

"Resurgent America" Turns to Reaganism

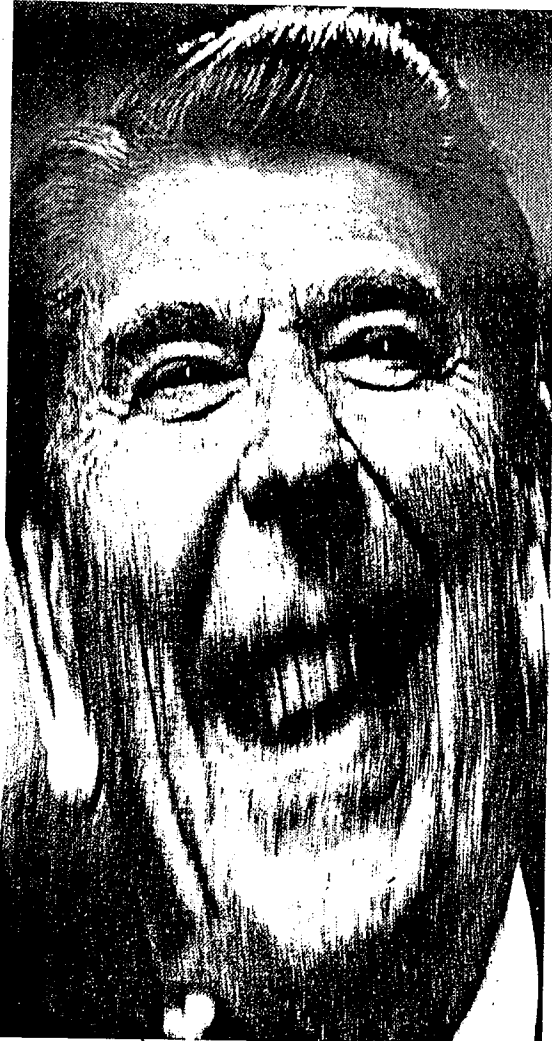
by Carl Dix*

The United States of America appears to have gone totally mad. It screams that its "hesitancies" and "self-doubts" left over from Vietnam are dispelled. "We won't be pushed around any more!" To show precisely how unashamed it is, this colossus swaggers over little Grenada, stages a highly-publicised rape, and then *dares* to trumpet this crime as a refreshing act of new morality and national rebirth. "Who's next?" the Yankee growls, jabbing Nicaragua, "*America is back!*"

What could be more grotesque and absurd, especially to those hundreds of millions across the globe who live daily under the cowboy boot? America can't be "back"; *it never was gone!*

This new belligerence is not limited to challenges inside traditional U.S. spheres of influence. The U.S. bourgeoisie stridently denounces the post-World War 2 Yalta accords as outdated and morally suspect. From the top levels of the U.S. ruling class comes more and more talk of waging and "prevailing" in global nuclear war against the Soviet Union. Meanwhile, military underpinnings to this rhetoric reveal just how serious it is: the United States has accelerated its military production, embarking on the greatest war buildup in history. Fully \$1.5 trillion have been dedicated so far in the last five years alone to hone a "glo-

*Carl Dix was the 'anti-candidate' of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA during the 1984 U.S. presidential electoral campaign.



bal war-fighting capacity."

As the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics hideously demonstrated to the world, this international bellowing rests upon a domestic wave of chauvinism. Official America brims with unapologetic self-love. Amid a reborn worship of "free enter-

prise," the proletarian, the poor, the non-white are openly scorned as "losers" who have somehow personally failed to take advantage of the "limitless opportunities" in the "land of the free."

Classic American know-nothingism is back in vogue. "Tra-

ditional social roles," especially for women and youth, are exalted and increasingly enforced. Backwater religious fanatics are handed respectability and influence. Submissiveness, motherhood, unthinking obedience are watchwords of the times. Darwinism (along with all progressive and some merely scientific thought) is under assault in the schools, while prayer is welcomed back into the classrooms of an increasingly "Christian Nation."

The prayers of this "moral rebirth" are to be offered up to a particular deity: that god who long ago blessed the United States as his chosen nation and who rides with its legions to victory. Today his divine plan contains a particularly ominous twist: the approach of the Battle of Armageddon. From the highest offices of the U.S. government have come repeated pronouncements that we may well be living in the "final days foretold in prophecy" leading up to the ultimate cataclysmic war between Christian good and Satanic evil. As explained by America's leading politicians, there is no doubt who plays what role: the United States represents the virtuous forces of god himself, called upon to destroy the "focus of evil in the world" (Reagan's words), i.e., that satanic empire of the USSR.

Clearly there has been a brazen effort to whip up a particularly abominable political atmosphere in the United States. Since its rise as a world power, the international role of the United States has, of course, always been ugly. Its very existence has been rooted in global empire. As one of the pillars of the world imperialist system, the USA has literally waded in blood to pursue its interests. However, over the last six years or so, the official political arena has taken on a new air of stridency and intolerance. It does not rest content simply to hide or prettify the crimes of U.S. imperialism—it openly calls for the mobilisation of the population and demands an eagerness for new and even greater atrocities. There is an extremism afoot that foreshadows momentous events.

At the centre of this turn stands the figure of Ronald Reagan. The

new climate has been fittingly labelled "Reaganism," or even called "the Reagan Revolution" by its supporters. Five years ago, in the 1980 Presidential election, this man rose to power from the right fringe of bourgeois politics. Now, after the 1984 elections have assigned him a second term with a landslide victory, this trend is obviously no passing fluke. It represents a broadly based consensus within the U.S. ruling class. Over the past few years, they have moulded this mummified mediocrity, through the "magic of the mass media," into an embodiment of their system and of their projected course for the 1980s.

"Resurgent America"

At one point in the late seventies, President Jimmy Carter withdrew to Camp David for agonised meditation over what he called the internal "malaise" gripping America. Upon his return, he delivered a now famous speech: "I want to talk to you right now about a fundamental threat to American democracy....it is a crisis of confidence. It is a crisis that strikes at the very heart and soul and spirit of our national will."

The U.S. imperialists have been battered by the unprecedented wave of revolutions and rebellions that swept the world in the 1960s. Externally it suffered its first undisguised military defeat at the hands of Vietnam's revolutionary war. Internally, this helped spark massive upsurges of minority nationalities and youth that rocked the country. For years after this tumultuous period, even after an ebb set in during the mid-'70s, many of the political wounds inflicted remained unhealed. Old gospels had been punctured; a whole generation had emerged to whom America had been revealed as (at a minimum) distinctly flawed and capable of great injustices. Even among the most reactionary domestic elements, who had been battered and besieged during the 1960s, there was a definite demoralisation. None of this was acceptable to a U.S. imperialism contemplating its pressing tasks.

Carter ended his "malaise" speech with the words: "let us com-

mit ourselves together to a rebirth of the American spirit."

The ruling class has since committed vast resources to precisely that rebirth. Unfortunately for Carter's political career, he was not the man to spearhead such a crusade. Despite his exaggerated piety and his image as an uncorrupted "outsider," Carter was too closely associated with political self-flagellation. After the U.S. bourgeoisie's standard electoral sifting process, it was Ronald Reagan they tapped on the shoulder.

Among Reagan's assigned tasks was to unfold a whole campaign in the realm of public opinion. At its core stands the notion of "Resurgent America": the glorification of a United States straining to regain its position as the undisputed political, economic and military power in the world, able to reimpose its *Pax Americana*. It is a notion promoted through an emotional process of national redemption: cathartic collective events (from the Iran hostage crisis, to the invasion of Grenada, to the Olympics) bring a manufactured sense of "feeling good about America again." The inherent goodness of this America is supposed to be axiomatic, and because of that goodness any atrocity is ultimately excusable—after all, even the pure wage their battles in an imperfect and dangerous world. What arises is precisely the kind of "sentimental brutality" the German liberal Thomas Mann once ascribed to Nazism. How else could a "national consensus" emerge around the myth that the invasion of Grenada was a righteous "rescue mission" or that the mercenary *contras* of Central America are "freedom fighters"?

An American Hitler

In a carefully constructed image, worthy of a Goebbels, Reagan has been projected as the personification of precisely that "sentimental brutality." The United States of the 1980s is, of course, not Germany of the 1930s: there are differences as well as parallels. Whereas Hitler evoked the mythologies of Black Forest hamlets, the loyalties searching for a new German *Kaiser*, and

hoary Siegfried legends, Reagan has been handed a distinctly *American* script. He appears as the simple, moral cowboy, a man whose mind is supposedly uncluttered by knowledge, but who shoots from the hip using an instinctive sense of righteousness. When, during the last elections, one bourgeois commentator gushed that "Reagan has really become Uncle Sam," he was just paying one more homage to the "inherent decency" of this man. (Imagine! The inherent decency of an imperialist chieftain who makes incinerating the millions in the Soviet Union into a public "joke." Truly "sentimental brutality!")

Despite its specifically *American* features, this campaign represents a page torn from the Nazi manual. To make a horrible and cataclysmic future politically palatable for millions, it is being dressed up in the trappings of a glorified past. Reagan rededicates America, once again, to a suffocating little world of small towns and industrious achievers, where "everyone had a chance to make it through hard work." This is a fairy tale where everyone (especially women, youth and national minorities) "knew their place" because the "traditional values" were absolute, just and unchallengeable. This virtuous order is, of course, a past that never was. It never existed for the majority within the United States, let alone the hundreds of millions dominated by it worldwide.

Against this idealised past, the realities of the present stand out as sharply inadequate, and so loyal Americans are called to a crusade (internally and increasingly externally) to "make it right." The real content of this future vision leaks through in the heavy emphasis given to "Making the USA No. 1 Again" and in the way the myth of an "end time Armageddon" are woven into it. Neither of these two themes are accidental: in real life, they are precisely where "Resurgent America" leads, to the most savage opposition to revolution, on the one hand, and to a desperate gamble for victory in nuclear world war, on the other.

War Preparations

The close connection between the

rise of Reaganism and the serious preparations of U.S. imperialism for world war becomes apparent when one examines the broader military and politico-strategic policies being formulated in the last half of the Carter administration, i.e., just before Reagan himself stepped onto the political stage as a new president.

At the same time Carter was calling for a "spiritual rebirth," there was an intense flurry of high-level activity to shape the outlines of the coming decade. Before Carter's electoral loss in 1980, the guiding doctrines and projections of the U.S. military were being fully reoriented towards "prevailing" in a world war, and the structure of military forces was being openly predicated on all-sided "war fighting."

Among the decisions of these last years of the 1970s were: Presidential Directive 59, establishing the "counterforce" targeting strategy for the U.S. nuclear arsenal, involving a preference for a "decapitating first strike." The B-1 bomber and the MX and Trident 2 missiles were called for, thereby sketching a whole new generation of nuclear weapons. Contracts were signed for the construction of 3400 cruise missiles. Agreements were reached to station accurate intermediate range nuclear weapons in Western Europe. And plutonium production was expanded to accommodate these plans. Anti-satellite programs were launched, and preparations for a new military draft were instituted.

At the same time, the U.S. imperialists under Carter moved on several fronts to "hold the line" against developments in the third world that might lead either to genuine revolutionary challenges or to major new pro-Soviet inroads. Military supplies flowed to *contras* in Angola and Nicaragua, as well as to pro-U.S. forces fighting the Soviets in Afghanistan. The infamous "Carter Human Rights Policy" was both a post-Vietnam holding strategy and also an attempt to prettify the hangmen of the U.S. neocolonies in contrast to their "totalitarian" counterparts in the Eastern sphere, while leaving no doubt that the U.S. would ultimately defend its grip on these countries with fire and

steel. In the wake of the Shah's collapse, and the failed U.S. helicopter invasion of Iran, the U.S. moved toward the development of a serious "Rapid Deployment" invasion force, specifically planned for the Middle East.

Finally, using the excuse provided by the Soviet imperialist invasion of Afghanistan, the Carter administration placed open hostility at the heart of U.S.-Soviet relations: cultural and scientific ties were severed, the Moscow Olympics were boycotted. Washington announced a new "Carter Doctrine" which stated that the U.S. would wage nuclear warfare against any (that is, Soviet) challenge to its control of the Persian Gulf.

In short, "Reaganism" did not start with Reagan. At a time when Reagan was just emerging near the centre of U.S. politics, at a time when "spiritual rebirth" was just beginning to find expression on imperialist lips, international necessity was already forcing U.S. imperialism to embark on a serious, all-sided preparation for a period of global challenges and collisions. Reagan did not create this driving war preparation, it created him. Certain times call forth leaders of the general Hitler-type. Reagan is a fitting representative of the U.S. imperialists in just such a time.

Having said that, it must also be noted that there are differences between the specific political programmes of Reagan and Hitler. For one thing, Reagan's policies do not aim (at least now) at abolishing the democratic shell through which the U.S. imperialists exercise their dictatorship, certainly not the way Hitler was forced to dismantle the parliamentarism of the Weimar Republic. U.S. imperialism has found the banner of the "Free World" far too useful for its purposes to abandon lightly. In fact, under Reagan there has been a virtual fad of staging mock elections to prettify death squad regimes from El Salvador to South Korea to Turkey. The formal existence of bourgeois democracy in the U.S. has never prevented it from exercising open terror when it needed to, especially in its external possessions. Even while Reagan raves about

“America’s unique freedoms” and about the necessity to kill to “protect” them, there is a real tightening of allowable debate taking place within the U.S. itself, complete with preparations for future leaps in the level of domestic repression and terror.

Unlike the previous world wars of this century, the United States stands in the very front trenches of a looming third global conflict. It must prepare its population to take the full shock of coming collisions in a way they never had to before even to the point of staring straight into the glare of the nuclear fireball. For this, the U.S. imperialists must mobilise all of their political reserves, and prepare to put everything on the line in the coming gamble. Repulsive as the memory of Hitler deservedly is, it needs to be pointed out that the crimes now being prepared by the U.S. bourgeoisie and their chosen American Hitler, alongside their Soviet counterparts, dwarf any atrocities committed in the world war forty years ago. To describe the acts planned by these modern Hitlers a whole new vocabulary would have to be invented. It is this extreme necessity that has conjured up the extremism of a Ronald Reagan.

A Hollow Mandate

Reaganism is not a phenomenon merely for internal U.S. consumption. The United States plays a central role as “pointman” within the broader alliance it leads. America’s “Triumph of the Will” is being used to help stiffen spines throughout the Western world. In Western Europe, Reagan’s “popularity” is upheld as the kind of resolve worthy of emulation, while simultaneously the United States is being consciously presented as one vast sea of bleating nuclear cowboys to demoralise the masses everywhere.

In the oppressed nations, the rise of Reaganism has been used to prop up the bloodiest local henchmen, and to press the masses of people towards a fatalistic acceptance of American permanence.

For these reasons alone, it is useful to lay bare the real and potentially explosive contradictions beneath the manufactured image of

American unity.

It should be no surprise that, within their borders, the U.S. imperialists have corrupted significant strata of the population who they can puff up and mobilise when necessary. After all, the U.S. has been the centre of a global empire for generations. However, it is also a class society in profound crisis, facing the most dangerous international confrontation in its history. And despite the stifling climate among the oppressed within the U.S., there is also a distinct tension within the political lull. The whole revolting Reaganism phenomenon and the reactionary dinosaurs it has unleashed, along with the continuous international jolts hitting the U.S. precisely because of its position, have both sharply increased the polarisation of society and heightened this tension. An examination of some of the dynamics within Reagan’s touted “landslide electoral victory” last fall will help bring these contradictions to light.

The first thing that can certainly be said, based on those November 1984 elections, is that Reagan enjoys a distinct “mandate” among the U.S. imperialists themselves. Rarely has one of their political figures been raised so far above criticism. The U.S. media frolicked at Reagan’s feet like puppies, while mocking his challengers nightly.

The sharpest example of this bourgeois consensus is revealed through the non-oppositional character of the Democratic opposition staged “against” Reagan. On every major issue, the Democratic candidate Walter Mondale expressed essential unity with the thrust of Reagan’s politics: on the need for accelerated arms buildup, on the need to confront the Soviets “with toughness,” on the need to bring Nicaragua to its knees, on the importance of religion in American life, on the need to push social questions like poverty or racial discrimination to the margins of political discussion. The core question in the election became who could best handle the nuclear button and pilot America back to undisputed world dominance. Democratic opponent Walter Mondale’s own aides admitted they cried during the nauseating

jingoism of Reagan’s main television commercial!

Given these narrow and carefully constructed parameters of “debate” and the unity of bourgeois opinion they reflect, the outcome of the election was never in doubt. Reagan won in every state but Minnesota, Mondale’s home state, and lost there by a bare 1%.

The Democrats then ended their campaign according to script. Geraldine Ferraro, the Democratic Vice Presidential candidate, conceded the race with the words: “This is not a moment for a partisan speech...but for a celebration of our democracy.” Mondale was, that same evening, the first to proclaim Reagan’s supposed “popular mandate,” saying: “He has won. We are all Americans. He is our president...we honour him...God bless you and God bless America!”

It was no surprise that the U.S. imperialists could orchestrate such a show. This is how they always choose their chieftains. These are their elections, their institutions, their parties and their tightly controlled mass media. An official period of phony “debate” parades as “pluralism,” and the incoming imperialist policies are thereby ratified as the product of “the will of the people.” What was unique this time was that the imperialists were not only not interested in the usual show of debate, but they wanted the final outcome so one-sided.

First, Mondale was only allowed to raise the *most* timid, *most* superficial criticisms of Reagan policy, and then even this pretence of an alternative was to be buried under a humiliating avalanche of meatheads. What better way to puff up the backward than to present their champion as invincible? What better way to try to suffocate the advanced and the revolutionary-minded than to portray “Resurgent America” as unanimously satisfied and militantly contemptuous of even diluted liberal critiques?

There is a certain genuine popular support for Reagan in some quarters. In a pus-filled imperium like the United States, there are unquestionably millions who recognise and enthusiastically endorse an ut-

terly reactionary programme when they see one. There are forces who are eager to see more U.S. aggression internationally, and might even be itching for a swipe at the "Reds." For a decade, such reactionary and ignorant sections of the U.S. population have been roused from their stupor and trained to play an active political role. Often wearing religious garb, these forces have enjoyed constant publicity proclaiming them the cutting edge of America's spiritual rebirth.

However not all, or even most, of Reagan's supporters were so hardcore. Quite a bit of intermediate sentiment swung Reagan's way because of a perception that he has affairs well in hand. This was particularly true among middle class sections of society, and among the sizeable section of more privileged workers who voted for Reagan. The level of East-West antagonism has certainly gone way up, but this has taken place when there is no direct U.S. shooting war. The bourgeoisie's own opinion polls document that a great deal of Reagan's support was not an actual endorsement of his global collision course, but reflects the sorry illusion that his military policy might possibly lead to "peace through strength."

Even more important, perhaps, in generating support for Reagan among the least awakened sections of the people is the existence of a temporary economic recovery. Reagan's popularity, according to some polls, has swung up and down in a way closely connected to national economic performance, reaching near record depths for a president during the 1982 economic recession. For some sections of the population, current policies (which are in turn closely connected with the military buildup, the massive budget deficit and the U.S. position within its own bloc) have produced a real but extremely fragile bubble of prosperity and with it, at least for now, a willingness to re-endorse Reagan.

What this means, in a nutshell, is that a great deal of Reagan's current support is based on an utter ignorance of what lies directly ahead on the agenda, which certainly has nothing to do with either peace or

prosperity! It means that the actual developments already unfolding will come as a rude awakening for such types.

In fact, "Reaganism" has been marked by a sharp economic *attack* on large sections of the masses, even while some others have benefitted from the "recovery." Unemployment has remained high, social services have been drastically cut, even retirement pensions have been reduced. The number of homeless, for example, has reached record and scandalous proportions.

The massive promotion of Reagan's electoral victory as proof of a "popular mandate" for war and reaction missed (and even suppressed) other, more significant political developments than the ones we have just discussed. The *key* polarisation in the fall elections was not between Reagan's supporters and Mondale's, but between those who voted, *and those who did not*. While Reagan obviously won at the ballot box, the race between voting itself and abstention was neck and neck on election day. Over 90 million men and women, fully half of the adults over 18 in the United States, did not participate in the electoral circus at all! This represents the lowest rate of participation in U.S. history (matching the 1980 turnout which was also about 50%).

The massive abstention represents a definite setback for imperialist plans and is itself a dangerous omen for them. It took place straight in the teeth of the most intense promotion of voting *per se* ever to occur before an election. One bourgeois commentator writing in the *New York Times* put it, "Everyone knows that a single voter never decides a national election. The real significance of a citizen's vote is that by casting it he or she is expressing confidence in our democratic system of government." Voting was, in essence, declared a plebiscite on America. In order to spark interest in the elections, a woman was permitted to run for vice president for the first time ever, and a Black for president. And yet, when it was all done, an unprecedented number sat out the final event. This naturally represented a whole range of political thinking (not all of which was necessarily

revolutionary-minded, or even advanced) but at the very least it was often done with a sense of sullen, even angry alienation from the whole charade.

The Jesse Jackson Campaign

The seriousness with which the imperialists approached their necessity to ensnare especially oppressed sections of the people in the electoral arena can be seen in the creation of a presidential campaign supporting the Reverend Jesse Jackson. Jackson is a former lieutenant of Martin Luther King Jr., with highly tarnished credentials as a professional "civil rights activist." A year before the election, he received the OK to wage an unprecedented Black campaign, and to build an electoral "Rainbow Coalition" rooted in forces on the left fringe of the Democratic Party.

Blacks have been overwhelmingly excluded from "Resurgent America" by the very nature of things. The current bubble of prosperity does not extend to the bottom of society, where mass poverty is accumulating at an extremely rapid rate. Politically, there is a relatively clear sense, particularly among Blacks, that the whole rise of the political right-wing represents a wholesale unleashing of the most sinister pogromist forces. Given the fact that Blacks are concentrated in the proletariat, and now constitute a major part of U.S. imperialism's military forces, any political restlessness or growing alienation among Blacks and similarly oppressed minorities represents a source of serious worry for the ruling class.

Jackson's campaign was therefore conceived as a kind of flanking motion to herd these potentially dangerous forces into the electoral framework, to convince them that no matter what its current surface complexion, the American system retains a place for the complaints of the "other America." Jackson's candidacy was not the result of any present upsurge among Black people, nor even a well-orchestrated self-confident initiative by Black bourgeois forces. These forces (both the Black masses, and especially such Black bourgeois) were the target of the effort, and

were to varying degrees drawn into it. But from its inception, the Jackson campaign proceeded with the blessing, and finely tuned guidance, of the imperialists themselves. In order to stir up interest, Jackson was even allowed to articulate views otherwise seldom heard within the mainstream of U.S. bourgeois politics.

However, this was allowed precisely because all understood from the beginning that Jackson was supposed to *run*, but not even think about *winning*. He was the net, not the fisherman. In addition, while some of his statements were considered *risque* in an American context, they did not even contain the bland "socialist" demagoguery that is so common and accepted within the Western European bourgeois arenas. On two key points, of course, Jackson's Rainbow Coalition expressed no divergence from the current Reaganite climate: on the fundamental evil of the Soviet Union, and on the equally fundamental virtue of America. Standing on the Berlin Wall, courtesy of U.S. Army generals, Jackson impressed upon the U.S. troops in W. Germany (and on millions of U.S. television viewers) at the very start of his campaign that this wall marked the dividing line where "freedom ends and tyranny begins." and tyranny begins."

The endpoint of this "independent" campaign was a given from the outset. Jackson led any who would follow into a full endorsement of Mondale. This meant that such forces, who included some left-leaning and progressive elements, found themselves supporting a candidate who avoided making a single major mention of even the *existence* of Black people, let alone of their enraging oppression. The Jackson campaign was, in short, a cynical foray attempting to ensnare important sections of the oppressed and draw them into the electoral arena through false hopes, then humiliate them there by demanding that they support the Democratic Party's own watered-down version of Reaganism, and finally to slap them with the demoralisation of a Reagan landslide in the inevitable election outcome.

Opportunists

Major sections of the organised left were guilty of eager participation in this abuse. In their circles, ridiculous excuses were dredged up to document an "inch of difference between Mondale and Reagan." Every effort was bent in their attempts to convince progressive people that their horror at the direction of U.S. politics could be productively expressed through a vote for the Democrats. One pro-Soviet revisionist grouping openly used the slogan "Hold your nose and pull the lever" (of the voting machine) for Mondale! Other revisionists and "democratic socialists" simply dissolved their organisations directly into the Democratic Party apparatus.

Often as part of the Jackson campaign, such forces played a role in urging the oppressed to register massively to vote, under the slogan that "dumping Reagan" through a massive turnout of the oppressed would "pull the whole electoral spectrum to the left." Since this strategy was (even on their terms) a total illusion, it led to quite different results in the real world. First, it served to demoralise those drawn to the Jackson campaign as a form of protest, while using them as capital in petty careerist moves within the Democratic Party itself. And second, it contributed to the overall ability of the U.S. imperialists to claim that Reagan stands with a mandate from a process within which all conceivable voices could be heard.

In sharp contrast to the docile complicity of various revisionist forces in this imperialist electoral charade, a highly significant minority centred around the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA waged an active campaign calling for a refusal to vote and branding voting for what it is, an act of criminal complicity with the U.S. imperialist system and with the preparations for world war which these elections will be used to endorse. One poster signed by the RCP, USA gives a flavour of this campaign: "We don't want our fair share...We want to tear the whole system down! Elections are the wrong arena...It's going to come down to REVOLUTIONARY

WAR."

Viewed overall, the elections therefore give a glimpse of the dynamic forces operating in domestic U.S. politics. On the one hand, the imperialists manufactured a useful appearance of unanimity and utter reaction, crowning an American Hitler for another term. On the other hand, despite their all-out pro-voting campaign, despite a female and a Black candidate, despite the work of electoral hustlers of all kinds; and despite the existence of a suffocating pressure on many of the revolutionary-minded among the masses...the population split neatly in half between those who participated in the Reagan re-election, and those who didn't even bother to vote.

As the RCP, USA's newspaper, the *Revolutionary Worker*, wrote in its summation of this election, "if they can claim a mandate to rule based on the results of November 7, what can *we*, without exaggeration and with an eye to the future, rightfully claim on the basis of all the things they have strained to hide, deny or explain away?"

The current appearance of reactionary triumph is both fragile and temporary, based on a short term and ephemeral recovery and on the current absence of a real war directly engaging U.S. soldiers. While the corruption of major strata is certainly deeply rooted, the current suffocation of the sentiments and activities of the more advanced among the masses is not, and is already being eroded by the development of events, especially internationally. Below the surface broods a deep sense of frustration, awaiting an opportunity for expression. The very means by which the imperialists are mobilising their most hideous loyalists for war have served to prepare a more fertile ground for revolution among those who have nothing within this system to defend, and who remain excluded from the reactionary festival being carried on around them. There is a very real chance that, depending on the actual events of the coming period, these forces will get a chance to shoulder their share of truly historic actions. ■