. Out of 160 reported injuries, 120 were Dublin police. It was the most intense day of political rioting since 1972, when, upon news of Bloody Sunday (where British paratroopers shot and killed 13 marchers in Derry, Northern Ireland) reaching Dublin, thousands of outraged people took to the streets. That time they burned the British Embassy to the ground.

It was apparent from all the newspaper accounts in the Republic, that the outbreak came as quite a shock to the ruling class there. For 60 years they have been able to pass themselves off as “free” Ireland. But now they are increasingly standing exposed in relation to the intensifying struggle in Northern Ireland as lackeys of British imperialism, with their Gardai dispensing truncheon rule in an effort to crush resistance to Britain. This latest action outside the British Embassy in Dublin is a powerful illustration of the growing struggle against British imperialism’s domination of all of Ireland.



LEBANON

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cized in the wake of the Beirut raid. Despite continuing tactical disputes within the U.S. ruling class over how to advance its strategic interests in the region, sentiment is growing that, for the time being, its chief attack dogs should be put on a somewhat shorter leash.

Of course they are still expected to attack on this leash. Moral concern over "civilian casualties" has nothing to do with U.S. concerns. For years, and up until the present, the Palestinian people have faced and fought a constant wave of massive bombings, relocations, murders, search and destroy missions—everything the Israelis could throw at them, with the U.S. supplying nearly everything they are throwing. Also with U.S. approval, in 1970 King Hussein of Jordan unleashed another U.S.-supplied army against the masses of Palestinians in Jordan, murdering many thousands. It is against this genocidal policy backed to the hilt by U.S. imperialism that the Palestinians have not only survived, but persevered in a war of national survival.

The fact is that Israel is armed by the U.S. exactly for the purpose of using its military strength to crush the Palestinians and to serve generally as a brute force instrument of U.S. interests—but it is becoming increasingly important that the exercise of this role is carried out in tight coordination with U.S. imperialism's broader strategic objectives. Increasingly these objectives, especially in the Middle East, are being played out on a global chessboard of confrontation with the Soviet imperialists. A major incident in the Mid-East immediately involves and effects the worldwide strategic interests of U.S. imperialism, including their presently complicated relations with their imperialist allies in Europe. These "facts of life" have been a source of friction between the U.S. and Israel (which has its own agenda and its own "nest to defend") for some time, but the contradiction here has burst more publicly as the stakes mount and the scramble to prepare for a U.S.-Soviet military showdown intensifies. And the U.S. ruling class recently, especially in the aftermath of the Beirut raid, is starting to lay its cards out on the table: Israeli "security" is fine and necessary, but exactly because it serves the central U.S. interests—so the U.S., not Begin, will decide what serves Israeli "security."

"The lesson of the Beirut bombing," the *New York Times* remarked in the wake of the ceasefire, "was that Israeli and American objectives in the Middle East are frequently in conflict. Washington's current paramount interest is to stabilize the region to protect Persian Gulf oil supplies, keep the Russians at bay, and strengthen security relationships with Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Jordan and Israel. To do this, the administration wants to revive talks on Palestinian autonomy, building on the Camp David framework."

"Israelis were delighted when President Reagan included their country in his grand design for an anti-Soviet alignment in the region; they were gratified to be counted a 'strategic asset.' But many overlooked the fact that the term implies a utilitarian relationship that can be debated, bargained over, and even traded away if its functional value declines. Thus, Israel's value to United States foreign policy can vary with circumstance. Israeli military strength is a virtue, except when it is used, as in recent weeks, in a way that damages Washington's tenuous relations with the more populated, oil rich Arab world. Yet if it is not used and Israel is weakened, the country becomes less of an American asset."

Here is an admirable (if somewhat exaggerated in its statement of differences) capsule summary of cynical U.S. imperialist analysis, stripped of both the gushings about the eternal U.S. commitment to "tiny democratic Israel" and hypocritical concern over Israeli outrages against "innocent civilians." Yes, Israel is a "strategic asset," and yes, Israel's U.S.-supplied military might is there to be used—but only when and how United States foreign policy dictates it is to be used. In U.S. imperialism's strategic objectives in the Middle East, Israel does indeed play a central role—that of a murderous enforcer.

Begin responded to American criticism of the Beirut raid with a revealing rejoinder: "I don't want to hear anything from the Americans about hitting civilian targets. I know exactly what Americans did in Vietnam." He should—the Israelis were right there in Vietnam acting as counter-insurgency advisors both to U.S. forces and to the Saigon regime. Begin's analogy was clear enough. He supported and still supports what the U.S. did in Vietnam. His point is that when you are waging a war against a nation (Palestine or Vietnam) you have to kill its population. You can't let qualms about "world public opinion" upset

your basic and agreed-upon plan. Implicit in Begin's "wounded" response is a dig at the U.S. for striking a moral pose toward the very clients assigned to do its dirty work.

Even more sickening, though along the same lines, was the comment of the Israeli Air Force chief of staff, who claims that the strike had, after all, "proved more devastating than expected." This of course is a lie, designed as a cynical cover-your-ass routine. It was admitted by Begin himself that civilian targets were consciously included. The general's "cure" reveals this. "The fact is," he explained, "we don't have enough experience in bombing cities."

World-Strategic Interests

The U.S. raised no noticeable hue and cry over the earlier Israeli bombings against Palestinian targets. But the Beirut strike not only threatened a new crisis in Washington's relationship with the so-called "moderate" (pro-U.S. reactionary) Arab regimes, all of whom have to contend with large Palestinian populations with broader revolutionary influence on other Arab masses. These are states whose own survival is literally at stake, one way or another, if the fighting in Lebanon slides out of control. In addition, the raid took place in the midst of the Ottawa Summit between the U.S. and its NATO allies, as well as Japan, who have already been putting pressure on the U.S. to clamp down on Israel, and enforce a settlement including recognition of the PLO and the establishment of some kind of Palestinian autonomy—an arrangement, of course, with suitable safeguards against anything that might pose a real threat to imperialist-imposed "stability and security."

A vague commitment to Palestinian autonomy was contained in the 1978 Camp David Accords signed between the U.S., Israel and Egypt. Its inclusion was largely at the insistence of Egypt, which for political reasons wishes to preserve the fiction that its blatant belly-crawling and consorting with both the U.S. and with Israeli Zionism is all consistent with "loyalty to the Arab cause."

Following Camp David, the United States has formally reiterated, from time to time, certain phrases about the rights of the Palestinians, and criticized the ongoing Israeli settlement of the occupied Palestinian territory of the West Bank. It has basically shoved the question onto the back burner, while allowing talks to take place on the question between Israel and Egypt since May of 1980. The U.S. has accorded priority to its military buildup in the Middle East, and the attempt to forge a strategic consensus uniting Israel and the Arab regimes against the Soviet Union.

Of course, most strategists in U.S. ruling circles, Haig included, do not feel they can permanently ignore the Palestinians, or just eliminate them. All of the variations of current U.S. strategy agree that the best strategy toward the Palestinians is to bomb them and bludgeon them (combined with a few, tiny "diplomatic openings") so that "moderate" voices among Palestinians, including within the PLO, will prevail and make possible the creation of some "Palestinian entity" (probably under Jordanian guardianship) which will be as firmly as possible under Western imperialist control and accepting Israel's existence and role as top U.S. dog in the area. Failure to pull off this whole process, which includes both the carrot and the stick, could have dire consequences for the U.S. imperialists. A draft report released in February by the Rockefeller sponsored Trilateral Commission, which attempts to develop a consensus among the U.S., Western European and Japanese imperialists, argues that any idea of "indefinite continuation of Israeli occupation" of the West Bank and Gaza is "untenable," would "strengthen the forces of radicalism" and, finally, "support by the U.S. for such a policy would cause serious cleavage in the Trilateral partnership and give the USSR an opportunity to exploit the situation both between the allies and in the region."

Again, to re-emphasize, no one significant in U.S. ruling circles, these forces included, advocates being "soft

on the Palestinians." It is a question of how to combine force and diplomacy to bring some of them into line and to do so in such a way that strengthens the world strength of U.S. imperialism.

In the aftermath of U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig's April tour of the Middle East, events have provided plenty of ammunition for voices within U.S. policy-making circles which argue that failure to find some means of "defusing" the Palestinian question and the Arab-Israeli confrontation relatively quickly may steadily undermine the whole attempt to knock together a stable anti-Soviet alliance system there. "To press on to the grand design of the strategic consensus," argues a recent article in *Foreign Affairs*, "while downgrading the Palestine problem and shilly-shallying on the military hardware is the unfailing recipe for inter-Arab polarization and outbidding, undermining of moderation, and the erosion of the prestige and legitimization of the conservatives."

The above-mentioned Trilateral report argues strongly for pressing on to reach some eventual accommodation with significant forces in the PLO and for the creation of an autonomous West Bank region under the supervision of Jordan. A similar position is argued in the most recent issue of the journal *International Security*, in which it is argued that Israel and Jordan have a mutual interest in controlling the Palestinians, and that King Hussein could be considered a reliable watchdog and guarantor of Israeli security in the event that a West Bank Palestinian "entity" were created.

The July 18th issue of *8 Days*, a British-based publication covering Middle Eastern affairs, reported signs of increased U.S. interest in the so-called "European initiative," based on a 1980 Venice declaration of Common Market countries, which expressed support for "Palestinian self-determination" linked with "true guarantees for Israel's security." West European leaders have for some time been engaged in direct talks with the PLO; it has, however, so far denounced the Venice declaration, which neither formally recognizes the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people nor calls for a separate Palestinian state.

It is significant that talk is growing of a possible meeting between British foreign secretary Lord Carrington, a veteran "fixer" for Western imperialism and a central figure in the creation of a pro-Western Zimbabwe, and PLO leader Yassir Arafat. While the U.S. pretends to look the other way, as *Foreign Affairs* coyly points out, "...there are things that urgently need to be done which the United States cannot and the Europeans can undertake—with an American cautionary yellow light. The Europeans could constructively focus attention on the two principles of 'reciprocity' and 'coexistence'...they could draw out the PLO and the Arab radicals...they could illicit from Israel responses, however guarded, about what in the circumstances it might contemplate..."

Now, it is evident that despite frequent statements by the Reagan administration (like Carter's before it) that the PLO cannot have any role in negotiations concerning Palestinian autonomy because it is a "terrorist" organization and because its founding covenant denies Israel's right to exist—and the clear fact that the U.S. would prefer a situation in which the PLO could be crushed and destroyed—it is at the same time not blind to the possibility that some sort of accommodation including the PLO—or major sections of it—could serve U.S. imperialist interests. One can observe the wheels whirring and the gears clicking in a *New York Times* profile of a PLO commander in Lebanon:

"Abu Walid, a trim man with thinning gray hair, who has the sleeves of his tanned safari suit rolled up, is a 1966 graduate of the United States Army's Command and General Staff College at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas 'I didn't receive my training in the East,' he noted with a smile. He is a former Jordanian army officer." In the piece, the PLO was referred to not as "terrorists," but as a "guerrilla organization." The Trilateral Commission

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Reader Writes on "Special Fund Drive"

Ever since I was thirteen years old the ideas going through my head were about world politics, and that what was going on was totally wrong and there had to be some way to change this capitalist and materialist system. I went along through the college riots, and the drug scene thinking this could change the system. It didn't. There had to be a way, a better way, some kind of revolutionary change. The invasion of the Bay of Pigs, and the murders at Kent State put that into my head.

A year and a half ago I met a person into the revolution (co-conspirator). He turned me on to the *Revolutionary Worker*. I knew some changes could now happen for the people and for me.

My father is a Republican, a big influential banker and if he knew his son grew up like this he would kick my ass. I was raised on one side—Take the *Chronicle*—it's really like comics, it's so absurd—it is one-sided bullshit. The *Revolutionary Worker* lets you weigh events, it doesn't distort. The paper has shown me something new, and strong—different from when I was a teenager. It's different from drugs and protests. It's helping me to find a purpose. Protests were great, but they couldn't last. I see *Revolutionary Worker* sellers everywhere, here and there—and all the posters too, and I can feel its influence in society. Revolution is happening and it's getting stronger. Happening world wide, if they

don't push the button.

I have been giving money to the *RW* for awhile. I want to give. There have been times when me and my wife have gone without food in order to give money to the paper. We even bought buttons from the co-conspirator that cost \$1.25, but we refused to pay that and forced him to take \$2.00 each because we knew where the money was going. The only thing that really keeps me going now is the revolution. I'm kicking a heroin habit now, and the only way I can kick it is contributing to the revolutionary Party. I get angry when I think of all the money that is wasted behind that shit. I'm not gonna look for the pusher, I'm looking for revolution.

I'm taking up the Special Fund Drive and encouraging others to do so too, especially the youth. My wife and I are gonna sell popcorn at the parks, and make wood stains with political pictures to raise money. We are going to also during this time give more than we usually sustain too! The fund drive to me means more money for our Party, more literature, more man-power and more people that will join the Party.

I feel we can better this world, in fact I know the only thing that can change this world is the revolution, and the *Revolutionary Worker* is the way to do it.

Hungry for Revolution

Eyewitness of Israeli Bombing

Below are some excerpts from a recent interview given to the Revolutionary Worker by a U.S. university student who comes from a Palestinian family. He just returned from a trip to Lebanon and the West Bank, where he was traveling for a month. He was visiting Palestinian refugee camps during the recent bombings. The interview is edited slightly for clarity in print.

Question: What were some of the results of the Israeli attacks in southern Lebanon while you were there?

I stayed in the Rashidia Camp. It is only 10 miles from the Israeli border inside Lebanon. Me and the group I was touring with stayed in a secondary school. It was shelled during the night. We left that afternoon and we returned and saw some of the damage. There were Europeans with us also. We were all hit by the fact that this was a purely civilian target. This shelling took place by the Phalangists and of course they are completely backed by the Zionists. Also that night there were sea operations where the Phalangists would come right onto the beach and the Rashidia Camp was located on the beach.

Before this we had also walked around the camp and noticed the damage that had been done by air strikes. It was just devastating. There were so many huts that had just been built out of mud and bits of cement and it was just totalled. Kitchens and everything. All civilian areas, they were just totally bombed. It's obvious from what I saw, it's just a genocidal policy. We met a little two-year-old girl there and her family and then we left. The massive strike occurred on July 17th (shortly after we left this camp). I honestly don't know if she is still alive...

One of the most devastating things is that the Zionists blew up 8 bridges from the south to the central region of Lebanon. While they were conducting their strikes even if the people had wanted to leave it was impossible. So the people,

in other words, were trapped. And like I say again, it's just a genocidal policy. Another thing they do in the air strikes is drop these shiny objects and dolls. After the air strikes on July 17th there were big warnings on the radio for parents to keep their children away from these shiny objects. I saw also some cannisters that fall from the sky and they explode on contact. They're dropped from parachutes from the sky. This along with the thousands of pounds of bombs that are dropped anyway. So they drop all kinds of shiny things that attract children and will blow up. This was just outrageous to me. I had heard about this kind of thing before and now I was hearing about it from the people themselves who had their own personal experience with a family member hit with one of these. It was just devastating...

I also have a piece of metal (12 inches long, 2-1/2 inches wide, 1/2 to 3/4 inches thick, razor sharp—bombs packed full of these to hit as many people as possible). I picked it up in Domur after the bombing of Domur which took place on July 13th. There was about 2 or 3 hours worth of bombing from the F-15s. After that we went into the city and talked with some of the people as best as we could and of course as best as they could. In fact, there was a factory still burning as we entered the town. In a certain sense there wasn't much to say. While we were there the bomb planes came back... This was a continuing thing throughout the day. As we were leaving I passed by an apartment and there was a family there. The woman looked at me and saw the piece of shrapnel in my hand and she said, "I have another one just like that that I found from my roof." And she gave me her piece. So all this is an example of who is really suffering from this thing. The damage that is done is done to civilians. Even capitalist press like *Time* magazine said that of the 450 people that died in this thing at least 90% were ci-

vilians...

Then I have to believe that it is a policy of the Zionists to rid themselves of a certain kind of people. But the victims will rise up again.

Question: Do you see Israel acting independently from the United States?

No, clearly not. When you have all the weapons that they're using that are American-made, there's a lot of collaboration in all this between the imperialist U.S. and its instrument Israel. The imperialists see the Palestinians as a menace as they see any revolutionary group that is interested in establishing itself, particularly in that area that economically is so important to the rest of the world. They see them as a menace and they want to get rid of them. And Israel carries out that policy with the weapons from the United States.

Question: Doesn't all this get sharpened up in the context of imperialist moves toward war?

Yes it does. In fact I saw in some news report about how the U.S. is simulating military actions in the deserts of the United States so as to prepare for a desert war. And so they're clearly preparing themselves for something like this in the Middle East. And what would happen to the Palestinians and in fact the whole world is pretty devastating. Zionism has been made out to be a religious thing. It isn't, in my mind it is completely fascist political ideology that is really catering to the Jewish bourgeoisie that came from Europe, and it is subjecting the Sephardic Jews, the Middle Eastern Jews, who make up the majority of working-class and Arab people, it's subjecting them to a great deal of oppression... And of course the Jewish bourgeoisie have been able to attract the Jewish working class and unite them upon nationalistic appeal, much the same as Hitler when he went into some of the working-class neighborhoods and he was able to unite the people on nationalistic grounds.

Question: Getting back to Lebanon for a minute, what is the role of the Syrian troops there?

The Syrian troops at this point are just interested in stabilizing the region. They're far from revolutionary in any sense. And that has been the problem in terms of any kind of relationship between the Palestinians and the Syrians... But the Palestinians need to defend themselves in some sort of manner, and if the Syrians are willing to support them even to a small degree it would be welcome because of the circumstances.

Question: Even given Syria's acting out of other interests?

Yes, obviously those Syrian missiles in Lebanon are to protect Syria from the Israeli reconnaissance that spies on Syria and is able to gather military information which can lead to the destruction of Syria if the Zionists continue to push past the Golan Heights. Damascus is very close to the Golan Heights. The Syrians see that as a very strong threat. So they're mainly interested in the security of their own country. The Palestinians see the Syrians as the only Arab regime which has taken any kind of stand against Israel. Jordan hasn't, Egypt hasn't... Also I should point out as a matter of understanding, Syria when it originally entered Lebanon attacked the Palestinians particularly in the refugee camp of Tel al Zataar. This was five years ago. They were involved in that atrocity, which was carried out by the Phalangists. The Palestinians don't trust the Syrians but at the moment the Syrians are fighting the Phalangists and the Phalangists are certainly against the Palestinians. So there is sort of this de facto understanding be-

tween the Palestinians and the Syrians.
Question: What happened at Tel al Zataar back then?

I had a rather devastating conversation with one of the military leaders in Domur who told us what had happened in Tel al Zataar, which was so outrageous. There were 10,000 people in Tel al Zataar, 6000 survived and came to Domur. 4000 were massacred. There are also people in Domur who have survived other air strikes...

There was just incredible atrocities in Tel al Zataar. It was mainly carried out by the Phalangists with a little help from the Syrians and of course the Phalangists were totally supplied by the Israelis. There again a very specific particular genocidal policy in terms of killing people between the ages of 15 and 45, the reproductive age, many instances of pregnant women being stabbed in the stomach, and the fetus falling out, all kinds of atrocities like that, young men were tied to two cars which then proceeded to go in the opposite directions, all kinds of things like that. People were trapped inside houses that were then bombarded by artillery. The camp of Tel al Zataar was totally surrounded by the right-wing Phalangists. This occurred for two years. The particular intensity occurring the last 55 days where people could not see outside the village, the camp was always covered by smoke. One continuous bombardment of heavy artillery from the Phalangists as well as the Syrians and there were many situations that this fellow from Domur was telling us about where particularly women would try to escape to get some supplies, water or food or something, in a nearby city or something like that and they were taken capture and tortured, so it was just a desperate situation, they couldn't even get supplies because everything was destroyed. And it's just miraculous to me how 6,000 survived this whole thing. They did have bomb shelters, maybe that helped to a certain degree. But from my understanding when those are hit directly by planes, they won't stand up either. But 6,000 did survive and increased their population to 7,000. So Domur is a stronghold of the resistance and in this recent attack they were severely hit.

Question: What is the significance behind the recent attacks on Domur?

Like I say, there's the eastern half of Lebanon, there's a mountain range, between the eastern half of Beirut and the eastern half of Lebanon. Tel al Zataar was right in the middle of that so the right-wing forces, the Phalangists, sought to unite their forces in east Beirut and the mountain ridge of east Lebanon and they did that by getting rid of Tel al Zataar. Now you have the Palestinians and the leftist Lebanese concentrated in the western half of Lebanon, and Domur being one of those major cities in the western half of Lebanon that has a strong population of Palestinians and revolutionary Lebanese people... What has occurred is sort of isolation of the revolutionary forces of Lebanon, and you have the fascists in the south who are encroaching... And right now what the fascists are trying to do is unite the eastern strip with the southern strip and that would more completely isolate the revolutionary forces in the western half of Lebanon. So there is a whole military strategy that is developing.

Question: Could you describe the unity between the Palestinian and Lebanese leftist forces?

It's very good. The capitalist press makes the war in Lebanon out to be a religious war between Christians and Moslems. The Phalangists are largely Christian but the entire struggle is a social revolution really. The Lebanese leftists are a mixture of Christians and Moslems. The president of the Lebanese nationalist movement happens to be a Christian so that is not really any kind of factor in this war. The Lebanese lower and middle classes rising up against some of the big landowners and company people and wanting to liberate themselves. The Palestinians have allied themselves with this force because they are revolutionary. There is just a natural affinity between the Palestinian movement and the Lebanese liberation movement because of the socialist elements in both, because of the liberating elements in both. So there is mutual support and there will continue to be. □

Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunal to Open in Chicago August 7, 8, and 9

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249 West 18th Street
New York City, New York 10003.
(212) 242-3900

or
Box 582
6520 Selma Ave.
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Hyatt Hotel Collapse

Murder on the Skybridge Express

Some of the information for this article was provided by correspondence from a co-conspirator in the Kansas City area.

The Hyatt Regency, a 40-story, 750-room hotel, had been praised as the jewel of Kansas City, Missouri's downtown convention center since it opened only one year ago. A flawless jewel with a revolving restaurant on top of its tower and a lobby glistening with 60-foot glass walls, three "sky bridges" crossing the length of the lobby and a "floating staircase" within. The Hyatt's contemporary and thoroughly-modern design was conceived by three local architectural firms to complete a whole cluster of towering gems owned by the Crown Center Redevelopment Company, a subsidiary of Hallmark Cards, Inc. The Hyatt was the showcase of a complex including the Crown Center offices, the Crown Center Hotel, shops, restaurants and apartments.

The Hyatt Hotel (and other Crown Center establishments) was the final success story in Kansas City's efforts to present itself as a shining symbol of progress. The city's image-makers served up a crystalline picture which has made Kansas City one of the top ten convention centers in the country. Brochures boasting of clean air and more fountains than Paris completed the polished image of a city ready for the '80s.

But this illusion of vigor and prosperity was abruptly shattered as a sound like a thunder-crack rent the air on the night of July 17 as 1,500 people gathered for one of the popular Friday evening "tea dances." Suddenly the strains of Duke Ellington's "Satin Doll" and the gaiety and laughter gave way to shrieks of horror as two of the elegant sky bridges buckled in half, swinging downward like a drawbridge in reverse and dumping bodies on the floor. Hundreds of people were left writhing beneath the glass, steel and concrete of the 90,000-lb. catwalks, some killed instantly, others trapped and twisting in pain.

"I could count close to a hundred people lying around, some beyond help," said a young firefighter. "They looked like limp dolls. Some were begging me to get them out..." Rescue workers using three heavy construction cranes, jackhammers and blow torches worked through the night to free the survivors and the dead from tons of debris, piled as high as six feet in some places. The death toll, which now stands at 113, may climb even higher as many remain on the critical list. 188 were injured. "I feel real guilty for being here," said the band's anguished trombone player who was unscathed. "I saw what happened to so many other people... Why'd it happen? Why was the construction the way it was? Why, why, why?"

The coverup began as quickly as the sky bridges had come crashing down. The most vicious trick pulled was the profound "explanation" propagated by the news media nationwide that the disaster was caused by the people themselves as they danced and/or swayed to the rhythm of the music while standing on the walkway, setting off "harmonic" vibrations. Harmonics, or resonance, is a phenomenon where each wave-like motion that reverberates through a structure reinforces the one before it until the stress shakes the structure violently causing it to collapse. To illustrate this TV cameras repeatedly rolled the same 1930s footage of the collapse of a suspension bridge in Washington State due to the resonance precipitated by high winds, conveniently ignoring the fact that in 50 years engineers have learned how to compensate for this phenomenon. Despite the sudden cracking of the walkway and the lack of stress patterns that would indicate vibration failure, this "harmonics" theory persisted for days—a sinister attempt to write off the whole disaster as a fluke, just one of those things brought on by the powerful laws of nature.

Every official connected in any way with the hotel immediately disclaimed responsibility for the disaster and moved to shift the burden of guilt on to others. The Hyatt Hotels Corp., anticipating the \$210 million in lawsuits that has already rolled in, quickly pointed out it did not own the hotel but just managed it. In a letter to Missouri's Governor Bond, the Hyatt officials assured him that the hotel met all building standards and codes in construction and had passed city inspections. At a press conference the president of the corporation assured the public that, "the catwalks were designed to hold people shoulder-to-shoulder, as many as you can jam on there." The president of the Havens Steel Co., the subcontractor who installed the steel beams supporting the walkway, immediately contradicted this, and offered up his own opposite theory. "The main thing, it appeared that the walkways were made for light traffic" and not the heavy load they bore on the night of July 17, he said.

The Kansas City Building and Construction Trades Council, a group of labor hacks, immediately praised the Eldridge and Son Construction Co. which built the Hyatt gem as "one of the most reliable in town." The company is now defunct. The mayor moved to defend the city's inspection standards as being based on a national model and used almost universally throughout the country, even as the city fathers moved to calculate how much damage was done to their convention business because of the disaster.

Exactly how "reliable" and concerned about safety the builders of the Hyatt Regency were can be judged by looking at their track record. The number of "mishaps" which occurred during the construction of the hotel foretold something about the raggedy nature of the structure. An 18-year-old iron worker was killed several months before the completion of the hotel when a 16-foot ceiling beam fell from the top of the building and struck him on the ground below. Then the Occupational Health and Safety Administration discovered that during construction a large section of the lobby roof had caved in.

In the days following the disaster more facts have come to light which point to a slapdash construction job. An investigation by the *Kansas City Star* revealed that a critical design change in the hotel's sky bridges doubled the stress on the part of the walks that later pulled apart during the collapse. While design changes during construction are common, mysteriously enough, the city records do not show

why this change was made, who suggested it, or who approved it. In fact, in thousands of pages of city documents on the Hyatt Hotel only a handful relate to the sky bridges. The omission is even more glaring and dangerous because the sky bridges, with their unique structure, mean a difficult feat of construction.

Under the architect's original plans, two sky bridges, 120 feet long, were suspended in the lobby, one on the fourth floor and another directly beneath it on the second floor. Six steel rods were to be run from the ceiling through the upper bridge directly to the one below. But the actual construction used twelve rods, six suspending the top bridge from the ceiling, the other six hanging the lower bridge from the upper. As a result, the top bridge was subjected to increased stress from two directions. The rods were bolted into steel beams which supported walkways from underneath like the rung of a ladder. When the downward pressure of the lower bridge caused the bolts on the upper bridge to tear through the steel "rung" beams, disaster struck on Friday night, July 17. Whether this failure was caused primarily by a design defect—any combination of 12 rods would appear too weak—or shoddy construction is not yet determined. But further damning evidence was compiled when the *Star's* investigator found that two washers, whose purpose is to spread out the stress where the rods are bolted into the beams, were missing and maybe never installed.

The tragic incident at the Hyatt, leaving hundreds maimed and murdered, was not the first time that city leaders have had to reassess Kansas City's carefully cultivated image. The Hyatt was only the latest, and most deadly, disaster. In July, 1979 the General Motors Assembly Plant roof collapsed from structural damage which the authorities tried to palm off as an "act of God." Then one month later Kemper Arena (named after a prominent banking family) with its "modern" and "revolutionary" roof design collapsed also (luckily, the arena was empty of its usual rock concerts, hockey and basketball crowds).

These unnatural disasters have not afflicted Kansas City alone by any means. According to the American Institute of Architecture (AIA) there has been a big increase in cave-ins and collapses in recent years. A soon-to-be published study by the AIA called "Toward Safer Long-Span Buildings" looks at a sampling of collapses over the last three years: the Rosemont Horizon Arena in the Chicago area in 1979; the Kemper Arena in Kansas City in 1979; the Hartford Civic Center Arena in 1978; the CW Post Auditorium of Long Island University, New York in 1978; and the Berlin Congress Hall last year. While long-span buildings cover a longer open space than the lobby of the Hyatt Hotel, there are striking similarities. And the driving force to maximize profits is the same force that has brought huge arenas and the Hyatt's sky-bridges alike crashing to the ground.

This, the study found, has resulted in two very dangerous problems whose consequences are very similar to the disaster in Kansas City. One major problem leading to collapses is when the owner of the project decides not to retain the original engineers and architects on the construction scene. Instead, changes in design are often supervised by the construction boss, a potentially deadly "economic measure." Another is the creation of a new category on the construction site called the construction manager. His job is solely to speed the building process, to cut down on cost overruns and keep everybody working.

Although the details surrounding the

Continued on page 16

Diablo Canyon:

Gov't Digs In For Defense Of Nuclear Plant

A force of 10,000 police, highway patrol and California National Guard are preparing for the upcoming blockade of the Diablo Canyon nuclear power plant near San Luis Obispo. This was revealed in a confidential memo from the Federal Aviation Administration which included plans for extensive use of helicopters to fly cops into the plant site and fly people arrested out. Several National Guard units have been on alert for over a month.

The plant will be opened any day now for what's called "low-power testing." This means that for the first time nuclear fuel will be loaded into the reactor and the plant will be run for about 3 months at 5% capacity. Once this process is started, putting the plant into full operation is only a matter of time. In fact, the Reagan administration recently announced new streamlined procedures for full licensing and starting up of nuclear plants. The Abalone Alliance, a coalition of anti-nuclear groups throughout California, is gearing up for a blockade and occupation of the plant site hoping to stop the fueling and operation of the plant.

The exact date the nuclear fuel will be loaded is being kept secret by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) and anti-nuclear forces are on a 24-hour notice to begin the blockade. All that remains is a final security clearance from the NRC's Atomic Safety and Licensing Board and the fuel will be loaded, with operation of the plant starting 10 days later.

On July 17th the NRC gave Pacific Gas & Electric (PG&E, the owners of the plant) a license for the "low-power tests" even though tests of release and safety valves used in the plant are far from complete. These valves are designed to let off radioactive steam and gases in the event of "accidents" like at Three-Mile Island. The testing of these valves was initiated in the first place because they malfunctioned at TMI.

This NRC action is typical of their

desperate moves to get Diablo into operation. They have no plan for evacuation of the surrounding population in the event of an accident and they have disregarded the fact that the Hosgri Fault (2-1/2 miles from the reactor) is capable of producing an earthquake 10 times greater than the plant was built to withstand. The existence of the Hosgri Fault was confirmed in 1973 and the NRC immediately set to work to "prove" the plant was still safe. In 1976 the NRC, through the head of the Interior Department, attempted to force the U.S. Geological Survey to revise its estimation of the size earthquake the Fault could produce (which is 7.5 on the Richter Scale, far larger than the earthquake that destroyed much of San Francisco in 1906). When that, and other attempts failed, PG&E "reevaluated" the Diablo Canyon structure and announced that it was actually 10 times stronger than they had thought it was and therefore could withstand a 7.5 earthquake. The NRC has now accepted this reevaluation. The government itself has estimated that a meltdown at Diablo Canyon, 200 miles north of Los Angeles, would result in at least 45,000 deaths, injure 100,000 and leave much of California uninhabitable for thousands of years.

Besides all this, there is still no way to safely dispose of the tons of radioactive waste the plant would produce every year, including over 500 lbs. of plutonium, a microscopic amount of which can cause cancer.

The Diablo Canyon plant has been the focus of California anti-nuclear forces for years. It was blockaded in 1977 and again in 1978 when 487 people were arrested. In 1979, after TMI, over 40,000 demonstrated near the plant. People all over the state (and elsewhere) have been preparing for months to converge on the plant when it opens and the state is obviously preparing to use all means to stop the action. □

Sharpening Contradictions Underlie Cordial Toasts at Ottawa Summit

For many people the much heralded Ottawa Summit of the "Big Seven" imperialist powers of the U.S.-led bloc, which ended on July 22, has already faded into obscurity. And this is certainly not surprising because very little of substance really came out of the meeting besides the affirmation of the fact that these imperialists all recognize the need to unite more firmly as allies against their common enemy, the Soviets and their bloc, as well as the tacit agreement to continue to "disagree" on a number of important questions, particularly in the economic sphere. But notwithstanding the fact that many have justifiably forgotten about the summit already, it is a fact that the heads of state did gather for two days of talks in the resort town of Montebello, Canada, some 40 miles outside of Ottawa. Present were: Ronald Reagan (U.S.), Helmut Schmidt (West Germany), Margaret Thatcher (Britain), Francois Mitterand (France), Zenko Suzuki (Japan), Elliot Trudeau (Canada), Giovanni Spadolini (Italy), and Gaston Thorn, President of the European Common Market.

An important focus of the summit was the growing economic crisis facing these imperialists and the economic contradictions between them that are having and will continue to have very real political consequences within the U.S.-bloc. Behind all the formal cordiality and the desires for unity expressed in the final communique, these contradictions were very much in evidence and the subject of a number of caustic remarks and gestures, particularly from West Germany's Helmut Schmidt. And the fact that no proposals (even fanciful ones) were agreed upon for any steps to remedy these worsening economic problems is simply an admission that there is not a helluva lot they can do about them. While past summits have at least drafted some plan or other (none of which were ever met), this charade was not even played this time around. The past history of these summits, which began in 1975, and were necessitated by the need to pull the U.S. bloc tighter together, forms a record of dismal

failure on this front as reflected in the following quote taken from an article in the *New York Times* on the 1979 meeting in Tokyo:

"*Rambouillet, France, 1975*—The conferees rejected a return to fixed exchange rates while agreeing on the need for monetary stability and for interna-

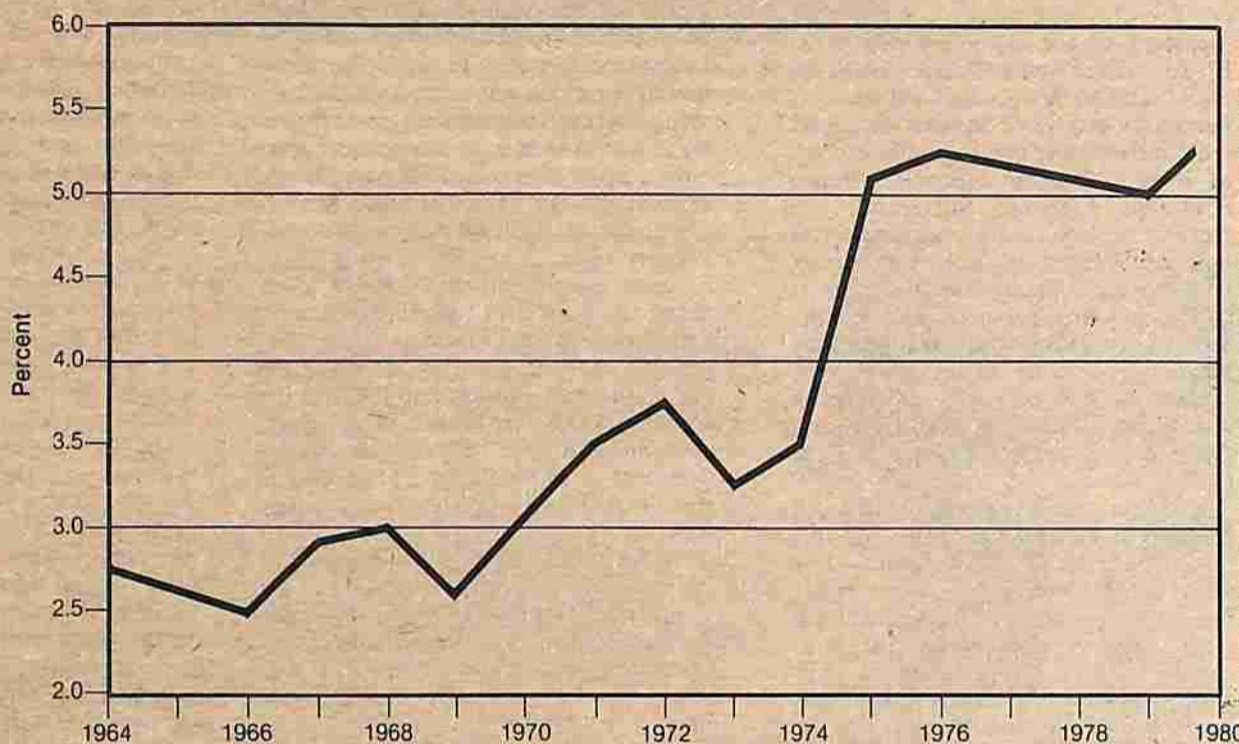
tional economic cooperation. But currency upheavals and international economic sparring matches ensued. *Dorado Beach, Puerto Rico, 1976*—The nations agreed that the greatest danger was inflationary, overly rapid growth. However, unemployment, ignored at the summit, soared to

15 million people in the industrialized countries in the following 12-month period as world economic growth 'paused.' *London, 1977*—The industrialized nations committed themselves to a 5% growth rate for the year, but West Germany and Japan

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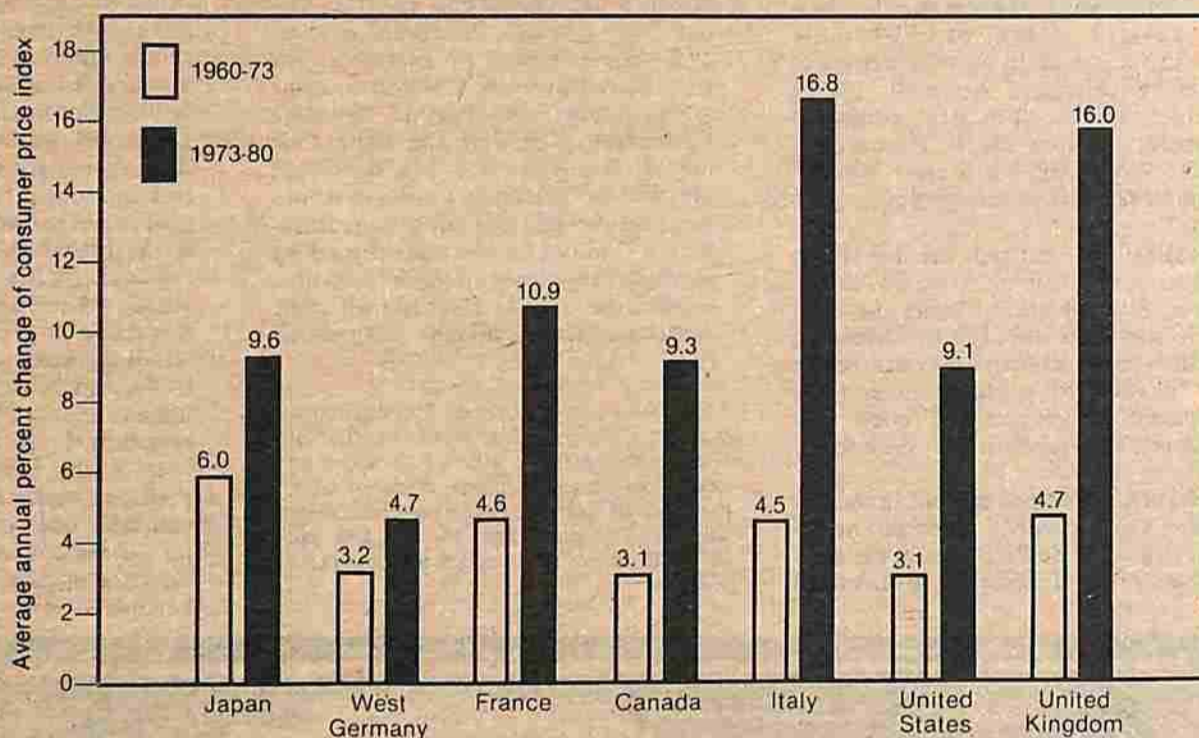
THE U.S. BLOC: AN ECONOMIC PROFILE

Bloc-Wide Unemployment Rate



Source: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development

Inflation Rates in the 1960s and 1970s



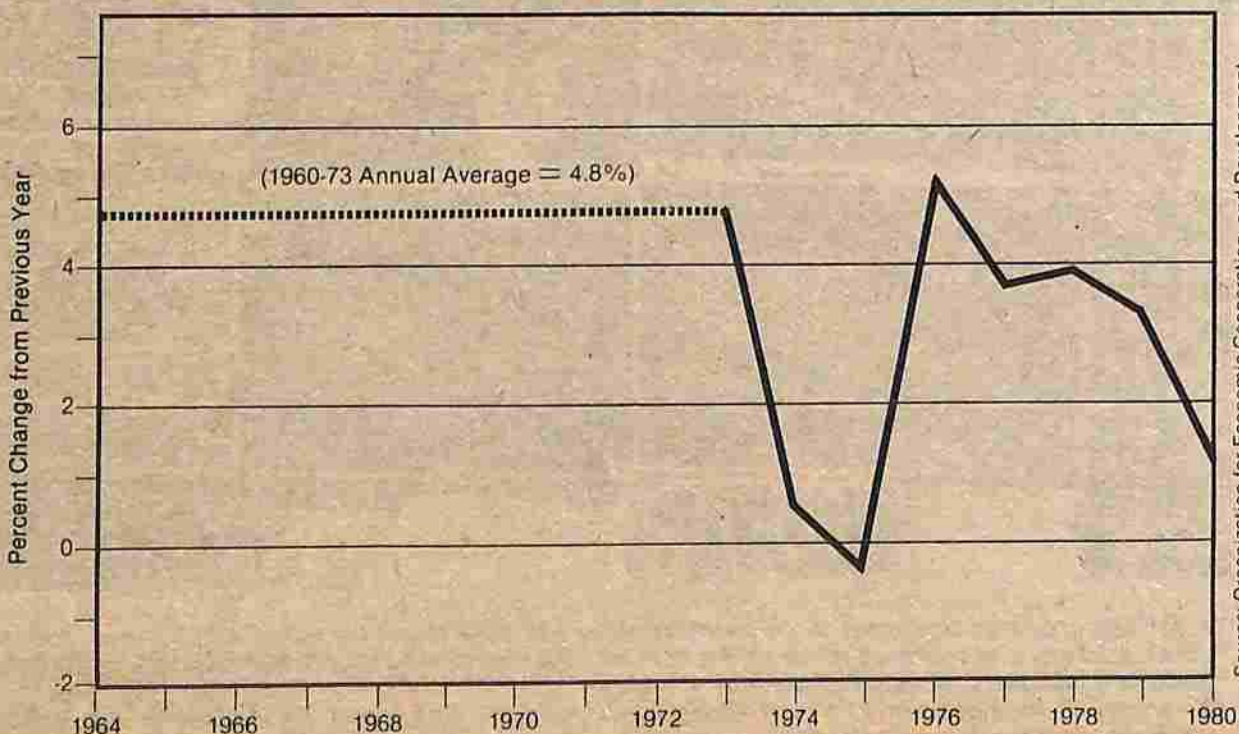
Sources: U.S. Dept. of Commerce, U.S. Dept. of Labor

These charts show some significant signs of the real crisis in which the U.S. and its bloc are caught up in. Unemployment has risen steeply in the 1970s and did not come down significantly even when the U.S. and its bloc had "recovered" from the 1974-75 downturn (and all this by official figures, which understate unemployment by quite a bit); in 1980-81, as these countries slide into another recession, unemployment rises even more. At the same time, the rate of inflation has also shot up within the bloc, as shown in the second chart, despite the good bourgeois theory that inflation is supposed to bring down unemployment and the recession is supposed to bring down inflation. The third shows the real GNP growth rate in the 1970s (in other words, GNP growth adjusted for inflation), which plunges sharply in 1974-75, recovers in 1976—but only to slip downward to the present.

These are all signs of the fact that imperialism worldwide is enmeshed in a crisis of capital accumulation, one from which they cannot escape no matter what economic policies they pursue. Although the crisis is not a straight line down, but has its twists and turns, and the imperialists may make some short-term gains, they are unable to resolve their crisis within the present imperialist political-economic framework, but are driven to try to redivide the world and restructure things through world war.

The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, the source for some of the data in the graphs, is one of the main organizations for economic research and coordination of the U.S. bloc imperialists. Its members are Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, West Germany, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States.

Growth Rate of Real Gross National Product for U.S. Bloc Countries



Source: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development

THE FRENCH C.P.: A SERPENT WITH 2

As we discussed in *RW* No. 112, in late June the new "socialist" managers of French imperialism named four members of the staunchly pro-Soviet French Communist Party (PCF) to their Cabinet. We pointed out that this maneuver may seem strange for a government which is making quite a point of its anti-Moscow attitude. (French President François Mitterand just recently declared in no uncertain terms that the Western alliance must further beef up its military arsenal before it enters into any negotiations with the Soviet Union.) But while strange it may seem, it is actually an interesting new tactic on the part of the French bourgeoisie, under Mitterand's leadership, to help control and weaken the PCF.

However, there is another very interesting and educational aspect of this "controversial" appointment—one which we touched on in our last article but which is worthy of even further study—namely, what the devil are four members of a long-established, die-hard, pro-Soviet revisionist "communist" party doing in the Cabinet of a firmly pro-Western government? And further, what are they doing signing an agreement with the *Parti Socialiste* (PS), now the undisputed ruling party of France, which appears to bind them to several years of "absolute solidarity" on all levels of government from the National Assembly to the municipalities, pledges complete cooperation from the PCF-controlled trade unions, and has a clear Western slant on several key foreign policy questions?

Has the PCF perhaps decided that it is getting too difficult to be pro-Soviet in the Western bloc? Maybe they just can't stand the thought of defending one more Soviet imperialist outrage like the invasion of Afghanistan and are prepared to support French imperialism's alliance with U.S. imperialism?

Hardly. As we pointed out in the last article, the "socialist" offer and agreement was one the PCF couldn't exactly refuse without decimating its ranks and

losing much credibility in the eyes of the French masses. They had to enter into the lair of the enemy, and they had to do it to a certain extent on the enemy's terms. But it would be wrong to view this as anything approaching a fundamental reorientation on the part of the PCF, and in fact, in a certain sense, it is only a highly concentrated example of another day in the life of a pro-Soviet revisionist party operating inside the Western bloc. The PCF is in many ways a classic example of such a party, and therefore it is very instructive to examine the reasons why they are in the government for the first time in 34 years, and how this fits into the overall context of not only French society, but even more so, the international situation and in particular the heightening rivalry between the two imperialist blocs.

To help with this it is worth quoting extensively from "Basic Principles For The Unity Of Marxist-Leninists And For The Line Of The International Communist Movement."

"...the pro-Soviet revisionist parties (speaking specifically of those not in power), while they share many features with traditional social-democrats—especially the essential feature of seeking to prevent proletarian revolution and preserve capitalism but also the fact that they represent a privileged stratum above the masses of workers, that they frequently have union positions, seats in parliament, positions in the state bureaucracy, etc.—at the same time they generally do not seek merely to preserve the reactionary order in its old form but to bring about a reorganization of it into a form of state capitalism in which they play a major or if possible a dominant role in alliance with some sections of the traditional ruling class.

* A draft position paper for discussion prepared jointly by leaders of the RCP of Chile and the RCP, USA. It includes an analysis of these pro-Soviet revisionist CPs, their overall strategy, and the contradictions they face (see paragraphs 141 thru 150, pp. 28-30, all quotes in this article are from these sections).

"This they hold up as the road to 'socialism,' pointing to the Soviet Union as a 'great socialist power' and 'natural ally' of this process in their own countries. And in fact an important part of realizing their own bourgeois aspirations is to move these countries into or toward the 'orbit' of the Soviet social-imperialists."

This quote points out some of the main features of the strategy of the PCF: First, they are an aspiring bourgeois stratum which seeks to preserve and maintain French imperialism and therefore will work to prevent and will not hesitate to crush any real revolutionary movement; second, they do need some real change in order to work their way into power and therefore they advocate a serious restructuring of French society into a form of state capitalism with them in key positions in the state; third, to accomplish this restructuring they must push aside and replace some sections of the current French bourgeoisie while uniting with others; and fourth, they hope to achieve this strategy with the backing of the Soviet social-imperialist state.

Further, in order to carry out their plans the PCF needs, and has developed, a large mass following which they use as bargaining chips both in their haggling and jockeying for power with the traditional French bourgeoisie and to keep themselves in favor with the Soviet Union. "This mass following, plus the fact that the ever growing parasitism of imperialism produces the necessity for the state to play an increasing role in the capitalist economy, and combined with the weight of the Soviet Union behind these revisionists, provides a basis for them to seriously pursue the strategy described here. And it is crucial to grasp that theirs is a conscious worked out policy and not merely a question of deviations or an erroneous view of how to achieve socialism."

It is the existence of Soviet imperialism that makes this plan actually realizable and not just some revisionist pipe dream. What the PCF is counting on strategically is that the world balance of forces will eventually swing

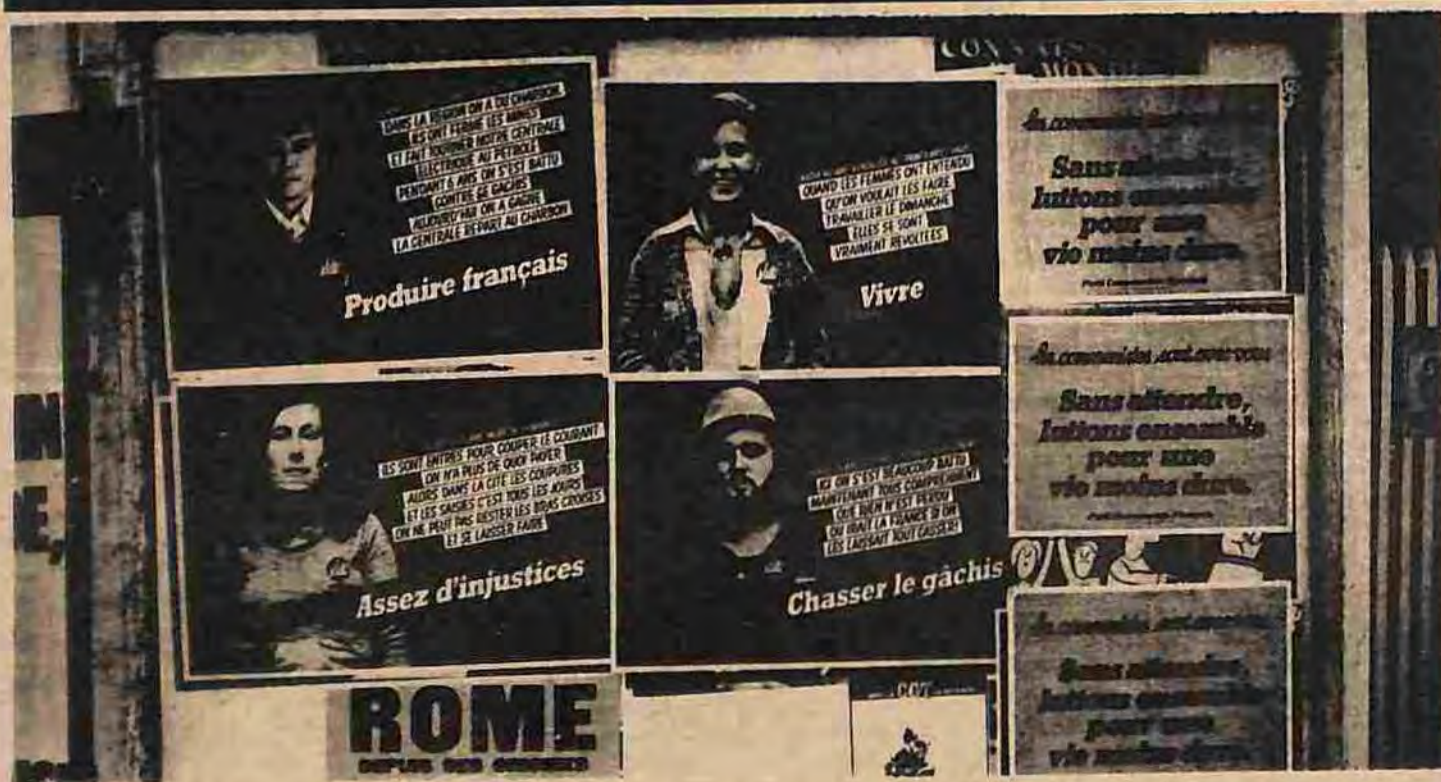
decisively towards the Soviet Union, that U.S. imperialism will suffer permanent setbacks relative to the Soviets, and that, in that context, they can use their Soviet backing and have enough masses behind them as leverage to push their way into power while moving France closer to or into the Soviet bloc. Soviet imperialism is necessary to this strategy because the PCF can never really unleash the masses and yet must have some substantial power behind them. They can't unleash the masses as a real revolutionary force both because this could provoke the French bourgeoisie into cracking down on them (the PCF) and might blow apart the whole scheme, and even more fundamentally because they are afraid the masses will get out of hand and go too far creating an authentic revolutionary movement which would have no place for an aspiring bourgeois force like the PCF.

So, even though the PCF will sometimes "mobilize the masses, even on occasion in militant activity—though always under their tight control," they will only do this when it is necessary to "dissipate the masses' energy in narrow reformist channels" or "as a means of increasing [the PCF's] strength...in bargaining with sections of the bourgeoisie in pursuit of their overall strategy." Again, this shows that Soviet imperialism is the key force behind the PCF. In the final analysis they know that the French bourgeoisie which is relatively tightly wedded to the U.S. bloc militarily, politically, economically and ideologically, is not going to portion out or bequeath power to another group, or move towards the Soviet Union, without a significant external pressure combined with the appropriate internal conditions. A simple "please" will not do the trick, even if it is hollered by tens of thousands of militant but non-revolutionary workers and others.

Another essential aspect "of this strategy is the attempt to reconcile or 'merge' the 'national interests' of their countries and of the Soviet Union." "Thus, ...[the revisionists'] stance of combining allegiance to the nation with support for the Soviet social-imperialists is not simply an attempt to appeal to the philistine chauvinism of their social base—a philistinism and chauvinism they actively promote—but represents these revisionists' actual highest aspirations and in particular their efforts to unite with sections of the bourgeoisie on the basis that their common interests are best served by moving towards accommodation with the Soviet bloc." Needless to say, all this involves some extremely sharp contradictions, including at times and to varying degrees with Soviet imperialism.

PCF History

For most people alive in France today the PCF is communism, because they have never seen anything different. Since at least as far back as the 1930s the PCF has been wrapping itself in the French tricolor and singing the Marseillaise (national anthem), playing a major role in narrowing and confining the political activity and outlook of the masses, and supporting French colonial efforts. During that entire period they have pretty consistently supported Soviet policy, including notably several bad lines when the Soviet Union was still socialist which the PCF eagerly leapt on with counter-revolutionary relish—not to mention their slavish toadying after the USSR went revisionist. To this day they still offer the



Tantalizing promises to appeal to the national pride and aspirations for upward mobility of the mainly white, French workers who make up much of the French CP's electoral base: (from left to right): "To produce French", "Enough injustices", "To Live", "Clear up the Mess." The poster on the right sums up their appeal to the masses, "the communists are with you—without delay, let's fight together for an easier life."

R HEADS

Soviet Union as a model of socialism—adapted of course to “French democratic traditions.”

In the late '30s, with the approach of World War II, they were loudly calling for unity with French imperialism while aiming all the hatred for a war caused equally by both imperialist blocs towards Germany with calls of “voilà l'ennemi.” From then on, including throughout the war (and despite the temporary twist brought about by the USSR-Germany non-aggression pact) they never deviated from the position of being the staunch defenders of the French nation. Therefore it should have surprised no one when as the war ended they greatly aided DeGaulle's efforts to restabilize the French bourgeois dictatorship and further the interests of French imperialism by joining in his government and issuing the slogan “One state, one police force, one army.” They then called for “patriotic production committees” to “rebuild the greatness of France, to secure in more than words the material conditions of French independence.”

To further “rebuild the greatness of France,” they aided directly or indirectly France's colonial campaigns, including the invasion and plunder of Vietnam, to which cause they even provided a member of their party as the minister of defense for four months in 1947, and its attempted suppression of the Algerian revolutionary movement as well as other North African struggles. The head of the PCF in those days, Maurice Thorez, even said: “The interests of the peoples of North Africa lay in union with the people of France”—which, it should be clear, meant under French guns!

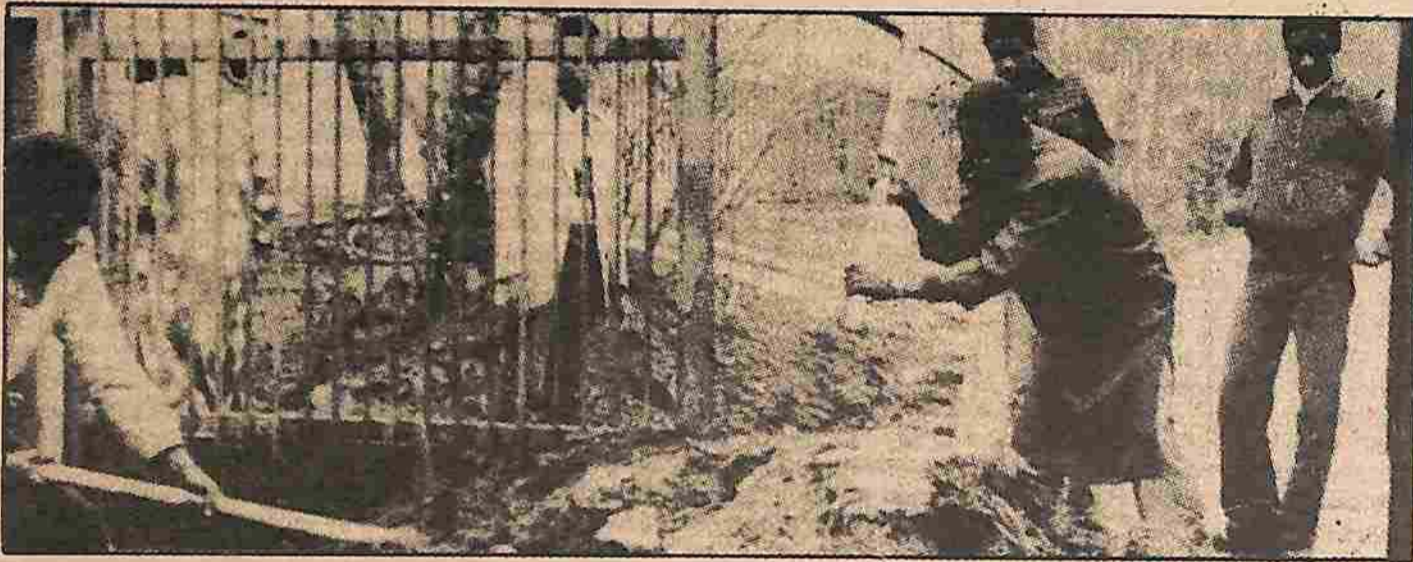
The PCF was able to emerge from World War II with a fairly sizeable mass base, which it established both before but especially during the war through reformist organizing and by being dedicated fighters for the French nation. They were then able to maintain much of their size and influence principally because of the relatively weakened position of post-war France. The French bourgeoisie didn't have the resources required to carry out the extensive bribery, combined with selected repression, which would have been necessary to win large numbers of masses away from the PCF (this was, by the way, the successful strategy applied by the bourgeoisie in the U.S.). In addition, the French bourgeoisie didn't feel the PCF was enough of a threat at the time to warrant the all-out measures that would have been required to completely crush them. For the time, they settled for squeezing them out of the government in 1947.

Since then, and through many twists and turns, the PCF has remained a substantial bourgeois force to reckon with. They have been able to maintain a relatively stable mass base of support, including in addition to many skilled workers, trade union hacks, and PCF political flunkies, large numbers of factory workers (overwhelmingly French as opposed to immigrant) who while not necessarily highly paid are used to steady employment, and good fringe benefits. The outlook of large sections of these workers can be accurately characterized as stability oriented, aspiring to upward mobility, philistine, and proudly French.

The PCF itself has worked its way into controlling positions in some capitalist enterprises including some joint enterprises with Soviet international financial institutions. But, its main strength (other than its backing

Above: Last Christmas the French CP mayor of Vitry, a working-class suburb of Paris, personally drove a bulldozer through the doors of a renovated building housing 300 immigrant workers from the former French West African colony of Mali. This little “communist” wrecking crew gutted the hallways, cutting off gas and water supplies, and ripping electrical and phone lines out of the wall... part of the PCF campaign to “fight immigrant concentrations in our communities”

Below, the Malians work to repair the damage the next day.



from the Soviet Union) at this time lies in its extensive bourgeois political machine, which includes its trade union operation, the CGT which is the dominant trade union organization in France, its control of quite a number of municipalities, and the party itself.

The PCF Machine

The CGT, in a way quite similar to the machinations of the AFL-CIO in this country, plays the role of a reactionary political apparatus. It is the principal weapon of leverage the PCF has within France on the bourgeoisie. To maintain itself it extorts money from the bourgeoisie in return for keeping its workers in line and acts as a conduit for spreading around some of the spoils of French imperialism. The CGT works tirelessly to keep its base principally concerned with their own welfare and the welfare of “La France,” to which they are trained to feel indebted for the “fringes” they receive. Of course, they are also constantly reminded that they would have nothing without the CGT and the real sugar daddy behind it, the PCF.

In the past the CGT and the PCF have also had a ready made answer and solution to propose when economic difficulties decreased the scraps available for bribery within the working class. They could just blame it on the capitalist government while fueling their arguments for the PCF's strategy for change, and could if necessary even organize some militant protests. However now, just when the economy is suffering increasing inflation and unemployment, the PCF has joined the government and promised cooperation and labor peace. It will be interesting to watch how this contradiction develops.

The other main way the PCF “delivers the goods” to the masses and maintains its base is through the PCF-controlled municipalities, where PCF members and supporters generally hold all the key positions from mayor to chief of police, not to mention filling the ranks of the *flics* (cops) themselves. For a number of years these municipalities have had a reputation for being “pro-worker” because they have more welfare-type services and subsidized housing than other districts, and sometimes they even have nicer playgrounds or summer camps for the kids. These

municipalities have provided a deep reservoir of support for the PCF, in areas where they are tightly concentrated like in the Paris suburbs which have come to be known as the “Red Belt.”

But lately, times have been getting rough, and these municipalities have been less and less able to maintain the accustomed services and have found themselves scrambling just to keep their heads above water. This sets up a dangerous situation for the PCF as they can't even “deliver the goods” in their own districts yet must play a direct role in maintaining (bourgeois) order. Many French bourgeois elements have been only too happy to add to the PCF's problems, while trying to unload some of their own, by attempting to overload the systems in the “Red Belt.”

One concrete form this has taken has been for the government to arrange things so that many of the incoming immigrants to France have found themselves funneled or assigned into the PCF districts where they were already having a tendency to gravitate. Besides straining the “Red Belt” services to the breaking point, the influx of immigrants cuts directly against the PCF's French strategy—“La France” was, after all, meant for the French not for a bunch of immigrants. All this has driven the PCF into a chauvinist frenzy which has included desperate attacks on Blacks and North Africans in an attempt to terrorize them out of the “Red” municipalities (or better yet—out of France). In one infamous recent example a PCF mayor led a bulldozer charge to wipe out a boarding house for African workers.

This PCF tactic, however, has had a two-sided effect: because while on the one hand it does help to solidify the French “red neck” elements of their base who see it as necessary to protect their petty interests, it also angered many of the more progressive and intermediate elements of the “left”—not to mention the immigrants themselves. This second aspect was dramatically highlighted recently when a PCF member, who was attempting to read a message of “solidarity” with the people's struggle in El Salvador at a university forum organized around that theme, was drowned out by hundreds of students chanting “Vitry! Vitry!”, in reference to the now infamous site of

the PCF's most outrageous bulldozer attack against immigrants, and “PCF—raciste!”

The View From Inside the Mitterand Nutcracker

We have already discussed how the PCF couldn't very well refuse the government's offer without losing a tremendous amount of support and credibility. After all, Mitterand's Parti Socialiste (PS) does seem to be advocating much of the PCF program—nationalizations, reduction of working hours at the same pay, better benefits, etc., and they *are* a government of the “left.” Besides, we can see now how the PCF would want every position in the government it could get to keep the crumbs flowing in the right directions (to them and their social base). No, the PCF better have a pretty damn good reason not to play ball with this government, and its lack of support for the Soviet Union is not good enough—or is it? This is the crux of the debate that is most likely being fiercely waged on the top levels of the PCF itself. In fact, this question has been posing itself with ever-increasing sharpness over the past several years as world tensions have mounted. So much so, that in 1977, just before the last national assembly elections, and at a time when the PCF could more afford a stance independent from the PS, which was not as large or as powerful as it is today (and not backed by the bourgeoisie as much), the PCF split the “union of the left” because the PS was taking a firm position in support of the Atlantic alliance and in opposition to the Soviet Union. (The PCF cited internal economic reasons on a par with the foreign policy issues, but this was probably more for public consumption and was unlikely to reflect the key differences.)

When the current election campaign started, the PCF again found itself in quite a quandry, because the Soviets made it clear from the very beginning that they preferred incumbent President Giscard whom they saw as less openly anti-Soviet, and further they reasoned, his continued presidency would have avoided some of the now intensifying pressures on the PCF. But what kind of a “leftist” political party campaigns for

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A Call to Correspond on World War, Revolutionary Defeatism

"Sooner or Later"

In our continuing effort to encourage debate in our paper around the most decisive political and ideological questions of the revolutionary movement, we are below reprinting some sections from a booklet "Sooner or Later", (New Outlook Press), written by a group called the Communist Unity Organization and printed in 1980. These sections, we feel, best capsule the book's basic argument—an argument on which we have many times expressed our opinion, most recently and comprehensively in the documents of

our 1980 Central Committee meeting, reprinted in this newspaper and in Revolution magazine. Except to repeat our conclusion that the line expressed in this book is counter-revolutionary and to refer readers to the above cited documents we will not comment on the material we are reprinting here. This is because our purpose is to encourage our readers to write letters (of which we will print the most significant) expressing their opinions on and understanding of the line of these excerpts.

We are opening this debate and con-

ducting it in this way because we feel that the questions raised here—particularly the question of whether the correct revolutionary policy is revolutionary defeatism or an alliance with one or another imperialist power (in this case the U.S. imperialists) against some world scale "main enemy"—are in fact decisive questions which will increasingly determine the possibility for great advance or great wrecking of the revolutionary movement, in this country and internationally. Ultimately, the success of any revolutionary movement

depends on whether the broad masses, especially the advanced in society, grapple with the life and death questions of political and ideological line and, on that basis, truly take up the revolutionary line and the science of Marxism as their own weapons. We invite your comments, of any sort. (The entire booklet can be obtained by sending \$3.50 to New Outlook Press, P.O. Box 731, Cambridge, MA 02139.)

INTRODUCTION

As we enter the decade of the 1980s, events of historic significance are taking place. Headlines in the daily papers focus on the international scene. Datelines come from every part of the globe—the Middle East, South Asia, Southeast Asia, Latin and Central America and southern Africa. Behind many events lies a force which casts a shadow on the future of the '80s—one which threatens to shatter world peace with the third world war of this century.

We are not only entering a new decade: we are living today in a new period, one characterized by the decline of the United States and the rise of the Soviet Union as the most aggressive power in the world. At the same time, Third World countries are achieving greater independence from post-World War II imperialist and colonial powers. They are beginning to act together economically and politically and their voice is increasing in volume in international forums. Yet, just as the Third World is beginning to make gains, they are threatened by a new imperialism—social imperialism—which is all the more dangerous to their development for its cover as a friend to liberation movements. And Soviet hegemonism does not stop in the Third World. The presence of 3.2 million Soviet troops in the Warsaw Pact countries and Soviet forces on the Kurile Islands throws a pall over the futures of Europe and Japan as well.

It is in the interest of the people of the world to seek ways to postpone impending war so as to preserve peace and maintain their independence. Only by forming a united front on a world-wide scale can the Soviet Union be halted in its drive for world domination and World War III be postponed.

A NEW PERIOD— ON THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

The United States emerged from World War II as the major political, economic and military force in the world. By 1975, it had fallen from its perch atop the globe. While many of the main contenders for world power had lost their empires during the second world war, the United States profited from it. The U.S. dollar became the currency standard for the international monetary system. Through multinational corporate investments, trade restrictions, foreign aid, massive U.S. military forces, an extensive network of covert operations, control of world monetary organs and the United Nations, the United States dominated and controlled a significant portion of the world.

But even so, the decline of the United States was foreshadowed soon after World War II with the "loss" of China, the Korean War and the Cuban revolution. The erosion of U.S. power intensified with the emergence of independent nations in Africa and Asia in the 1950s and '60s and the growing independence of the European economic and political community. At home, it faced the beginning of recurring

economic crises and domestic turmoil. Finally, the United States, the seemingly invincible superpower, was defeated in its massive war effort in Indochina and was exposed as a paper tiger in the eyes of the world.

As a result, the United States has been forced to maintain a defensive posture in the world. Former strongmen of the United States have fallen in Iran and Nicaragua. The "Cuban Missile Crisis" of 1979 has come and gone with Soviet troops still practicing field maneuvers in Cuba. The U.S. remains powerless in the face of the hostage crisis in Iran and the invasion of Afghanistan. While it remains a superpower, it is a superpower seeking to maintain the status quo.

The Soviet Union, on the other hand, has passed onto the strategic offensive. Its actions throughout the world since 1975, either through direct action or through its use of Cuban and Vietnamese troops have been increasingly aggressive. A pattern is beginning to emerge. We need only recall the Soviets' hand in Angola in 1975, Zaire in 1976, Ethiopia in 1977, Eritrea in 1978, Kampuchea, Laos and South Yemen in 1979 and Afghanistan in 1980 to see the picture of Soviet activity.

The roots of this offensive can be traced to the development of modern revisionism and the dismantling of the Russian socialist economy in the 1950s and 1960s. Socialism has been replaced by social imperialism.

Not only is the Soviet Union on a strategic offensive, but it is more dangerous than the United States in its efforts to achieve global domination. As Susan Warren puts it:

"The Soviet Union is seen as the Ivan-come-lately on the imperial scene. Also riddled with internal and external problems and short of foreign exchange to pay for the grain, equipment and technology it buys from the West, it desperately needs a redivision of the world's resources and markets. As a latecomer it is hungrier, more aggressive, and more willing to take risks which could trigger events that might escalate into a big war... Lacking the enormous financial reserves, productive capacity of the U.S., it relies heavily on sheer military clout. It is, in short, on the offensive. Its internal economy and political life are more highly centralized and monopolized than even those of the U.S. It can place its whole economy on a war footing with greater speed and less disruption than its rival. Moreover, while U.S. imperialism is well known to the [world's] people for what it is... Moscow continues to drape itself in the mantle of its socialist past and is able to deceive people by using socialist rhetoric to cover its expansionist acts."

The Soviet Union is also dangerous in another respect—that it seeks to spread its brand of fascism to all parts of the world. By imposing "revolution" by direct invasion or by imposing its will through economic strangulation and the "international division of labor," it eliminates all vestiges of national self-determination and democracy.

Soviet activity has been the most visible in Third World countries. But this is

only part of a broader strategy aimed at taking Europe in order to achieve its ultimate aim of world domination. Its military presence in the Persian Gulf and in Southeast Asia figures in a scheme to deprive Europe and Japan of vital and strategic resources.

In the last thirty years, we have seen the development of the U.S. and the Soviet Union into superpowers and a shift in their relationship in the latter half of the 1970s. Many changes have also occurred in the Third World. A vast majority of the nations in Asia and Africa have won national independence from colonial rule. More and more countries of the Third World are joining together in new regional associations such as the ANDEAN Pact, ASEAN, OAU, unlike formerly U.S.-dominated military alliances, to protect their sovereignty and to develop their economies. The non-aligned movement is growing and its members are changing the character of international organizations such as the United Nations. OPEC actions are having a tremendous impact on the world—in its oil pricing and its fund to aid developing countries. Associations such as the OAS and the Arab Summit have spoken out for the removal of Somoza and in opposition to the Israeli occupation of Jerusalem, respectively. ASEAN has condemned the invasion of Kampuchea while the Islamic conference is uniting to oppose the invasion of Afghanistan. Countries of the Third World are working together to develop a new international economic order. China has begun to modernize its economy and has normalized relations with the U.S. None of these developments is taking place smoothly without setbacks, but they are taking place.

Nevertheless, the progress of the Third World does not alter the fact that the factors for war are growing and have been growing rapidly over the last five years. That is why we say that the new period is a pre-war period. It is not a period of "detente" or Cold War II, rather it is a period in which a world war might occur sooner rather than later in the absence of a conscious international effort to halt the Soviet Union and to postpone war.

NEW TASKS— UNITED FRONT AGAINST HEGEMONISM

The current international situation is very similar to the 1930s—a time when the Western countries attempted to appease Nazi Germany. Then, as now, appeasement meant giving in to aggression in the hope or expectation that this would deter further aggression. Present day appeasement takes several forms, the most significant being territorial appeasement—the Soviet Union has been allowed to take Ethiopia, South Yemen, Afghanistan. It has also been helped to build its military force and prepare for war by trade policies, credits, loans and direct investment. And it has played on the appeasement sentiment. Its reliance on peace treaties and SALT talks have created an illusion of "detente" similar to Hitler's "outstretched hand."

The lessons of Munich must be applied to the current situation. When a similar scenario developed in the 1930s, the Soviet Union, which was then a progressive and peace-loving country, called for governments to participate in measures of collective security. They called for the peoples of the world to oppose their governments' appeasement policies. The strategy to oppose appeasement and stop the Soviet Union today is a united front of Second and Third World countries, joined by the United States and united against hegemonism.

The purpose of a united front against hegemonism is to postpone war. It is not simply a military alliance, but rather the joint effort of many countries to oppose Soviet expansionism. Its aim is to postpone the outbreak of war until the world understands that the Soviet Union is not a progressive, socialist or communist country and until the strength of those forces participating in this front has been consolidated to guarantee that the Soviet Union will not be victorious, or that there will be no war.

Unlike the united front against fascism in the 1930s, the Third World will play the leading role in the united front against hegemonism. Because developing countries (which constitute over three-fourths of the world's population) have been ruled and robbed by foreign nations, and because these countries include China, the Third World is the best guarantor of national sovereignty. Some developing countries are already taking a stand against Soviet moves. The non-aligned movement has condemned the invasion of Kampuchea and nations of Asia, Africa and South America have also condemned the invasion of Afghanistan. The Islamic Conference is beginning to explore joint defensive action to counter further Soviet encroachment in the Persian Gulf. But even as the Afghan rebels make valiant efforts to rid their country of Soviet troops, their forces are no match for the Soviet Union armed with sophisticated weaponry and the lessons learned from the U.S. in Vietnam. Even the combined forces of the Islamic Conference do not pose a sufficient deterrent to Soviet aggression. In addition, many Third World countries and liberation movements do not yet see the true face of the Soviet Union or are so weak economically that they run the risk of Soviet domination.

In this light, the U.S. is a positive factor in the united front against hegemonism. The relative weakness and fragile unity of Third World countries and Europe and Japan compared to the military capabilities and centralization of Soviet forces means that American military strength is a decisive counterweight to the Soviet Union. The U.S. also has an important economic role to play. This includes not only economic sanctions against the Soviet Union, but also strengthening the Third World through technological exchanges and through the development of trade and loan policies beneficial to Third World development.

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Book Review:

"In the Belly of the Beast"

Letters from Prison"



In the Belly of the Beast, Letters from Prison, by Jack Henry Abbott, Random House, 1981. Available at Revolution Books.

Within the short space of one week, author and ex-convict Jack Henry Abbott made headlines twice in the *New York Times*. The *New York Times Book Review*, page 3 of the Sunday, July 19 issue hailed Abbott's new book, *In the Belly of the Beast* (review on this page), as "...the most intense, I might even say the most fiercely visionary book of its kind in the American repertoire of prison literature...awesome, brilliant...." The next Sunday, July 26, the *New York Times* made front-page news out of a murder incident in which Abbott, the prime (and only) suspect, is wanted for "questioning."

Eagerly taking up the call to "keep these animals in their cages," *Time* and *Newsweek* each open articles about Abbott and the July 18 murder of a young restaurant waiter with quotes from a passage in Abbott's book describing what it's like to murder someone (Abbott had once been convicted for knifing another prison inmate). They proceed from there to picture him as an emotionally unbalanced, violence-prone ex-con, thrown into a whirlwind of publicity and celebrity status immediately upon his release from jail, who obviously could not "cope with freedom" and belongs behind bars. They generously use quotes from Abbott's own writings about his hatred and anger at his treatment in prison to convict him for a murder on the streets of New York City. (Events surrounding this recent murder are highly questionable, to say the least.) The bourgeois media (including, now, the national TV networks) have found themselves an opportunity to trash Jack Henry Abbott and his book, an angry denunciation of America and its system of injustice.

The fact that this book not only made it into print but was getting top-notch promotion is somewhat remarkable. It is probably due in large part to the influence of author Norman Mailer, who got behind both Abbott as a tremendous writer and his book, which carries a forceful exposure of current prison conditions. Factors operating in the minds of the execs at Random House no doubt included the money that could be made from an exceptionally good book on a topic of great interest. And the indisputable "high literary quality" of the book had to be recognized by the reviewers (although *People* magazine never did like it much—their article, which came out before the recent incident, "revealed" that Abbott had been "one of the country's most incorrigible inmates").

Now they gleefully use the very anger

and rebelliousness that make Abbott's writing so powerful to convict him and to not too subtly scream that others like this "criminal-minded convict" deserve everything they get and should never be turned loose on the streets. It is his anger and rebelliousness—and his revolutionary sentiments—which they so vehemently hate. And it is exactly these qualities which bring his book to our attention as very much worth reading.

"I cannot adjust to daily life in prison. For almost twenty years this has been true. I have never gone a month in prison without incurring disciplinary action for violating 'rules.' Not in all these years...I have never accepted that I did this to myself. I have never been successfully indoctrinated with that belief...Every minute for years you are forced to believe that your suffering is a result of your 'ill behavior,' that it is self-inflicted...But if a guard knocks me to the floor, only by indoctrination can I be brought to believe I did it to myself. If I am thrown in the prison hole for having violated a prison rule—for having, for example, shown insolence to a pig—I can only believe I brought this upon myself through *indoctrination*...Responsibility? I am not responsible for what the government—its system of justice, its prisons—has done to me...I do not share in the sins of this guilty country; we are not 'all in this together!'"

"...The every whim of a backward pig is law for a prisoner today. A prisoner can be murdered, framed for crimes he never committed, tortured within an inch of his life—and all that is required in explanation is a single, unquestioned statement of a pig that there was no foul play on his part. Nothing more."

Jack Abbott calls himself "state-raised." Since the age of twelve, he had been free a sum total of nine and a half months. At age 37, that added up to 25 years in prison. By his own estimate, fourteen or fifteen years of that were spent in solitary confinement due to his repeated tendency to rebel against the shit dished out daily by the guards and the routine workings of the entire prison system. He says, "There is a way a convict can walk... (or) a way of *looking* at them that they interpret as defiance." And defiant he most certainly is—which not only earned him no end of trouble in one prison after another, but enabled him to write a powerful exposé of "life" in America's penitentiaries, as well as a searing indictment of the whole American system.

Abbott's book consists of a collection of excerpts from letters he wrote to Norman Mailer over a period of three years—letters through which he at-

tempted to give Mailer some insight into the conditions existing in prisons today and also into the effects of such conditions on the inmates subjected to them. He describes the many and varied forms of physical and psychological torture used by the authorities to try crushing their captives into submission. And laced throughout his stories are his philosophical and political comments on the guards, other inmates, racism, human nature, the American system and world revolution. You see, in all those years in prison, Abbott—like so many others who are locked behind bars—hungrily read everything he could get his hands on ("I pursued philosophy not as a disinterested science, not as a student or scholar, but because my life depended upon it") and eagerly took up and studied Marxist revolutionary theory.

We have heard many times before from eloquent and revolutionary-minded prisoners speaking out against the conditions that repeatedly bring things to the boiling point of prisoner strikes, hostage seizures and Pontiac Rebellions. But it's not very often that such statements make it into print as a book, published and promoted by a major publisher. And Abbott has all the necessary rage and writing skill to portray vividly through the eyes of one man, the outrageous conditions upheld so recently by the highest court in the land (see *RW* No. 113, "Prisons are *Supposed* to be Hell").

By far the most compelling part of his book, greatly strengthened by the rebellious political outlook he brings to it all, is his graphic description of prison life. Opening briefly with the story of his boyhood spent in penal institutions ("for the 'crime' of 'failure to adjust to foster homes'"), Abbott then draws on his own extensive experience to detail the various forms of punishment prisoners are subjected to in the desperate attempt of the authorities and their guards to intimidate and master.

"...A great number of practices in prisons these last fifteen to twenty years have been *legally* abolished as cruel and unbecoming to these 'civilised times' it is alleged that we live in...I have gained a *reputation* among prison authorities that extends from the time those illegal conditions existed, that stretches to this very day unbroken. I simply resisted those conditions that today are 'officially' abolished—but at the time, the law was not on my side. Any more than it is today."

There were the *Blackout cells*, with nothing but a sleeping mat and a sink-toilet. "Not a crack of light entered that cell, *anywhere*—and I searched, in the days that followed, for such a crack along every inch of the door and the walls...I counted 23 days by the meals...a bowl of broth and a hard

biscuit once a day...."

The *Starvation diet* was handed out as punishment in increments of 29 days at a time. You were thrown into the hole and given just enough food and water to exist. As Abbott describes it, once your stomach shrinks down, the pain extends to the rest of your body as your muscle tissues begin to dissolve. He himself did a stretch of 70 consecutive days of this torture because he continued to give them hell even as he grew incredibly weakened from starvation. By his account, it was only when other prisoners tried to take a hostage to demand his release, that he was finally taken to the prison infirmary.

The *tranquilizers*. "...Prolixin is the worst I've ever experienced. One injection lasts for two weeks...These drugs, in this family, do not calm or sedate the nerves. They attack. They attack from so deep inside you, you cannot locate the source of the pain. The drugs *turn* your nerves in upon yourself. The drugs are designed to render you so totally involved with yourself physically that all you can do is concentrate your entire being on holding yourself together...."

The *Gas tank*, where you were tear-gassed with no ventilation. The *strip-cells*, the *psychological observation cells*, and solitary confinement: *the hole*. "They finally put a name on what I have suffered in solitary: *sensory deprivation*. The first few times I served a couple of years like that, I saw only three or four drab colors. I felt only concrete and steel. When I was let out, I could not orient myself...The movements of things, the many prisoners walking about, and their multitude of voices—all going in different directions—bewildered me. I was slow and slack-jawed and confused—but beneath the surface I raged."

All of this, of course, is above and beyond the daily and routine harassment and brutality of the small army of gun-toting pigs which enforce law and order within the prison walls. Abbott is at his most contemptuous in his stories of their manners and mentality. "The guards *do not* have anything but 'cold' characters. When they step out of being 'cold characters,' they inevitably become *obscenities*...Extremely devoid of any trace of spirituality. Their dullness approaches the mentally defective. It is *fascist*. The very symbol of injustice. The *state*...gives them *arbitrary* power over prisoners. They embrace it as a way of life."

And it is under the sinister guidance of these very guards that one of the most sophisticated methods of control is employed—by a prison system which has been forced to back off of some of the more blatant forms of torture due to the bright spotlight focused on them

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A Serpent With 2 Heads

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the main candidate of the "right"—the PCF couldn't go along with that (at least not openly). So they ran their own candidate, Georges Marchais, in contrast to the last Presidential election in 1974 when a united "left" backed Mitterand. Marchais jumped out before any other major candidate with a campaign which almost equally attacked Giscard and Mitterand in an attempt to establish a firm role for the PCF, and to win as many votes in the first round as possible (they knew they would not win the Presidency) to use as bargaining chips in the impending struggles for influence and power.

If Giscard won the final round (which quite a few PCF members secretly hoped and apparently some even broke ranks by voting for Giscard and encouraging others to do the same), the PCF was hoping to be able to remain a dominant force, if not the dominant force, in the "left" opposition to the government, and if Mitterand won they wanted as much clout as possible in dealing with him. But as the Mitterand star continued to rise they found themselves more and more boxed in. When it became clear that it was really possible for Mitterand to win, and later for the PS to completely control the National Assembly, practically everybody on the "left," except for fairly firm PCF supporters, got caught up in the excitement and voted PS. The PCF was now faced with a situation where the votes of the PCF members and supporters could keep Mitterand out of power, but even if they had decided to try and swing them against him—they probably couldn't have done it. A break with Mitterand and the PS at this point, just when millions of voters felt to one degree or another that the PS offered a real hope for change, would have cast the PCF in the image of the wreckers of this hope, and this was an image they could not afford.

Again we see another irony in the life of a revisionist party like the PCF. Exactly when they might well have been better off to break with the "left" and strike a pose of militant opposition, they couldn't do it because they're trapped in their own bourgeois logic. For the PCF the question of being a mass party is crucial to its further existence—who the hell wants to join a non-revolutionary party that doesn't even have any political muscle to swing around? And more, a marginal party will be in no position to push their way into power if and when the world power balance becomes favorable—the traditional French bourgeoisie could just tell them to go jump in a lake and if necessary could perhaps make their own deal with the Soviet Union, or the Soviets might even dump the PCF for a more significant force inside France.

As a result the PCF had to stick with

the united "left" and was handed no small electoral defeat. The French bourgeoisie, recognizing their rising need to deal with the PCF, had taken advantage of a specific set of historical circumstances, including the absence of any significant mass movement which the PCF would play off of, to offer the PS as the concretely attainable "left" alternative, and to knock the PCF down a few pegs. It is interesting to note that a Giscard victory would have caused more immediate mass discontent and would have likely resulted in the building up of the PCF, while the Mitterand victory has had the opposite effect, at least for the present.

The PCF now finds itself in the position of having to maneuver to keep itself from reaching the marginal status spoken to above. It is at a time like this that a general truth about the character of a party like the PCF stands out all the more clearly. What can be seen is that the very counter-revolutionary strategy which the PCF has mapped out for itself is extremely difficult for them to effectively carry out. In other words, keeping in mind their overall plan of maintaining French imperialism while relying on the support of the Soviet Union and hoping for a decisive pro-Soviet shift in the world balance of forces which would help the PCF shove its way into power and move France into or towards the Soviet bloc, we can see that it is this very strategy that is fraught with intense contradictions. Their existence is inextricably linked with French imperialism. Further, they need the spoils of the empire to help maintain their mass base (without whom their bargaining power vanishes and their very existence is threatened) and they need a reactionary state to help them control the masses if they get out of hand. But the very imperialism that they promote and need so much is in serious crisis and turmoil itself and just happens to be run by a Western-oriented bourgeoisie which is well entrenched in the U.S.-led bloc. All of which runs smack into the fact that the PCF is fundamentally dependent on the Soviet Union. So, as the world situation heats up and as the imperialist blocs tighten up and prepare for war, the PCF is more and more right on the hot seat with the temperature being turned up from all directions (Soviet, U.S., French bourgeoisie, the masses). Each competing interest has its own reasons (which are even contradictory within themselves) to apply pressure of one sort or another and to differing degrees on the PCF. The PCF can not help but be intensely affected by all this (indeed, these conflicting pressures are replaced in different factions with the PCF itself) which makes it all the easier to see why their strategy is very difficult to carry out effectively, although that doesn't

for a minute make them any less of a dangerous force.

At this point the PCF may be down but they well understand that these questions are all much bigger than France itself and that things could easily go through some very drastic changes even in a short space of time. They must at all costs keep themselves alive and keep their mass base as intact as possible, while continuing to maneuver and jockey and while keeping a careful eye on the world situation. It would be easy to imagine that from their point of view (which assumes that Soviet ascendancy is basically inevitable) they could even be getting a bit philosophical about their current problems and saying to themselves: "You may have gotten us this time, but remember he who laughs last, laughs best." Even if all the world contradictions heighten to the point of world war, the PCF has plans for itself as the brokers for sections of the French bourgeoisie with the Soviet Union. This, of course, will also be an extremely dangerous and complicated situation as the U.S. and its various flunkies and supporters are not likely to take that lying down—especially in time of war. Meanwhile, however, they will eat a little crow, sign whatever agreements are necessary—within reason—and maneuver, hoping the situation swings in their favor.

Marchais crystallized some key aspects of the PCF outlook in a particularly revealing statement about the PS-PCF agreement. As he put it, "The French people would not understand if we split (with the PS—RW) over Poland." In this one little phrase we can see: the PCF's incredible contempt for the masses who are supposedly so dumb and nationalist that they won't understand anything outside France; the PCF's French chauvinism, because in fact their own view is what they attribute to the masses; their pro-Soviet inclination within the Western bloc; and their thoroughly cynical bourgeois *realpolitik*, by which they won't even stick to their own rotten principles. Marchais could just have easily said "principles—schminziples."

Here again, we can turn to the "Basic Principles" document to better understand the relationship between the PCF and the Soviets and the reason why certain revisionist "principles" may come and go with the tactical necessity. "It is also true that these parties themselves do at different times and to varying degrees assume a posture in opposition to Soviet social-imperialism, or certain policies and actions it carries out. This is on the one hand because the leaders of these revisionist parties do after all have their own bourgeois aspirations, including the bourgeois nationalist expression of this, and on the other hand because there is, even among their social base, considerable bad feeling about the Soviet Union, owing both to the propaganda of the bourgeoisie (or the majority of it) and to the fact that after all, the crimes of the Soviet social-imperialists are recognized even spontaneously, if

not scientifically understood, by large sections of the people, requiring these revisionist parties to feign differences with the Soviet Union even where they do not have them."

The Soviets would, of course, have preferred that the PS-PCF agreement wasn't necessary and that the PCF wasn't in the Mitterand government, but they are just as bourgeois cynical as the PCF, and while they probably consider the PCF actions a minor annoyance and worry that this move could strengthen the "Eurocommunist" trend in the PCF, they are much more worried about the Mitterand victory itself. As for the PCF, what is most likely keeping them awake at night is the fact that they are now caught up in the Mitterand government and must continue to support it to some extent. But, it was the only thing they could do given the circumstances, and it does give them some leverage and bureaucratic power as well as a platform for presenting their program. Further, it gives them another inroad into the very bourgeois apparatus and environment that they aspire to penetrate more fully later.

Also, no one should forget that the PCF still controls the CGT and many municipalities. They may have lost votes to the PS in the election, but that hardly covers the whole picture now, let alone subsequent events in France and the world. What is certain is that the further heightening of contradictions in France, and especially on a world scale, will create an increasingly volatile situation which the PCF will try to turn to its advantage. The PCF could find itself in an excellent position to jump out of the government at an opportune time and use its considerable remaining strength to become a significant opposition force again.

In this light it becomes clearer that while on the one hand the U.S. bourgeoisie appears to be willing to take a wait-and-see attitude to Mitterand's "nutcracker" strategy for dealing with the PCF, the reaction of "concern" on the part of the Reagan administration was not just for public consumption and anti-communist appearances—it also represented some real misgivings over the prospect of pro-Soviet forces in the French government.

In conclusion, we can see that as the preparations for war intensify between the imperialist blocs along with the increasing effects of the general crisis, the pressures on pro-Soviet revisionist parties like the PCF will greatly magnify from many different sides. "In such circumstances and looking to future developments, the real and potentially explosive conflicts within and between these various revisionist parties are bound to heighten, especially in relation to the sharpening contradictions between rival imperialist interests. This will provide the genuine Marxist-Leninists with some further 'openings' to expose and combat these revisionists. But this can only be done by laying bare the real, bourgeois nature of these parties and of the Soviet ruling class." □

the Beast

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by the massive prisoner uprisings and rebellions of the recent past—the calculated efforts to turn prisoner against prisoner, to create a tension-filled atmosphere of violence, racism and distrust among the inmates. Abbott tells of the common practice of guards putting two prisoners who have sworn to kill each other in the same cell, or the giving out or withholding of privileges to one nationality of men to the exclusion of others in order to foment divisions. "So long as, and to the degree that a prison regime can keep its prisoners at each other's throats—to that degree can it abuse and torment its prisoners..."

In trying to depict and analyze these various weapons of control and their effects on the prisoners, Abbott very clearly sums up where the responsibility does in fact lie for all this, squarely pointing the finger at the entire legal apparatus of police, judges, courtrooms and prisons, and the capitalist system they all serve. He understands that there is a class basis to who it is that lands in jail and why. And there is a

question of national oppression: "...It is a maxim that the morally strongest and the most intelligent among an oppressed people are to be found on the scaffolds and in the prisons of the oppressors."

One thing that comes to mind again and again as you read through the chapters of this book is Mao Tsetung's statement about how, as the oppressed rise up to fight back, they begin to search for a philosophy. While depicting his experiences in prison with painstaking detail, Abbott continually seeks to understand things politically, philosophically and with the whole world in view. He is engaged not just in the struggle against his immediate conditions, but in the struggle not only to piece together an understanding of the world, but to change it.

He is sometimes contradictory, as when for instance he first calls the Soviet Union a "communist superpower" and then later "social-imperialist," saying that he supports the movement within Russia to "restore communism." But overall he upholds and stands with the revolutionary struggles of the people of the world, evidently viewing the inevitable revolutionary conflagration as spreading from the fires burning in

the oppressed countries of the world to eventually engulf the advanced capitalist countries. His stand against American patriotism and chauvinism is best illustrated in this great passage about the hostage yellow-ribbon hysteria:

"This 'great country' has sure become *enraged* with righteous indignation...."

"Go out into the streets. Ask anyone: from the man on the street to the 'experts' in political science at Harvard and Yale. See how red their faces get, how angry! At last, *at long last*, their 'country' has been done an 'injustice.' They are *up in arms* against the Iranian children in this country for daring to show solidarity with their revolution—a revolution that has been historically overdue for forty years; a revolution that is barely in its infancy: six months old. It *needs justice*. That means that the Shah *cannot* walk free in the same world as the people of Iran. A friend of an enemy is an enemy. Childish but true.

"The old yellow pus of American cowardice is once again throbbing in the veins of this sorry country. How does it appear? In chauvinism that struts safely in its own land, away from danger. It is easy to talk 'dangerously'

about knocking people down when you are on your own turf, behind an embattlement of thousands of nuclear missiles and an ocean.

"This shit revolts me to no end if I don't think of something else. If I dwelled on it, I just know I'd tear up this cell in rage."

A rage most justified! It would be a very positive development for Abbott's powerful and thought-provoking writings to reach and impact on a broad audience of readers, in spite of—in the face of—the recent reactionary chorus from the bourgeois press denouncing Abbott and what he has to say. □

In RW No. 110, in the article "Medical Hierarchy Moves to Down M.D.," there is a statement attributed to "Edward Stone of the Federal Office of Civil Rights" which he directed to the Massachusetts Medical Board. The statement is correct as quoted, but Edward Stone is not from the Federal Office of Civil Rights. The article should have said that Stone directed his remarks to both the Massachusetts Medical Board and the Federal Office of Civil Rights. □

12th "Seditious Conspiracy" Conviction

Alleged FALN Member Delivers Denunciation of U.S. Imperialism

Chicago. "This is not even a trial, it's a kangaroo court. All the people here represent the government and the FBI which has already tried me." With these words Oscar Lopez-Rivera made his opening statement as the defendant in yet another railroad of a Puerto Rican political prisoner, on July 21. "Puerto Rico is a colony by U.S. military conquest. Its people live under military rule, under genocide," continued Lopez-Rivera, an alleged member of the FALN.

Refusing to recognize the authority of the court, he delivered a burning 20 minute denunciation of U.S. imperialism's oppression of the Puerto Rican people: the U.S. government's "birth control" program which has left 40% of the women of childbearing age sterilized; the unemployment rate which stands at 40%; the forced migration of over half the population to the barrios of U.S. cities because there is no livelihood for them on the island. He detailed the plunder of the once self-

sufficient Puerto Rican economy by U.S. capital, the expropriation of huge amounts of arable land by the U.S. military while the population can't feed itself, the almost daily bombings of the inhabited island of Vieques, which has been turned into a target practice field by the U.S. Navy. Lopez-Rivera stated, "I got my military training in Fort Knox and Fort Hood. I served a year in Vietnam. I served in the imperialist military and this is where I first saw people fighting back against imperialism and colonialism." After his statement, Lopez-Rivera refused to participate in the trial.

U.S. Attorney Jeremy Margolis, with sheer hypocrisy, instructed the jury that, "This case is not about equality and opportunity. (Apparently Mr. Margolis feared even mentioning the liberation of Puerto Rico in the court—RW.) It's about the way Lopez went about trying to achieve those goals through armed robbery and armed takeover." However, one of the main

charges against Oscar Lopez-Rivera was the openly political charge of "seditious conspiracy." "To oppose by force the authority of the government of the United States... (for the purpose of) obtaining independence for Puerto Rico" is how the indictment on the seditious conspiracy charge reads. What is this except a bald-faced statement that the real crime here is the "conspiracy" to free an oppressed country from the clutches of U.S. imperialism?

This law had not been invoked in decades until the indictment of Lopez-Rivera and twelve of his comrades here last December. While 11 were tried and convicted earlier this year, Lopez-Rivera was not arrested until more recently when a racist cop, suspicious of a Latino in the all-white suburb of Glenview, stopped him and ran a check. William Morales, the 13th person named under the indictment, has not been caught. The seditious conspiracy law, conceived as a broad catch-all to con-

vict anyone for revolutionary opposition to the government, has historically been aimed heavily at the Puerto Rican independence movement. This was the charge used to jail the leadership of the Puerto Rican Nationalist Party in 1936 and again in 1954 as a means to quell the popular uprisings at that time. But the catch-all phrasing of the law means it can be used very broadly and it was also invoked against the draft resisters of World War I.

As with the previous cases, the trial was a farce from beginning to end. The prosecution in the case relied heavily on the testimony of Alfredo Mendez, one of the 11 alleged FALN members already convicted last December, who has since turned State's evidence in exchange for a lighter sentence. Mendez was extremely cooperative with the government, saying all he had been instructed to say, not only testifying against Lopez-Rivera but also pointing out supporters in the courtroom (thus providing a basis for further government attacks) and telling of a supposed FALN plot to kidnap Ronald Reagan's son in order to make an exchange for the freedom of the 11 jailed prisoners. In the weeks leading up to this trial there was a flurry of FBI and Secret Service harassment in the Puerto Rican community in Chicago using this supposed plot as a pretext. The main target of this harassment were members of the Movimiento de Liberación Nacional (MLN) which gives political support to the FALN. In a single day six members were visited by the Secret Service. During each visit the government agents were loud and obnoxious in trying to create a scene and provoke incidents. At more than one location they pounded on doors and snorted, "Open up this door or we'll kick your ass!" One woman committee member had to endure the threats of these goons as they shook their finger in her face saying, "Tell your people to leave our man alone." The "man" they were referring to was Reagan.

At the conclusion of the trial, Oscar Lopez-Rivera was pronounced guilty of all charges and the bourgeois press went wild including making a big point of interviewing some backward Puerto Rican masses on TV not only supporting the verdict but opposing the struggle to free Puerto Rico generally. The main thrust of the TV presentations was that such things as fighting for the liberation of Puerto Rico are irrelevant and the movement toward this end is insignificant. However, the very fact that such a big effort was made to make this point on prime time TV is clear proof that just the opposite is the case and that the government is not only well aware of this fact, but is more than a little uptight about it. In Chicago, for example, the demand for independence for Puerto Rico has increasingly been taken up, as evidenced by militant outpourings during recent Puerto Rican Day celebrations. This growing sentiment is one of the reasons for recent waves of police crackdowns in the Puerto Rican community, including the gestapo-style shutdowns of many stores and taverns by the cops. Far from stamping out the struggle of the Puerto Rican people, such actions are only adding fuel to the fire. The imperialists have seen many examples of the "irrelevance" and "insignificance" of the struggle to free Puerto Rico and they are certainly going to see many more.

6,000 March Against Police Murder in Milwaukee



July 30, Milwaukee. 5-6000 people, mostly Black, but including a significant number of whites, marched through this city for the second time in two weeks thoroughly outraged at the cold blooded execution of Ernest Lacy on July 9. Lacy, a 22-year-old Black man, was walking to buy a snack at the local mart when 3 of Milwaukee's swiftest swooped down to "question" him about a rape that supposedly occurred somewhere in the neighborhood. In the eyes of these officers, Lacy fit the description—he was Black. Lacy was handcuffed behind his back, thrown onto the sidewalk. All three members of the Tactical Squad, a special all-white 700 man army of thugs organized within the police force, weighed in at 200 pounds of pork. While one of them kneed Lacy's head against the sidewalk with all his weight, another choked him to death.

A massive wave of anger swept the Black people and others more broadly in Milwaukee. Many considered this the last straw in an endless string of murders, harassments, and whitewashes by the pigs. Immediately after the murder, witnessed by several people in broad daylight, the police began their attempt to discredit Lacy, even though he was dead. "Ernie Lacy was a drug addict," they said. But that didn't stand the light of day. So then several weeks later they came out with the story that Lacy was a mental patient. They exaggerated out of all proportion some psychiatric care he had received several years before and then had the gall to float the rumor that he went berserk.

And after these three officers were suspended—with full pay—pitiful little stories appeared about the families of these poor officers and how they were suffering, with the implication that they were being victimized by a lynch mob referring to a demonstration of 4,000 people against this police murder 1 1/2 weeks ago.

As this second demonstration shaped up on July 30, the police made an all-out attempt to intimidate people with a massive show of force. Police helicopters flew overhead and the Tactical Squad in full riot gear was everywhere in sight.

But in the factories and community and even the Army in the Milwaukee area, anger was mounting. In one factory, 25 Blacks on day shift took off work early to attend the march, even though all were reprimanded. A Black soldier from the Army who had gone AWOL to attend the first march was unable to attend—he was being courtmartialled. But thousands of others took his place. At least two white motorcycle clubs helped to act as marshalls.

Rugby

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suffering, the more essential question for them is spoken to in a number of recent editorials: "preserving New Zealand's international reputation." A number of articles in major newspapers have hypocritically pointed out how New Zealand cannot continue to claim to uphold "human rights" if it allows sporting contests such as these with South Africa to continue, and that the tour has already isolated New Zealand internationally. They are pointing to the fact that when the tour got the green light, the meeting of the Commonwealth Foreign Ministers scheduled to be held in Auckland this September was immediately yanked under pressure from African and Caribbean countries and reset for the Bahamas. In addition, there are already moves underway internationally to boycott the Commonwealth Games in Brisbane, Australia in 1982 (because of the Australian government's genocidal policies and continued oppression of the aboriginal peoples there), and the boycott movement will now very likely broaden to include New Zealand's continuing links with South Africa.

It is apparent that there are powerful arguments being made within the New Zealand ruling class for going ahead with the tour, even with all the risks and dangers that it is presenting both at home and overseas. This in fact has everything to do with the New Zealand bourgeoisie's "international reputation"—that is, its actual position in the bloc of capitalist and imperialist coun-

tries led by the U.S. They know very well that in the global conflict looming directly ahead, their fortunes, their share in a new imperialist redivision of the world, depend directly on the U.S. imperialists and their other powerful imperialist allies. This was repeatedly demonstrated during Secretary of State Haig's recent visit to New Zealand for the annual meeting of the ANZUS Council (a 30-year-old military alliance of the U.S., New Zealand and Australia), which produced agreement on all major strategic questions.

According to a report in the *New Zealand Herald*, in response to criticism of the government's extensive cooperation with the U.S. and slavish attitudes towards it, which includes welcoming port calls by U.S. nuclear-powered and armed warships, and continuing to maintain forces in Singapore and Malaysia, Foreign Minister Talboys replied that "a small country like New Zealand could realistically achieve security only when it had powerful allies." At a dinner reception for Haig on June 22, Talboys stated further: "We have welcomed this reassertion of American leadership in the councils of the world. We have welcomed the strengthening of the United States' resolve and capacity once again to play a positive global role."

Could it be that in Haig's two days of talks with Talboys and Australian Foreign Minister Street that they talked not only about the U.S.' plans for the Pacific, but also the strategic and military importance of South Africa to the bloc? The U.S. imperialists have made no bones about this recently, laying this as the cornerstone of their war preparations and bloc-tightening in Southern Africa (See *RW* No. 106, for

more on this). They are even dusting off old plans for forming a new military alliance, SATO (South Atlantic Treaty Organization) to link South Africa with other U.S. dominated countries such as Argentina and Brazil. Clearly New Zealand and Australia figure in heavily in the war scenarios being plotted out by the Pentagon for the Pacific theatre and for the southern hemisphere as a whole.

While New Zealand's ties with the fascist South African regime in sports and many other fields have been longstanding, the basic reasons for the New Zealand's government's refusal to cancel the tour are bound up exactly with these political and strategic matters. After all, South Africa is on the U.S. list of "authoritarian" regimes, not "totalitarian" ones. Let's not let politics interfere with sports, so scrum down in a bit of friendly rugby...and prepare for World War 3.

In a recent national radio and TV appearance to defend this stand, Muldoon made a very appropriate and revealing remark. After making the required noises about apartheid, the Prime Minister noted that New Zealand and South Africa had fought together against a "monstrous tyranny" in the last war. Apparently South Africa today is not a monstrous tyranny—a white settler dictatorship in which 15% of the people live parasitically off the super-exploitation and the fascist terror practiced against the Azanian masses. Apparently neither is the next inter-imperialist war of unprecedented mass carnage in which Muldoon and his class are enlisting New Zealand as a naval base and a source of cannonfodder for the U.S. bloc.

As for Muldoon's protests about

New Zealand's tradition of not refusing visas for political reasons, soon after the Springboks had received theirs from the Minister of Immigration, the government refused visas to a party of revisionists from the Soviet Union who were applying to attend the celebration of the 14th anniversary of the New Zealand-USSR Society.

From all this a picture emerges of why it has become so important for the New Zealand government to stand firm on the Springboks tour. An added reason is that the next stop on this racist tour is, guess where...the good old U.S. of A. If the New Zealand tour were to be cancelled now, it would certainly undercut the intentions of the U.S. government and leading officials of the American Rugby Football Union to themselves bring the Springboks to the U.S., as part of their current offensive to apply a veneer of respectability to the murderous regime in South Africa.

The Springboks' three-game tour of the U.S. is supposed to take it to Chicago (September 19), Albany, New York (September 22) and New York City (September 26). There are already plans afoot here in the U.S. to stop the tour, and if the hot reception it has justly received so far in New Zealand is any indication, the Springboks and their reactionary high-placed promoters internationally are in for a rough time wherever they go to kick their political football. □

Skybridge Express

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Hyatt construction are not all known—and right now the architects are refusing to comment—the staggering losses being sustained by the project begin to paint the picture of what was happening. While Hallmark, Inc. netted profit of \$80 million last year its subsidiary, Crown Center Redevelopment Corporation, has lost \$68 million already on this project. The cost of developing the center's offices, shops and apartments quadrupled during the life of the project to \$500 million. As of last year when the Hyatt was being completed, the tax holiday Hallmark received to build Crown Center under Missouri's urban redevelopment statute was coming to an end. The Hall family, who own about 75% of the company's stock, clearly had a lot at stake. Even the Eldridge Construction Co. which put up the buildings was in deep financial trouble and striving to complete the project as cheaply and as fast as possible. Now the company is bankrupt.

The coverup has moved into high gear. Of the half-dozen or so investigations into the disaster, most are being conducted by firms connected to some aspect of the construction of the hotel who are not exactly disinterested parties as to the outcome. Even so, the few independent investigators who have viewed the damage proved to be too exposing for the Crown Center Redevelopment Corp. which barred any investigators except those it hired from viewing the debris after several days. To thoroughly cover its tracks, on July 23 the Crown Corp. completed the dismantling of one of the most telling pieces of evidence—the third "sky bridge" which had remained suspended from the ceiling while the other two collapsed. An attorney representing the victims of the disaster found evidence of stress in the beam supports of the skywalk similar to that found in the two collapsed walkways. All of this was trucked to the Crown warehouse in the dead of night. As even the mayor was forced to warn, this action "would not build public confidence" of the investigation. An understatement to say the least. □

Wedding

Continued from page 5

to see gold and scarlet and purple again. And to hear the silver trumpets." A bourgeois trade union official smugly tells the *New York Times*, "I'd expect that even in the riot areas you'd find everybody watching the wedding on television tomorrow. Remember, we in Britain don't have an anti-Royalist or Republican tradition."

The bourgeois revolution, of course, is long dead—the House of Windsor itself exists as a political symbol of the imperialist bourgeoisie. The rebellious proletariat of all nationalities in Britain and Ireland knows this, and detests the monarchy not as a separate institution, but as a symbol of the empire.

The element of fear, then, drove Britain even more deliberately to make of the royal wedding an ostentatious and barbaric display of medieval pomp. Under no circumstances could the royal family flinch in the face of the crisis, nor the state betray the least sign of weakness. The security precautions, in their scope and detail, probably have few precedents, and testified to the enormous political stakes involved. On the wedding day, the weapons of tradition: of centuries of authority, of the divine right of kings, the right to rule sanctified by the law of God, of the glittering pride of the nobility demanding, and receiving, the homage of loyal subjects—all of this would roll like a display of heavy artillery from Buckingham Palace to St. Paul's Cathedral.

In the sense of conjuring to life the twisted and garrish dreams of some senile aristocrat gone quite mad, the ceremonies were an unqualified success. Every relic of the reactionary past, the power to shore up the sagging regime of the present was deployed for maximum effect. Rather than in any way opting for restraint, such preposterous and bizarre fantasies as Lady Diana's wedding dress, with its 25-foot train attended by 2 garlanded toddlers clothed in white samite, were the rule. Within St. Paul's three choirs accompanied by trumpets and organs wove a medieval atmosphere with such absurd intricacies that one expected a vision of the Holy Grail to appear over the altar at any moment.

The sermon of the Most Reverend Robert Runcie, Archbishop of Canterbury, could not help but give away the terms of the political struggle for sur-

vival being waged by the bourgeoisie and its borrowed costumes. The Archbishop's trite moral text concerned the "Christian view" that every couple, on their wedding day, "are kings and queens of love." (At this point, Prince Charles' bowed head shot straight up with a look of surprise on his face, which seemed to say, "King of love, my ass, I had something far more substantial in mind, if you please.")

"A marriage which really works," suggested the Archbishop, "is one which works for others. Marriage has both a private face and a public importance. If we solved all our economic problems and failed to build loving families, it would profit us nothing, because the family is the place where the future is created, good and full of love—or deformed."

Since Britain has neither the ability nor the expectation of "solving its economic problems," it's just as well that this isn't really the important thing—what really counts is "building loving families." The decline of the family is a hot issue in Britain these days; the lack of parental authority and the breakup of the home are being widely blamed by the government and the press for the recent riots. In this climate, Prince Charles' and Lady Diana's wedding was touted as the perfect marriage.

And indeed it was. It is difficult to imagine an uglier illustration of the deformed essence of this institution, stripped of its "modern" make-up than the royal wedding. It gave a clear picture of the real social origins and class function of marriage; securing a male heir; passing down the property and the power; building alliances between propertied families. This royal marriage had the genuine virtue of providing a reminder that marriage, too, is not something "above class, above mortality," but an institution that arose with class society, has had a history and will have an end in the future in a deeper stage of humanity's progress, as the roots of the oppression of women are really dug at and as class society itself recedes into the past.

Despite the hilarious attempts to portray the union as a "love match," it is well known that the potential bride was inspected like a specimen of livestock to ascertain her virginity, and that "discreet inquiries" were made into her "bloodline" to determine if she would be likely to serve her purpose: to produce a healthy heir to the throne. The

new Princess of Wales, we know, is herself thoroughly trained in the reactionary traditions of the aristocracy, but of course she was reared deliberately in ignorance (the *Times* remarks gently that she "lacks a broad intellectual background"). "From her marriage today onward," the *Times* serenely reports, "Diana...will permanently occupy a lower step, walking respectfully one pace behind her husband, future King of England. In public, she will address him not as Charles but as 'sir'."

"At the age of 20 she has renounced forever spontaneity and privacy, freedom and independence...past friendships and future intimacies other than those deemed appropriate for royal confidences..."

This, then, is the Archbishop's "marriage that really works," held up as a model to society and intended as a concentrated illustration of what makes a society "really work," the unquestioned and eternal dominance of master over slave. Here, in the "fairytale wedding" we find the true import of all the "delightful" pageantry and ceremony. It was hardly surprising that the Archbishop's didactic concluded with a call for support for the throne and the structure of oppression it represents:

"This is our prayer for Charles and Diana. May the burdens we lay on them be matched by the love with which we support them in the years to come. However long they live may they always know that when they pledged themselves to each other before the altar of God they were surrounded and supported not by mere spectators, but by the sincere affection and active prayer of millions of friends."

U.S. Reaction

In the second row, seated behind Lady Diana's former finishing school roommates and next to the bride's stepmother, Nancy Reagan stifled the urge to leap to her feet and shout "Hallelujah!" and it's a good thing—Nancy had already committed several disgraceful violations of protocol during her extended visit.

Tom Brokaw of NBC's Today Show, visibly awed, said at the conclusion of the service that he just couldn't understand how the British could pull off a show like this and not still rule the waves.

Clive James, the Australian hack journalist and "royalty watcher," continued the rounds of the U.S. networks

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8 Years of Frameups New Revelations in Kiko Martinez Case

Further exposure of the government frameup of Chicano activist and lawyer Francisco "Kiko" Martinez has been revealed in federal court hearings held on June 30th and July 1st in Denver, Colorado. At these hearings, it came to light that on January 28th, Chief U.S. District Judge Winner, while presiding over Kiko's first federal trial on trumped-up charges of mailing a bomb to a Denver cop in 1973, called together a meeting in his court room with two prosecutors, the court clerk, three U.S. Marshalls, and two key prosecution witnesses to discuss the case and plan strategies for the trial. The two witnesses were Denver cops. One testified earlier in the day; the other was the prosecution's key fingerprint expert. Judge Winner told the prosecutor he "could have a mistrial anytime he wanted it" but suggested they wait until the defense started putting on its case "to find out what the defense strategy may be." The next day, January 29th, the prosecutor asked for and got a mistrial. The prosecutor and judge had claimed the mistrial was due to the defense's and supporters' intimidation of jurors and witnesses by doing things such as wearing "Free Kiko" t-shirts. Apparently, the real reason was to get around the defense motion for dismissal because of the many examples of blatant racism and other prejudicial remarks and actions by the judge and prosecutor. Also at the meeting the judge announced plans to work with the FBI in setting up a secret camera in court to film Kiko's supporters to be used as evidence to put them on trial for "obstruction of justice."

After declaring the mistrial Judge Winner took himself off the case and then sent the FBI a letter explaining that their secret camera plan had fallen through. A court clerk who saw the let-

ter and was outraged about both the secret camera and the meeting (which was referred to in the letter) anonymously sent a copy of the letter to a *Denver Post* reporter. The *Post*, which has excelled in attacks on Kiko and his supporters, refused to print the reporter's story on the letter. The reporter took her story to another local newspaper and it was printed. This led to the recent hearings where the content of that meeting was exposed. On July 1st a federal judge dismissed the three charges against Kiko in this particular trial but refused to dismiss the four federal charges related to the two other alleged mail bombings Kiko is charged with. Further, three other state cases related to the supposed bombing attempts are still pending.

In November, 1973 Kiko was charged with two letter bomb attempts and 7 years later was charged with a third. The authorities had been unable to locate Kiko in those 7 years, arresting him only last October. These charges were a COINTELPRO-type attempt to neutralize Kiko, who had been a noted activist in the Chicano struggle raging in the '60s and early '70s, which included some very sharp battles in the Denver area. As a lawyer he had defended many activists facing police frameups, etc. At the time, the authorities had unleashed a wave of attacks against Chicano organizations and individuals including the outright murder of several people in an all-out assault on the Denver office of the Crusade for Justice which left one Chicano dead.

The charges against Kiko were based solely on the lying testimony of one cop who claimed Kiko's fingerprints were found on all the bombs. This has proved to be a complete lie. No such fingerprints ever existed. In the January trial,



Francisco Kiko Martinez

the police produced not a fingerprint but a report claiming there was a fingerprint on only one of the bombs, and that, only on the envelope not the bomb itself. That bomb, and the supposed fingerprint, was "accidentally" destroyed by police as were significant parts of the other two bombs. None of this nor the blatant legal double jeopardy of facing essentially the same charges in both federal and state courts, has been accepted as grounds for dismissal of the charges (the defense is continuing legal appeals of this).

This has been a frameup and railroad from the beginning. Judge Winner's mistake was that he let it hang out a little too openly. The U.S. Senate Judiciary Committee has announced it will investigate Judge Winner's conduct in the case. The outcome of this can be anticipated by the fact that it took the Justice Department all of one week to investigate the prosecutor's participation in this and declare that "No pro-

secutors have done anything wrong."

Even in dismissing this one case Federal Judge Eubanks added to the attack claiming, off the record, that Kiko's attorney, Ken Padilla, was "incompetent" and this, of course, was trumpeted in the media. Eubanks had called Padilla into his office before the hearing started and pleaded with him not to put Judge Winner on the stand saying, "We all know what happened here...let's not drag this thing out." Padilla refused, insisting on bringing everything out into the open.

In recent months two of Kiko's supporters' homes have been firebombed (including a local newspaper editor who had written articles generally favorable to the defense) and Kiko himself was arrested for briefly leaving the state to speak at the Chicano Student Conference. The rest of the federal charges are set for trial beginning September 14th and the state charges on September 28th. □

Wedding

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explaining that what America really needed was a monarchy of its own.

Dan Rather, the heir to the throne of CBS News, was uncharacteristically misty-eyed as he observed that Britain had "stolen the hearts of hundreds of millions around the world" with their wedding day ratings coup.

Well, that's not all they stole from hundreds of millions around the world, now is it, Dan? Which for some reason reminds us—the U.S. imperialist press hasn't gotten so worked up about anything like this since the now long forgotten release of the American hostages. Domestic media promotion of the wedding has for weeks rivaled that of the British propaganda service. As we go to press, ersatz copies of Lady Diana's wedding dress are being rushed onto the market at only \$450 a throw.

Great irony! The U.S. bourgeoisie, whose very birth as a ruling class was in the struggle against the British crown, is now gawking with envy. What gives?

"Britain occupies a small space in the world now," the *New York Times* pointed out in its editorial on the eve of the royal wedding, "but there was a time that it occupied almost all of it." (The *Times* had enough tact to avoid mentioning which imperialist power took over the "almost all of it" part.) "The link between these eras is that same royal family."

You don't need to read much further than this to design the special fascination of U.S. imperialism with the trappings and symbols of monarchy—especially the British monarchy—in this period. The tradition of the British throne, what it represents and still conjures up symbolically, though no longer in reality, is the "glory" of global imperialist domination and stability.

"A monarchy—it's there and it's there to stay." The quote is from King Carl Gustav VI of Sweden, who participated in a *New York Times* survey of European royal families; the *Times*

concluded that the political importance of kings and queens should not be underestimated, and that "there are clear signs that royalty means something more to people now." *Time* magazine swooned, "This wedding on the cusp of high noon, in front of a world short on rituals and parched for romance, is in fact one grand pass of the royal wand...in which, at once, the old values are upheld, the future is assured, and everyone can be a queen for a day."

The virtues of "permanence, stability and tradition," which the British royalty has in recent centuries been propped by a frightened bourgeoisie to represent—these virtues look very appealing to U.S. imperialism these days. Faced with revolutionary challenges and challenges from a new, rival Soviet imperialism, the U.S. bourgeoisie seeks ideological shelter. Prince Charles and Lady Diana may seem like paltry consolation for these imperialist gentlemen—but, alas, this too is a sign of the times. What better signal that the age of the bourgeoisie is done; the years finished in which it represented progress, revolution, a new way to organize society that corresponded with the inexorable forward march of history. So much the better. Now it's the turn of the proletariat.

But perhaps to avoid this fateful conclusion, the imperialists in their hubub over royalty have paused to set up as a loyal opposition to kingly reaction—the old trusty "bourgeois democracy." If you can't dig the Prince, then you're supposed to swoon over the U.S. Congress. Sorry. A self-exposure if there ever was one that everything bourgeois and imperialist is wretched and soaked with reaction. The kings of finance and the kings of England must together be swept to their final resting place.

The greater its mortal fear, the more desperately the rulers of Britain invoke tradition, authority, God and the crown; so too their U.S. successors in world domination seek shelter within the same trembling shrine—into those old capacious skirts of Queen Victoria. □

Ottawa

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failed to meet goals for rapid growth to spur the economy. While the economy in the U.S. did spurt ahead, promises for a comprehensive energy program have yet to be fulfilled. *Bonn, 1978*—The summit ended with a modest set of pledges that would merely maintain slow-growth policies and with lowered expectations of what economic meetings would accomplish. The U.S. had to promise to put its own house in order by reducing oil imports in order to win concessions from Japan and West Germany. But oil consumption and imports continued to swell, increasing inflation and monetary instability."

The most intense flap at this latest summit was over the question of high interest rates in the U.S. These high interest rates are both part of, and a result of, the monetarist austerity policies the U.S. has adopted in an effort to deal with runaway inflation and the massive credit explosion that has wrecked havoc on the U.S. economy. But these measures have not only not solved these problems, they are causing further aggravation to other problems of the already stagnating economies of the U.S. and the European and Japanese economies. High interest rates in the U.S. have the effect of drawing investment capital from the other imperialist countries out of domestic arenas to where they can have the greatest return. This also causes further erosions of other currencies vis-a-vis the U.S. dollar. In order to dam the outflow of capital and boost sagging currencies, these countries must respond by jacking up their own interest rates. Given the fact that interest rates are the additional costs, over and above the actual loans taken, the harder and more costly it is for industry and consumers to finance their loans. One of the results is that industry, lacking investment, slows and stagnates while the decrease in consumer spending on such items as cars and houses further accelerates this process. This, to one degree or another, is occurring throughout the U.S. and its bloc.

Interestingly enough, the very inflation and massive debt that these current economic policies are trying to contain

were exacerbated by measures that the U.S. had to take to temporarily extricate itself from the deep recession of '74-'75. At that time, the U.S. was able to stave off a deepening slump and also help pull along some other economies in its bloc out of the doldrums somewhat, by pumping up its economy through massive infusions of credit and other inflationary measures. Not only was the boost to the economy temporary and at the price of putting great strains on the economy but the effects were not all that dramatic. Unemployment, in fact, only levelled off. It didn't go down.

The clamorings at Ottawa from West Germany and France (and to a less vocal degree, Italy) were clamorings for the U.S. to once again act the "locomotive" and pull them up. Currently, according to the August 3 edition of *Business Week*, both West Germany and France are suffering deep in the economic doldrums, tipping the scales with 5% and 8% unemployment respectively. *Business Week* predicts increases in unemployment between now and the beginning of 1982, and with West Germany in the grip of a year-long recession, the outlook is less than brilliant.

But as the U.S. made clear, it is neither willing nor able to undertake a repeat performance; this would be extremely risky and would threaten real disaster. For as was noted earlier, these very policies exacerbated the tremendous instability throughout the international monetary system, with the galloping inflation and the expanding credit balloon nearing a breaking point—a situation which continues to plague the imperialists. To even contemplate implementing these policies again, with the resulting inflation, could be catastrophic and precipitate an even bigger crisis. Therefore, the U.S. has no choice but to pursue the path that it is on, even though it will have severe economic and political consequence itself.

The bottom line here is that it is the basic contradictions of the imperialist system itself that are the cause of the economic crisis the imperialist countries are facing and whatever economic measures they are forced to take to stave off impending disaster only end up making things worse. Just trying to hold things together economically as they prepare for war—a "controlled disintegration"—is the most even they

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"Sooner or Later"

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Some steps have already been taken in this direction. The normalization of relations between the United States and China, with China playing the leading role, is a positive step, as are aid packages to Nicaragua, the U.S. vote in the U.N. on Israeli West Bank settlements, abandonment of the use of economic sanctions against Iran, and the boycott of the summer Olympics. However, there are still many roadblocks.

The pervasive appeasement trend which has developed in one sector of the United States ruling class stands as an obstacle to a positive U.S. role in world affairs. As the 1980 elections unfold, elements of this trend are becoming more visible. Though appeasement has fed and grown strong on the peace sentiments of the American people and though it often associates itself with progressive and anti-imperialist ideas, there is nothing peaceful, progressive or anti-imperialist in appeasement. One of the most important tasks for American communists within the united front is to oppose this trend.

At the same time, go-it-alone forces can also be destructive to the united front efforts. The U.S. cannot turn its back on the recognition of past failures of American foreign policy. Unilateral U.S. actions such as opposition to a Palestinian state only serve to weaken the Third World and thus to weaken the united front.

The questions of appeasement, the nature of America's role in the united front and the effect of international affairs on internal American politics all bring to the forefront the necessity of developing a new perspective in the U.S. It is imperative that progressive thought reverse itself on questions like the "progressive" nature of the Soviet Union in the world today; that serious reconsideration be given to the defense budget, NATO, draft registration, civil defense and other issues; that the New International Economic Order be promoted. A new progressive platform including a truly democratic foreign policy must be developed if we are to effectively combat the threat to world peace which now confronts us.

SECTION A

2. Let me be clear about what you're saying. Are you suggesting that we should give up the opportunity posed by inter-imperialist rivalry and possible war to struggle for the defeat of U.S. imperialism and instead should join up with U.S. imperialism against the Soviet Union?

Revolutionary defeatism, turning imperialist war into civil war, was correctly adopted during World War I. Those in the Second International who called for "defense of the Fatherland" were denounced as opportunists and social chauvinists, and their policy was discredited within the communist movement. Workers in all imperialist countries were urged to turn their guns on their "own" bourgeoisie, because they had no interest in furthering the imperialist interests of their countries. The correct application of this tactic led, among other things, to the success of the Russian Revolution and provided the communist movement with invaluable lessons.

But mechanically applying tactics of a previous situation to the one at hand is dogmatism and has nothing in common with Leninism or with Lenin's actual approach to the development of even this particular tactic. The correct tactics of a previous period become incorrect tactics when applied to conditions different from those to which they correspond. Lenin himself had to argue against the German social chauvinists that Russia was no longer the principal enemy of the European revolutionary movement, as it had been for Marx and Engels, because of the 1905 revolution and the rise of imperialism. "To identify, even to compare the international situations of 1891 (when Engels called for German defense of the fatherland

against Tsarist Russia) and 1914 is the height of unhistoricalness." (Letter to Inessa Armand, Jan. 19, 1917, *Lenin's Collected Works* [hereafter *LCW*], XX-XV, 274.)

3. But in the era of imperialism the correct Leninist tactic is one of revolutionary defeatism. Why do you deny this?

There is no such thing as a "Leninist tactic," only a Leninist tactical flexibility, based on a concrete analysis of concrete conditions and the tactical principles of Marxism-Leninism. The communist movement has confronted two world wars and developed two entirely different tactics—each one corresponding to its concrete situation.

The Comintern in the 1930s responded to the "accusation" that it was "changing its tactics" as follows:

"What astonishing news! The tactics of a political party are not the spectacles of a musty keeper of archives who never takes them off, even when he goes to bed. Tactics, which are the sum total of the methods and means of struggle of a political party, are precisely intended to be changed if the changed circumstances require it." (B.Z. Manuilsky, 'The Work of the 7th Congress,' *Serve the People Press* reprint, p. 44).

To the accusation that "Leninism" was being betrayed, they pointed out that it was precisely Lenin who "persistently warned us against 'stereotyped methods and mechanical leveling, against rendering tactical rules, rules of struggle, identical'" And they went on to warn against the "mental laziness" of refusing "to approach the phenomena of real life concretely" and substituting "general, noncommittal formulas for a careful and concrete study."

As for "efforts to find historical analogies and parallels with the past," they pointed out that though these "are very valuable," they will be "of little use if we fail to grasp the vital thing in the specific features of the present world situation... No matter how zealously we search the pages of textbooks on history, we shall not find in them a situation analogous to the present, in which revolution, war and fascism have become so interwoven in the development of mankind. Consequently, we must not base our tactics on analogies, but on a concrete analysis of the relation of class forces at the given moment."

The analogy with 1914-18 ignored the very "specific features" of the current situation which made it unique:

"...the world at that time was divided into two military imperialist coalitions which were equally striving to establish their world hegemony, and which had equally prepared and provoked the imperialist war. At that time there were neither countries where the proletariat had conquered nor countries with a fascist dictatorship.

"But now the situation is different. Now we have: (1) a proletarian state which is the greatest bulwark of peace; (2) definite fascist aggressors; (3) a number of countries which are in direct danger of attack by fascist aggressors and in danger of losing their state and national independence; (4) other capitalist governments which are interested at the present time in the maintenance of peace..."

The 1935 Seventh Comintern Congress also took account of the balance of class forces at the time and concluded that given the strength of Social Democracy and the reformist trade unions, the relative weakness of the communists and the disunity of the working class in general, conditions had not yet matured "for the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship in modern capitalist countries." Proletarian revolution could be achieved (in general) by way of "united front governments" formed in the struggle against fascism. But the immediate question was not proletarian revolution but what Communists would do "today, with the present relation of force, in order to withstand the onslaught of capital, to save [the working class] and its people from fascism... and the whole of mankind from war?"

The Seventh Congress answered the question by singling out fascism as the "principal enemy," pointing out that "one of the fundamental qualities of

Bolshevism, one of the fundamental features of our revolutionary strategy, is the ability to determine at each given moment who is the principal enemy and to be able to concentrate all our forces for a struggle against that enemy." (Ercoli-Togliatti—"On the Danger of Imperialist War and the Tasks of Communists," *Serve the People Reprints*: 17)

Against the main enemy all secondary enemies were to be enlisted, not only the petty bourgeoisie but the national bourgeoisie and even rival comprador bourgeoisies, not just oppressed nations but even imperialist countries. A front of democratic countries was called for—and a world-wide united front against fascism.

Much can be learned from a study of the pre-World War II period, not least of which is this break with the stereotyped application of the "Leninist tactic" of revolutionary defeatism.

SECTION D

1. But isn't the chief responsibility of American communists to combat American imperialism?

Was it the chief responsibility of American communists to combat the imperialism of their own bourgeoisie when the opening of new fronts in Europe and Asia by U.S. imperialism provided relief to the U.S.S.R. and made possible the defeat of fascism? Would this slogan have been correct in 1938-40 when Nazi Germany was swallowing up Eastern Europe, when Japan was dismembering China? Is it now correct when the Soviet Union is invading, colonizing and even exterminating small countries in Asia and Africa, when it menaces the national independence of Western Europe and China and the whole world with a world war? In this situation should American communists devote their chief efforts to denouncing U.S. imperialism in Southeast Asia and South America? This is what the *Guardian* and P.W.O.C. do, and of course the "communist" apologists of Vietnam and Cuba on the left. But is that our chief task?

There is a "left" version of this which says that "the chief responsibility of American revolutionaries in the struggle against the two superpowers is to make revolution in the U.S." This sounds properly anti-"class collaborationist" and very revolutionary, but what does it mean politically? It means that the clearest exponents of appeasement, the most consistent opponents of Soviet social imperialism, should bend their main efforts to "making revolution in the U.S." Such lines are a great boon to social imperialism which is why it has proved so willing to support ultra-left groups of various stripes, including those who denounce the "two superpowers".

The subjective conditions in this country are very far from revolutionary or pre-revolutionary. But one thing is certain: the struggle for socialism in the U.S. must go via the route of the anti-hegemonist (anti-Soviet—RW) united front. This is not only because the prospects for the revolutionary movement in the U.S. would be better after a war if the Soviet Union loses, better under a democratic than a social fascist regime. It is also because the struggle to unmask Soviet social imperialism is indispensable for forming a socialist consciousness among the broad masses of Americans. If broad sections of the American people continue to believe that a regime which brutally denies the rights of its own people and callously enslaves others is socialist and not "social"-fascist, anti-hegemonism and anti-communism will be more securely intertwined in their minds. And if these Americans are forced to go to war before the Soviet Union has been exposed, and if they fight that war convinced that their vicious fascist enemy is socialist, anti-hegemonism and anti-communism will become many more times difficult to sever and defeat.

American communists do have a great responsibility to struggle against American imperialism—it is always their special responsibility even when it is not their chief one. Under the concrete conditions of the united front against hegemonism, this means strug-

gling against American chauvinism and imperialism within the united front; it means being particularly alert to the problems of Browderism, taking the lead in summing-up that phenomenon. But it does not mean boycotting the united front under the cover of "left" and r-r-r-evolutionary slogans, abstract formulae and empty "maximum" political programs.

2. How can a united front with their own bourgeoisie be reconciled with the interests of the struggles of the American proletariat?

This question must always be approached from the standpoint of proletarian internationalism. We should remember what Lenin said: "Proletarian internationalism demands, first, that the interests of the proletarian struggle in any one country should be subordinated to the interests of that struggle on a world-wide scale." To forget this, to counterpose the interests of the American struggle against those of the international proletariat, or to give primacy to the former (in the name of "the internal contradictions", the "concrete" etc.) is to slide into a position of conscious or unconscious national chauvinism. The U.S. proletariat is a contingent of the world proletariat. Its interests are identical (in the long run) and subordinate (in the short run) to those of the international proletariat. As communists we must keep this in mind always:

"The Communists are distinguished from the other working class parties by this only: 1. In the national struggles of the proletarians of the different countries, they point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality. 2. In the various stages of development... they always and everywhere represent the interests of the movement as a whole." (*Communist Manifesto*, Part II.)

But while communists represent the future of the movement, they also struggle for the immediate interests of the working class. In the United States, as in the rest of the world, the most vital interest of the masses is to avoid, or to postpone, the horror of a new world war. In the United States, the main seat of the "nuclear reply" to the U.S.S.R., the elementary, vital interest of the American masses is defense against attack. Without life there can be no struggle at all against oppression.

The Soviet Union has a mammoth and costly civil defense program consistent with their strategic doctrines envisioning the possibility of fighting and winning a nuclear war. The U.S., on the other hand, now has virtually no civil defense against nuclear attack. Civil defense spending and training has been reduced drastically since the early 1960s even as the Soviets have vastly expanded their offensive strike capability and the world has become demonstrably more dangerous. The prevailing "strategies" of "Mutually Assured Destruction" and of appeasement amount to a betrayal of the vital interests of the American masses. A basic plank of the platform of the united front against hegemonism in this country must be the demand for adequate civil defense. This is an elementary, vital interest of the American people.

As the clearest and most consistent supporters of the active defense of their own people, communists must then link the question of defense with the demands of the people for democratic rights and against the continuous deterioration of their standard of living. □

1. Georgi Dimitrov, "Unity of the Working Class Against Fascism" in *The United Front* (Proletarian Publishers), p. 97.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 100.
3. Manuilsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-51.
4. Dimitrov, "The Struggle for Peace", *op. cit.*, pp. 179-80.
5. Manuilsky, *op. cit.*, p. 51.
6. *Ibid.*
7. "Preliminary Draft Theses on the National and Colonial Questions", *LCW*, Vol. 21, p. 148.

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sion report talks about "West Bank Palestinian leaders" and also states "The PLO is a federation of organizations with widely different objectives and tactics. Even leaving aside the extreme rejectionists, there is a most relevant division between those willing to negotiate through Jordan, or at any rate to accept a Palestinian-Jordanian entity as the possible final outcome of such a negotiation, and others who do not accept negotiations on their behalf by a third party and who insist on achieving independence before considering an institutional link with Jordan, if any."

Indeed, the point has been repeatedly made in the U.S. press that the July ceasefire arranged between the PLO and Israel in essence amounted to negotiations, although Saudi and UN mediators were employed. *Newsweek* magazine quoted a "prominent U.S. friend of Israel" as saying that next to Begin, Arafat "looked like a sympathetic character." And the *Washington Post* called in an editorial for the United States "to give up its old pledge not to talk to the PLO until the PLO recognizes Israel's right to exist."

U.S. Still Targets PLO

But what is essential to keep in mind is that any decision that the PLO leadership's cooperation with the U.S. is desirable or necessary goes hand in hand with bringing the bludgeon of military force and the threat of destruction to bear against the PLO as the alternative to such cooperation. In fact it is still seen as the main instrument to win such "cooperation." It is not accidental that Israel coupled its military operation against the PLO, which aimed at driving PLO forces north to the Beirut-Damascus Highway and the destruction of PLO communications, bases and headquarters, with a call for a resumption of the extended Camp David talks on Palestinian autonomy. A dialectic is in play when the U.S. restrains Israel and dangles hints to the PLO: Should the PLO not respond "responsibly" by distancing itself from the Soviet-Union, disciplining radical factions, moderating its demands, etc., then it can be counted on that "restraint" will be followed by a new wave of terror. It is this dialectic which permeates U.S. imperialist diplomacy in the region generally.

While it is clear that the Reagan administration objected to the Beirut raid on political, world strategic, grounds, the overall objective of the Israeli operation—which continued for several days following Beirut, and ended in a ceasefire only when Israel had determined that it had done about as much damage as possible—it cannot be seen as contrary to U.S. policy, but rather an inherent part of it.

In brief, the U.S. considered the Beirut raid a high profile embarrassment for which the Arab regimes—and other sectors of "world opinion" such as Europe—would hold the U.S. responsible. The other U.S. concern was—and remains—that Israel may be about to mount a full-scale invasion of southern Lebanon or some other act not considered conducive at present to the dream of one big anti-Soviet family in the Middle East.

The U.S. also has other contradictions with Israel, and specifically with the Begin regime. Israel is strongly opposed to the sale of AWACs spy planes to Saudi Arabia, and has created extreme political difficulties for the Reagan administration on this issue. Under pressure from the high-powered Zionist lobby, a majority of members of both the House and the Senate have already gone on record opposing the sale. Even more of a thorn is the possibility that Begin's insufficiently attentive attitude towards U.S. wishes may jeopardize the upcoming withdrawal of Israeli troops from the remaining positions in the Sinai. In the aftermath of the Israeli elections, the position of those in Begin's camp who are opposed to the withdrawal has been strengthened. There is dark speculation in U.S. official circles that Begin is

behaving in a deliberately provocative way in order to find some excuse to get out of the agreement.

Renewed hostility between Egypt and Israel would blow U.S. plans to set up its own military bases in the Sinai. While Israel is obviously dependent on its pact with Egypt, which removes a powerful potential threat, some forces in Begin's cabinet fear that once Egypt regains the Sinai, Sadat's benevolent attitude will change. The key to resolving these fears, from the U.S. standpoint, is the conclusion of an agreement for a multilateral peace-keeping force in the Sinai, including a heavy U.S. presence. But Israel's recent behavior has forced Sadat to postpone the negotiations, which became politically dangerous to him during the Syrian missile crisis and the Israeli raid on Iraq.

A consensus within the U.S. imperialist ranks gave the green light to the Iraqi raid, despite some misgivings and the risks entailed, principally because it was calculated that the bourgeois Arab regimes, while they would condemn it publicly, would be privately pleased; and because it was necessary to give Iraq a little taste of "the treatment" in order to concentrate the mind of Iraq's Saddam Hussein on just who the chief bully in the region really is—and that's Israel. The "wrist-slap" nature of the U.S. response after that incident, as well as other evidence, bears out the U.S. approval of the bombing of Iraq. No such benefits, though, attended the raid on Beirut, and the possibility that Begin had more such bright ideas in store caused the U.S. imperialists to tighten the Israeli leash.

It is interesting to note that following the raid against Iraq's nuclear facilities, the U.S. press was filled with the old garbage about Israel's "heroic struggle to exist as a democracy," its "commitment to Western values and culture," its "vulnerability," etc. Now, though the old song is still being played, new themes are also being introduced. *Newsweek* and the *New York Times* have both published polls indicating a "softening" of U.S. public support for Israel, including a 50% to 39% judgment that the Beirut raid was "not justified." None of this, of course, presages an end of U.S. imperialism's support of Israel. What it does mean is that both U.S. public opinion and the Israeli leadership are being prepared for the "facts of life": not Israel, not nobody, gets a free ride or can afford to ignore with impunity even the least nuance of the bossman's "strategic interests."

Ruling Class Infighting

As has become a pattern in each successive foreign policy crisis, this latest also featured new signs of disunity within the imperialists' own ranks about just how to advance their strategic interests. It seemed clear that the Beirut raid amused nobody within the U.S. bourgeoisie: even Israel's closest congressional supporters pulled long faces. But immediately following the raid, Secretary of State Haig, in announcing the decision to suspend F-16 deliveries, still went out of his way to avoid any direct criticism of Israel, instead explaining that the suspension was decided solely to avoid introducing a new inflammatory element into the violence being conducted "by both sides." The following day, however, Weinberger and Assistant Secretary of State Clark, who is widely known as Reagan's man in the State Department, uncorked relatively harsh criticism of Israel. White House Press Secretary James Baker then stepped in to declare that Clark and Weinberger were "only speaking for themselves." This step only came, however, following what *Newsweek* described as a telephone call to the White House by Haig to "complain that his colleagues were sabotaging Habib's efforts."

Then, shortly following the ceasefire, Robert G. Neumann, the U.S. Ambassador to Saudi Arabia, returned to the U.S. and reportedly "bad-mouthed" Haig to Senator Charles Percy, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Neumann reportedly charged that Haig was dragging his feet on the sale of AWACs to Saudi Arabia and that the United States should "crack down" harder on Israel. Neu-

mann particularly singled out Haig's comments on Ted Koppel's Nightline of July 19th, where Haig noticeably went out of his way not to breathe a critical word about Israel.

Haig got wind of this and suddenly fired Neumann. Subsequent press reports filled in that Neumann had been privately reporting to Richard G. Allen, the chief of the National Security Council. Neumann had been the head of Reagan's "foreign policy transition team" which Haig had liquidated the minute he took office as Secretary of State. Neumann had been since 1976 an associate of the Georgetown Center for Strategic and International Studies, a think-tank which has provided many Reagan staffers. According to press accounts, Neumann had gotten the Saudi post over Haig's opposition and at the insistence of close Reagan advisors. Neumann was replaced by Richard W. Murphy, a "career foreign service officer" currently serving as ambassador to the Philippines.

This is only the most recent example of apparent grandstanding by Haig as the "staunchest friend of Israel" in opposition to a so-called "Arab lobby" headed by Weinberger and the Defense Department. To accept this division at face value would be foolish indeed; at least in part, Haig seems to be playing the game of systematically shifting the "blame" for any move offensive to the Zionist lobby onto the shoulders of his rivals as a mean of strengthening his own political base—maneuvers which have more to do with a broader struggle for power within the administration than with some holy commitment to Israel. Nevertheless, the contradictory objective situation in the Middle East, including the inherent contradiction in

U.S. policy toward Israel outlined above, inevitably is reflected in disputes and divergences within U.S. imperialist policy making circles; and this is true in general, not only in the Middle East, as the U.S. struggles to prepare for war. For these reasons, it is important to keep in mind that whatever course the U.S. imperialists take in the region to resolve the acute crises threatening their "strategic consensus" will be accompanied by dissent and internal opposition, including the possibility of serious infighting breaking out into the open.

Even more important, though, is that behind every U.S. move must be the bomb and the bayonet; the more desperate the U.S. becomes, the more prominent becomes the instrument of naked terror as not only the foundation, but the raw reality, of imperialist diplomacy. And all this actively is increasingly being judged by how it fits into the developing contradictions on a world scale—especially the U.S.—Soviet imperialists' world showdown. This, after all, is where Israel comes in—though not Israel alone. An Israeli official is quoted in the *Times* as complaining bitterly that "the Americans don't care about the Arabs, and they don't care about us. To them, we're all gooks." Begin says, he "knows what the United States did in Vietnam"—undoubtedly he remembers, as well what happened to early 1960s U.S. puppet ruler Diem. He was assassinated and replaced by other U.S. puppets Ky and Thieu. Things haven't come to that pass, the U.S. will rush to reassure Begin. We just want to clear up any misunderstandings—and make sure that such unpleasantness is entirely unnecessary to our "strategic interests." □

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expect to do. But more and more the character of things is that they are increasingly spinning out of control. It is certainly clear that the imperialists of all countries do not expect to fundamentally do anything about returning their economies to a state of relative health short of fighting and coming out on top of a new fight for the redivision of the world through war. However, their economic problems are having concrete political effects both on the situation within each country and in the relations between U.S. bloc imperialist countries who, even as they must and strive to unite more firmly to take on the Soviet imperialists, cannot avoid the developing contradictions among themselves. Both of these aspects were in evidence in Ottawa.

The stagnation in the economies in Western Europe are having very real effects internally. West Germany and England particularly have acutely felt the heat of the growing "social upheaval" of the masses of people. They cannot forget for a moment the sight of burning buildings, masses of youth in the streets battling the police, and rumblings throughout the ranks of the masses of people. There is a very real urgency in their demands for help from the U.S. in setting things straight. Help which the U.S. cannot give.

And even as all the parties concerned at the summit agreed to not step on each other's toes and cooperate as much as possible economically, out of a real necessity to unite firmly against a common foe, there are forces here beyond their control. For example, the final communique contains what has become a standard clause against protectionism and trade barriers. Yet these have increased in the 1970s. The imperialists face more pressures to implement them now. The U.S., for example, was forced to pressure Japan recently to agree to cut its auto imports to the U.S. because of the sorry state of the U.S. auto industry, a key pillar of the economy. A collapse of this industry would have dire consequences. This worried the Europeans who feared that Japan would correspondingly increase its exports to Europe, thus undercutting its vital auto industry, etc. All this at least raises the spectre of potential trade wars in the future, despite the intentions expressed at Ottawa.

Another bone of contention raised at

the summit was the question of trade between Western Europe and the Soviet bloc. In particular, Reagan was uptight over a proposed natural gas pipeline that would deliver gas to West Germany from the Soviet Union. Reagan called for postponing construction or scrapping it altogether in favor of a coal deal with the U.S. The U.S. is very concerned that if West Germany finds energy resources other than what's controlled by the U.S., especially from the Soviets, that this arrangement could give West Germany less compulsion to support its policies, especially in the vital area of the Middle East. Furthermore, the U.S. is very much schooled in the application of economic thumbscrews and in no way wants to see the Soviets obtain anything resembling leverage with such a key strategic ally as West Germany; leverage that could precipitate its balking at a critical juncture or adopting conciliatory stances in relation to heightening superpower contention. As with all else discussed at the Ottawa Summit, nothing was resolved—Schmidt rebuffed the U.S. alternatives, and the U.S. put the subject of East-West trade on the top of the agenda of the next high-level meeting of the NATO offshoot, the Coordinating Committee for East-West Trade Policy.

All this serves to not only point out some of the real contradictions among the members of the U.S. bloc at Ottawa behind the carefully constructed atmosphere of cordiality, but something about the basic nature of the imperialists' alliances. Even as they are increasingly colluding for the showdown with their Soviet bloc rivals, the fact remains that the Western bloc is an alliance of imperialists who hold no basic loyalty to each other except on the basis of the fact that each of their interests is served in uniting to defeat the main obstacle to furthering their gangster aims. And they cannot escape the fundamental reality that whatever their desires may be, their own contention and contradictions cannot be painted over but will create increasingly vexing problems for them in a volatile world situation with great dangers up ahead. In fact, these contradictions themselves compel the U.S. in particular to all the more desperately and aggressively step up its war moves in order to get on with what has to be done and hold its bloc together. And in this process they are increasingly quick to remind their friends in Europe and Japan just whose nuclear umbrella they are standing under. □

Special 1 Month Drive to Raise Funds for the Revolutionary Worker

This is a call to all co-conspirators to raise thousands of dollars toward our main weapon against imperialism, the *Revolutionary Worker*, through a special 1-month fund drive. Many thousands of dollars from *RW* sales and regular contributions are spent each week to produce the *RW* and this will continue to expand and increase. In addition, funds are needed now beyond the regular sales of the paper, building off the tremendous advances in its distribution over the past two years, to finance operating expenses and further expand and strengthen the influence of the *RW*.

This includes:

- developing *RW* distribution in new areas of the country
- initiating new foreign language editions
- dissemination of the *RW* and revolutionary literature to prisoners
- increasing the *RW*'s ability to cover major outbreaks
- international mailings of the *RW*

Co-conspirators will come up with many creative ways and various fundraising projects. These projects in the main will not only raise money but will demonstrate the tremendous class-conscious enthusiasm for revolution and through this the influence of the *RW* will expand to include even broader numbers of revolutionary fighters. It would be very significant and deepen proletarian internationalism if: Black residents of a housing project would take on the task of raising funds toward a foreign language edition of the *RW*. . . groups of autoworkers would contribute to the Prisoners' Revolutionary Literature Fund. . . farmworkers would see to it that the *RW* is able to reach people's hands where it has not been distributed before. There are countless possibilities and we urge all co-conspirators to get together to discuss their plans to carry out this special drive. It's in your hands. Contact your local distributors and correspond to the *RW*.

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