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THE LIBYA CLASH AND THE U.S. VIEW OF THE SEAS:

“THAT’S OUR LAKE— WE STOLE IT FAIR AND SQUARE”



Henry Kissinger jabs with his swagger stick at a colorful map of Northern Africa and the Mediterranean, explaining to an attentive Ted Koppel the intricacies of “Libya’s plot” to carve out a “North African empire.” Six thousand miles from the New York studios of ABC’s “Nightline,” the U.S. Sixth Fleet was steaming away from the Libyan coast after claiming that U.S. F-14s shot down two Libyan jets in the Gulf of Sidra. When it comes to empires, Henry’s an expert.

“The United States is a sea-faring nation,” Kissinger concluded. “We will not be intimidated from exercising our right to navigate the open seas.” Kissinger was clearly relishing his role as a swashbuckling pirate; he required only a patch over one eye and a red, white and blue bandana to complete the effect.

Meanwhile, back at the Pentagon, in what the news media described as a mood of “exultation,” administration officials were dancing around the battleboard belting out choruses of “Yo ho ho and a bottle of rum.” Despite smirking “official denials,” the U.S. imperialists were making no real effort to conceal that they had planned a deliberate operation aimed at “bloodying the nose” of Libyan leader Colonel Muammar el-Qaddafi, and demonstrating that the U.S. is still the number one “terrorist of the 7 seas.”

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Imprisoned in Turkey

500 Revolutionaries Enter 6th Week of Hunger Strike

For nearly six weeks a mass hunger strike in Mamak Prison, the main military prison in Ankara, Turkey, has been going on. The hunger strike till death, led by sympathizers of the Communist Party of Turkey Marxist-Leninist (TKPML) and initially involving 350 prisoners, including over 50 women, has spread to at least two other prisons in Istanbul, and the number of hunger strikers has grown to nearly 500.

On August 15 in Cologne, West Germany, 80 demonstrators, supporters of

the revolutionary newspaper *Partizan*, occupied the Consulate of Turkey, demanding that the Turkish government meet the hunger strikers’ demands and demanding to know where the revolutionary Süleyman Cihan is and what the junta has done to him. Süleyman Cihan, who the Turkish authorities have alleged is a leading member of the TKPML, was arrested by plainclothes policemen in Istanbul on August 1 and has been missing since his arrest. (See press release, page 3)

The hunger strike in Turkey was sparked after a new decree by the military junta that allowed the political police to interrogate (read: torture) already sentenced prisoners for further information and to develop new charges against them. For many of the prisoners this is a certain death sentence. The demands of the hunger strikers, the majority of whom are awaiting mass trials, include: 1) the end of torture and death sentences; 2) longer visiting pe-

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U.S. Sponsored Azedegan Group

Iranian Reactionaries Seize Gunboat

On August 14, the *Tabarzin*, one of three 160-foot gunboats sailing from France to Iran was hijacked off the coast of Spain by the reactionary exile group Azedegan, led by General Bahram Aryana, a former Chief of Staff of the Iranian Armed Forces under the Shah. *RW* readers are familiar with Aryana through exposure of secret documents (*RW* No. 114) and further analysis in last week's issue, which revealed that Aryana is a central figure in U.S. coup-plotting activity, should the IRP fail them in Iran. Now Aryana and his group, formerly mentioned only in secret documents, reactionary exile newspapers and confidential inter-imperialist journals, have made their public debut with this gunboat hijacking. With much assistance from the Western press, Azedegan spokesmen in Paris announced their action with great fanfare, claiming that this was "the start of a series of operations which would destroy the regime of Ayatollah Khomeini." The adventures of the hijackers were reported dutifully every day in major imperialist newspapers. One gets the feeling that behind closed doors imperialist politicians affectionately refer to them as "the little gunboat," and the press has taken to translating the name Azedegan as "Born Free"—no doubt after the theme song from the movie about a lion cub who is raised by gamewardens when its mother is killed and then let go when it is able to fend for itself. While this symbolism might tickle the U.S. imperialists, a more appropriate theme song for the Azedegan would be the Marine Hymn.

This was the first time that Aryana and his rightist ex-military men have

been given such international publicity, and this was exactly the purpose of the whole incident. The hijacking put the Azedegan group on the map, and was meant to signal the reactionary exile community and rightist forces in Iran, particularly in the military, that Aryana commands a viable force. All this points to approval by the U.S. government to start unleashing the exiles and to develop international backing for their operations outside, as well as inside, Iran. Aryana himself reportedly left France three weeks ago in order to set up a clandestine military headquarters close to the Iranian-Turkish border.

The group that seized the gunboat consisted of 15-20 men, mostly army and navy officers who had fled Iran during the revolution, and was led by former Admiral Kamal Habibollahi, the last commander of the Iranian Navy under the Shah. The exiles clearly had access to inside information about the whereabouts of the gunboats since they left Cherbourg in the north of France on August 2. They chartered a commercial tugboat in Cadiz, Spain and forced the tugboat crew to sail out to meet the gunboats. Then the great "capture" took place, with the assistance of crewmen and officers on the *Tabarzin*. According to several Spanish witnesses, not only did the gunboat slow down to let the tug catch it, but several men on board were seen throwing lines to the exiles—a graphic demonstration of the continuing close ties between exile groups and pro-imperialist elements operating inside Iran's armed forces. The exiles then made it even clearer that they weren't attacking the Iranian military, but the present regime: im-

mediately after hijacking the *Tabarzin* they sent out a message stating that the crewmen would not be harmed because they were operating under orders from their commanders and were "just doing their duty."

The missile-firing gunboats were the last of an order of 12 placed by the Shah's regime with France in 1974. But they were held up, first during the revolutionary upheaval in 1978-79 and then during the hostage crisis. Two weeks ago, French President Mitterand ordered their release as a gesture of support for the current IRP regime and apparently in order to defuse the regime's anger over France's decision to provide political asylum to President Bani-Sadr and Mojahadeen leader Rajavi.

However, both the ease with which the hijacking took place and its final outcome point to French complicity in the matter. For one thing, it has come out that Adm. Habibollahi was personally involved in the Shah's program of buying these ships from France and was on close terms with French military authorities. Beyond this, the French imperialists appear to be following a strategy similar to that of the U.S. of extending support to the IRP's reactionary government (it has been Iran's largest trading partner since the Shah's overthrow) while preparing other options if the IRP becomes dangerously weakened. Thus, they have allowed exiles such as Aryana's group and former Prime Minister Bakhtiar free rein in France to organize their reactionary conspiracies. When the Iranian government demanded that France capture the *Tabarzin* and turn it over, the unconvincing reply was that "this is no longer a French affair since the boats were

delivered by us and paid for by Iran." At this very time, Azedegan spokesmen were blabbing to eager reporters in Paris, and the hijacked boat was on its way to southern France after a brief stop in Morocco. The *Tabarzin* showed up next in Marseilles, and after threatening to blow up the boat if fuel and supplies were not provided, the hijackers accepted the French authorities' offer of safe conduct (and possible asylum) in France in exchange for giving up the ship. The whole affair smelled of having been pre-rehearsed, from start to finish.

Also very interesting was the treatment these reactionary exiles received from the Western governments in the area and in the press. For nearly a week, they were sailing around on a hijacked boat in the Mediterranean—in waters known to be the exclusive preserve of the U.S. Sixth Fleet and the French and Spanish navies. During this time, these "rebels," "commandos" (as they were called in the press), functioned as a sea-based broadcasting station, sending out a stream of reactionary communiques asserting their intentions of bringing back the good old days of total imperialist domination over Iran. The Western press needed no urging to pick up and relay such broadcasts. Looking at this incident from another angle, any group that hijacked a boat in order to expose U.S. imperialism and its crimes and aggression worldwide would immediately have been labelled "a bunch of terrorists" and blown out of the water by U.S. planes and gunships in order to maintain "freedom of the seas." □

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Partizan Newspaper

Press Release

Press Release
Cologne, West Germany
August 15, 1981

—In order to save the life of Süleyman Cihan, who has been held since the first of August and faces death by torture,

—In order to support the hunger strike of the anti-fascists in the military prison of Mamak in Ankara and in other prisons throughout Turkey, we have occupied the general consulate of the Turkish Republic in Cologne on the 15th of August.

Süleyman Cihan was arrested in the city of Istanbul on the 1st of August by plainclothes police agents. Neither his family nor his lawyer knew the whereabouts of Süleyman Cihan since he has been arrested. The life of Süleyman Cihan, who we are certain is being tortured since the 1st of August, is in danger.

Before his arrest everything possible

was done by the military junta to try to find him. His house was ransacked a number of times. His wife and his 9-year-old daughter were tortured. As a result of this torture his daughter is today mentally disturbed and the health of his wife has been severely damaged.

Süleyman Cihan, who is of the Kurdish nationality, has been sought by the leaders of the Martial Law commandos of the city of Istanbul and surrounding area because of his revolutionary and anti-fascist activities. The order to shoot on sight was given to these commandos. After his arrest prisoners in various prisons in Turkey—for instance in Mamak prison in Ankara, in Davut Pascha prison in Istanbul, and in other prisons—have been severely tortured in order to force false accusations against Süleyman Cihan out of them. Through these means his eventual murder will be legitimized.

The torture and death by torture which have massively increased since

the coup d'état of the 12th of September have also been somewhat revealed in the foreign press and public. For all these reasons we are wary about the lives of the anti-fascists, democrats and revolutionaries who are being held in the prisons of Turkey and about the life of Süleyman Cihan.

All democrats, anti-fascists and defenders of human rights cannot stand by quietly and watch Süleyman Cihan be tortured to death. They must actively go into motion to save the life of Süleyman Cihan.

The leaders of the Martial Law military commissions of the city of Istanbul and surrounding areas must publicly give an explanation as to the whereabouts of Süleyman Cihan and other missing revolutionaries. As long as we do not receive such an explanation we will continue our actions.

We support the 500 prisoners, including 50 women, who have been in a hunger strike in the military prison of Ma-

mak in Ankara since the 10th of July in order to obtain their just demands. Their demands are:

—Issuing of writing materials for the preparation of the impending trials

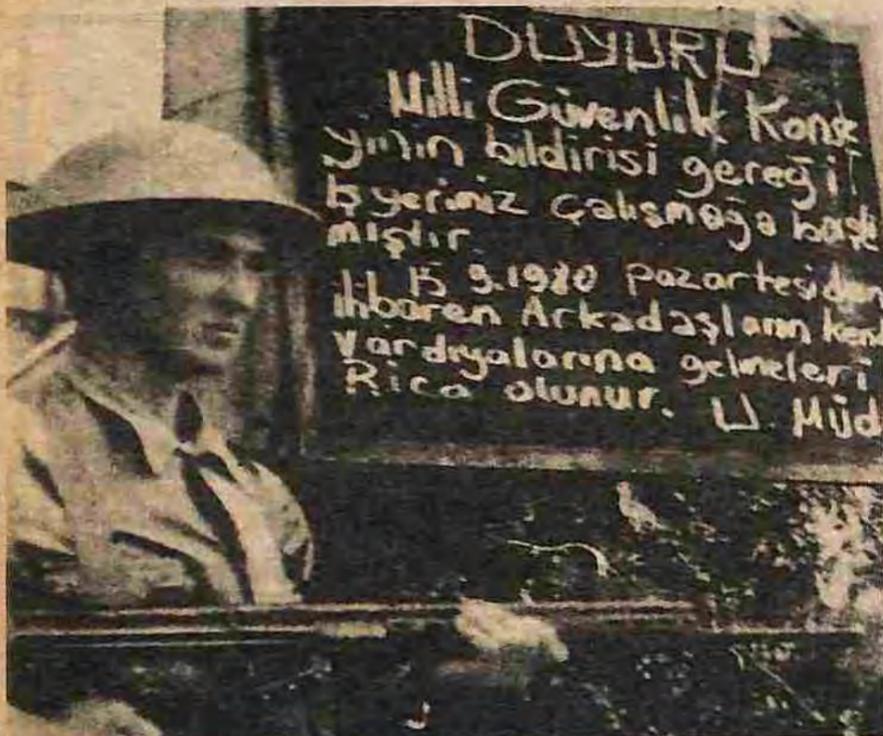
—End to the forceful obligation to sing the national hymn

—Withdrawal of the Kemalistic seminars (government propaganda promoting national chauvinist and fascist ideology, named after former strongman Kemal Ataturk—RW)

—Better food, allowance for food from outside the prison.

The hunger strike which began in Mamak prison has now been taken up by other anti-fascists in other prisons in different locations within Turkey. We call on all democrats to support these hunger strikes which are going on in the military prisons under extremely severe conditions.

Partizan



Immediately after the coup, notices were put up at every factory entrance ordering the workers on strike to return to work while armed soldiers patrolled the workplaces.



Army and police searching the schools, a frequent occurrence.

Hunger Strike

Continued from page 1

riods with their families and lawyers, which are now restricted to 15 minutes per week; 3) copies of the charges against them as well as writing materials to prepare their defense and the right to meet with other prisoners to prepare for their trials. Also being demanded are better conditions in the prison. For example, one bed per prisoner, food to be brought in from the outside, and the right to refuse to sing the national anthem and fascist marching hymns in the exercise yard. Now they are forced to sing praise to the junta every day while on exercise, and to listen constantly to fascist national chauvinist propaganda blared over loudspeakers.

This strike was organized under extremely difficult conditions. Many of these prisoners are facing death by torture and execution. Mamak Prison is notorious. Its treatment of the 4000 prisoners it holds is meant to isolate them from each other and break down their resistance. Thus, the junta was caught by surprise that something on this scale could be organized inside Mamak.

Immediately they tried to smash the hunger strike through outright terror by totally isolating the prisoners from each other and unleashing guards against the strikers. Reports from revolutionary sources inside Turkey say two strikers who are sympathizers of the TKPML, Muarren Erbakan and Aslan Tural, were immediately tortured to death, and the Istanbul-Lawyers Guild says six other prisoners remain unconscious after being tortured. Eyewitness reports leaked from inside the prison say they have seen unconscious and tortured prisoners being whisked out of the prison. Relatives of prisoners have received blood-soaked clothes from prison authorities. These terror tactics, the authorities hoped, would crush the strike, keep it from spreading and intimidate the families, friends and supporters of the prisoners, bringing pressure to bear on the strikers this way. The opposite has happened. In addition to the number of strikers increasing and spreading to other prisons, support for the strike has grown both inside and outside Turkey. A demonstration of 1000 people at the Mamak Prison, the largest open political demonstration since the military coup, took place on July 29 and 30 in support of the hunger strikers. The demonstration received

strong support from the neighborhood nearby, and was only ended after a confrontation with army troops in front of the prison gates. This demonstration was all the more of a blow to the junta as the police had been trying to terrorize the neighborhood surrounding the prison since the hunger strike began.

The hunger strike and related events have been painful wounds to the junta and their imperialist masters. Initially the junta denied and censored reports that there was any resistance going on inside the prison, and a virtual news blackout occurred within the Western press. Only as news of the hunger strike began to leak out through other sources has the junta begun to officially acknowledge it. Since the end of July, the junta has denounced the hunger strike as being organized by "outside communist agitators" from West Germany who are trying to discredit the Turkish government. Following this, in an attempt to spread demoralization they announced in the Turkish press that the strike was over, followed by further reports that the strikers were a bunch of terrorists whose only real complaint was that they didn't want to sing the Turkish national anthem. Press releases from the hunger strikers and their families and lawyers have not been allowed to be published.

Orchestrating this entire blackout, the Western imperialist press has printed nary a word of this political strike of prisoners. Indeed, to acknowledge it would be to upset the whole picture that

Continued on page 4

The Solidarity Committee to Save the Life of Süleyman Cihan is calling for statements of support for Süleyman Cihan and for the demands of the hunger strikers inside Mamak military prison. They can be sent to the following address:

I. Demirtus
Postfach 124
6100 Darmstadt
West Germany

Impending

Diablo

Crank-Up

Meetings continue on an almost daily basis throughout California as people prepare to blockade the Diablo Canyon Nuclear Power plant as soon as the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) gives the final go-ahead to load nuclear fuel rods and begin low power operations at the plant (at 5% of capacity). At the same time, the authorities are continuing their preparations for the opening of the plant, which includes plans to use as many as 10,000 law enforcement personnel—including the National Guard—and two hundred military helicopters to stop the blockade. During the last two weeks, the NRC has been holding closed-door meetings (the most recent one on August 20th) and while they are keeping secret the content of those meetings, it is known they are discussing plans for opening the plant as well as preparing for full-power operation, expected within a few months. The only thing holding back low-power operation of the plant is a rubber stamp security clearance from the Atomic Safety Licensing Appeals Board which could come any day (and which everyone expects before the end of August). In its recent meetings, the NRC could be giving authorization to start up the plant without further proceedings once the security clearance is issued. In any case, the operation of the plant will begin within days of the granting of the security clearance, as will the attempts to blockade the plant.

On August 19, the Federal Emergen-

cy Management Administration (FEMA), together with county and state agencies, conducted a test of a proposed emergency evacuation plan for the plant and surrounding populations in the event of an accident at the plant. The press gave the impression that this test was related to the impending low operation of the plant, but this was a lie. The test was related only to the granting of a full-power license (which the NRC has already conditionally granted) and had no impact on the beginning of low-power operation. And at that, this was only a test, highlighting the fact that at present, there is absolutely no real plan for evacuation. The only real plan is to load the reactor with nuclear fuel anyway. They also have only half the required number of certified personnel to operate the plant (they will use supervisors to fill in), they have no plan to deal with the radioactive waste the plant will produce. More, they are using two safety valves similar to those that malfunctioned at Three Mile Island and have not been completely tested, and they are disregarding the fact that the plant is virtually sitting on an earthquake fault capable of producing a quake ten times greater than it was built to withstand. On August 4, California Governor Brown announced the plans to bring to bear the "full force of the state" against the Diablo blockade and the NRC is clearly greasing the skids now to begin operation of the plant.

Hunger Strike

Continued from page 3

especially today they are trying to paint of the benevolent military junta restoring law and order to Turkey and ending all bloodshed and violence to the cheers of the masses of people. But the real picture is quite the opposite. As the one-year anniversary of the coup d'etat that brought the military junta to power draws near, there are an estimated 100,000 political prisoners in jail throughout Turkey. There have been 73 people reported tortured to death; 67 more have been sentenced to death since, some tried in absentia, and six of them already executed. 450 have been unofficially executed in the process of being arrested.

Süleyman Cihan is a revolutionary who has been sought by the Turkish state apparatus since 1974. A leaflet distributed in Germany by the Solidarity Committee to Save the Life of Süleyman Cihan gives some detail: "The fascist military junta pursued him as a 'leader of the TKPML'. They issued the order to shoot him on sight. All means were pursued by the fascists to try to find him. Behind the mask of 'military operations' they carried out a number of search missions in which Süleyman was supposed to have been rounded up and shot. In order to find out his whereabouts, his wife and his two children were dragged in and tortured. As a result of the brutal methods used by the torturers, his nine-year-old daughter is today mentally disturbed and the health of his wife has suffered greatly from the torture. When they couldn't find him this way, the fascists terrorized his neighborhood and even his neighbors."

Mass political trials of revolutionaries (with a number of "Grey Wolf" fascists thrown in to appear "even-handed") have been going on for some time. However, the fact that the hunger strike has started precisely as the junta is preparing to announce sentences for many political prisoners is particularly troublesome to the junta, which would like to quietly and cleanly proceed with the trials-sentencing-executions. The military junta has already demanded the death penalty for over 1200 political prisoners. The most direct target of these trials include many people who are revolutionary leaders and represent the politically conscious revolutionary masses in Turkey today. In addition, many others facing charges are progressive-minded people whose crimes con-

sist of such "horrors" as participating in a 12-hour strike, handing out leaflets and other such outrages against the junta's rule.

Contrary to what the bourgeoisie would like us to believe, the junta is not a "middle force" which emerged in Turkey to stop the fighting between the Right and Left and is dearly loved and supported by the people. This is as much an imperialist fairytale in Turkey as it is in El Salvador. In fact this bourgeois dictatorship fascist-style was dreamed up, schemed up, manufactured and installed by U.S. imperialism in its absolute driving necessity to prepare for war. Turkey, as the southern flank of NATO, occupies a strategic military position for Western imperialism sitting on the Dardanelles and Bosphorus, the only access routes by ship between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. Already before the military coup the pro-U.S. government had been waging a bloody reign of terror against the widespread revolutionary struggle in Turkey. Under the toilet tissue-thin cover of "restoring order," U.S.-backed military forces seized total control, hoping to unify the badly split Turkish ruling class and most efficiently and effectively carry out their fascist military operations against the masses of the people.

Herein lies a major contradiction for U.S. imperialism. The junta is U.S. imperialism's junta, and they must support it under the cover that it has ended the violence of the Left and the Right. The hunger strike sharply exposes what the nature of the junta is. This is why the Western press has blacked out any information about it. 350 hunger strikers have passed the 42-day mark, the point at which death is almost always a certain outcome, and the Western press has nothing to say? Somebody certainly has a big secret to hide. Despite the bloody suppression of the revolutionary struggle in Turkey, the hunger strike and events around it vividly demonstrate both the strength of the revolutionary forces inside the country and the broad support for this struggle outside Turkey against the fascist junta and their imperialist masters. No amount of blackout, coverup and bourgeois censorship can conceal the hatred of the masses of people for U.S. imperialism and its flunkies, and their growing preparation to deal with it decisively. □

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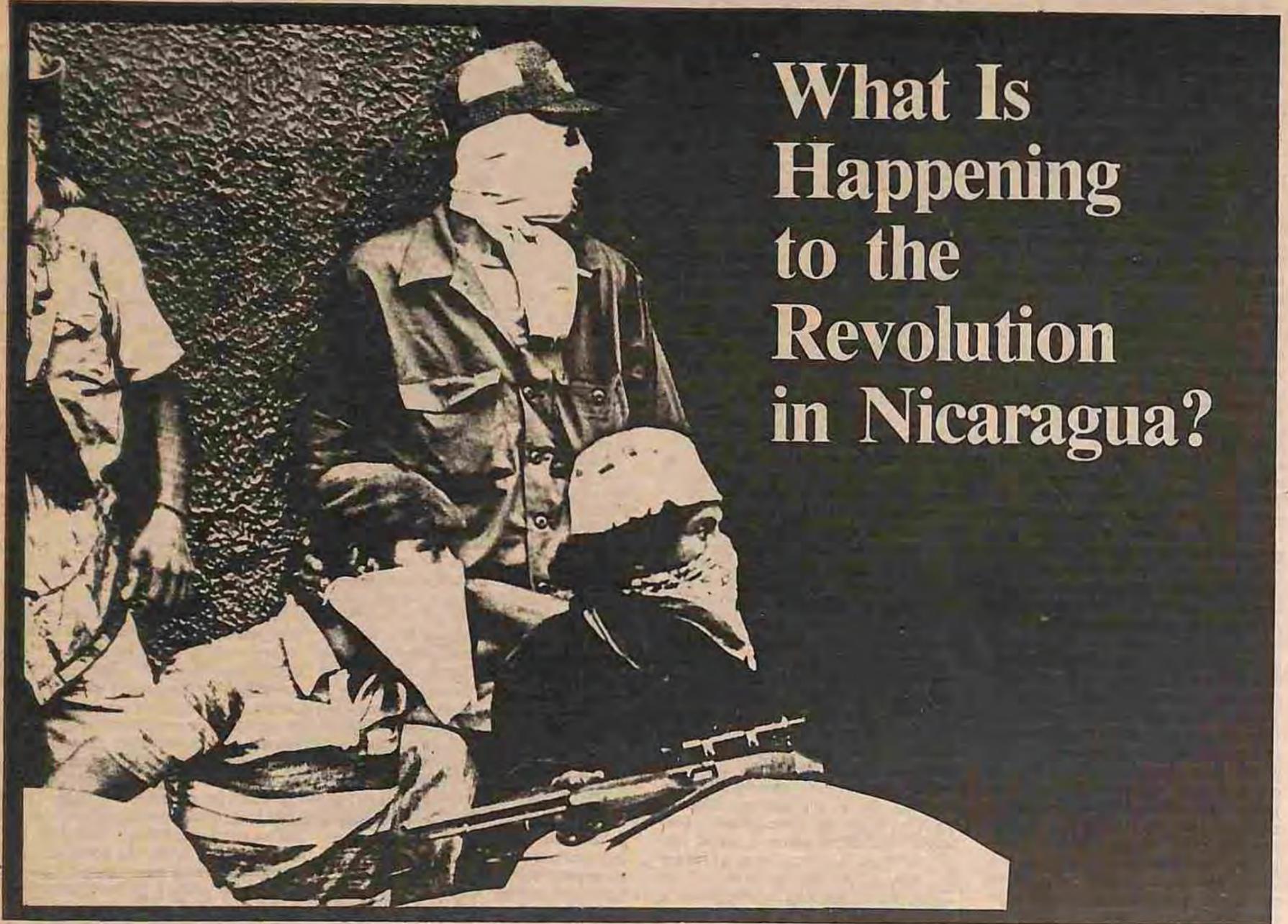
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What Is Happening to the Revolution in Nicaragua?



On July 19, 1979, the Nicaraguan masses overthrew the hated U.S. puppet Anastasio Somoza, the victorious culmination of a revolutionary uprising that inspired millions around the world. Coming on the heels of and together with the overthrow of the Shah of Iran, the Nicaraguan revolution blasted yet another hole through the lie that U.S. imperialism and its henchmen were invincible, dealing a sharp blow to its present ability to enslave huge chunks of the world and its preparations for world war with its Soviet social-imperialist rivals to determine the future number one enslaver. But today, more than 2 years later, that inspiration has turned to outright dissatisfaction for many, and confusion for many more. Developments within Nicaragua have sharply differed from the visions of national liberation and popular rule by the masses that many had hoped would be the result of the seizure of power by the Sandinista Front for National Liberation (FSLN) and the consolidation of its leadership's hold over the state apparatus. Nicaraguan private capitalists, the most important of whom are pro-U.S. compradors, still own 60% of the country's productive capacity, but factory and land takeovers by the masses are outlawed; in fact even work stoppages in both urban and rural areas are illegal. And a recent declaration by the Ministry of Labor explicitly stated, "The armed forces have the obligation to support the work authorities in all labor problems, since they are the ones who have jurisdiction...."

Meanwhile, the economy is still totally dependent upon world imperialism, with a massive foreign debt owed to Western imperialist financial institutions dominated by the U.S., and production geared overwhelmingly for the export of raw materials to imperialist countries and subject to the fluctuations of the imperialist world market. Furthermore, in the face of stepped-up threats and provocation from the U.S., the Sandinista-led government has seemed to show exaggerated concern for "friendly relations" with the Reagan administration—adopting some U.S.-called-for internal policies and denying direct and material support to the armed struggle in El Salvador. On the surface, it even appears that U.S. imperialism is still dominating Nicaragua

like before, and that at least most of the FSLN leaders have either "sold out" to the U.S. or are in the process of doing so.

But things are not always the way they seem, and in this case the essence behind the appearance is imperialist domination, all right, but mainly the growing political influence of the U.S.'s main imperialist rival—the Soviet Union. What is most striking about the above-mentioned political and economic strategy is the fact that it is being sold by that section of the Sandinista leadership that is most supportive of the USSR. While the FSLN includes a broad range of class forces in its membership, and this is somewhat reflected in the leadership as well, pro-Soviet revisionists have clearly become the most influential forces in the Sandinista leadership despite what seems on the surface to be capitulation to the much-hated U.S. When they were out of power, the revisionist forces preached within the Sandinistas that the only way to defeat the powerful U.S. was to rely on "help" from Soviet social-imperialism and its Cuban frontmen. Of course, once they got rid of Somoza, things would supposedly be different and Nicaragua would become truly independent. But now that they hold the major portion of state power, these same revisionists say that the U.S. is so mighty that its wrath must be avoided at nearly all costs. Is there a clearer example of the fact that the twisted logic of revisionism is truly never ending? Its only logic is serving imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism in particular.

Nicaragua has become a striking case study in the dangerous futility—for the masses—of the line of relying on one imperialism to defeat another. Not only is the country still dependent on imperialism in general, but the present demands of Soviet imperialism's reactionary strategy in Central America have created the ironic spectacle of its most avid supporters desperately seeking a form of "compromise" with U.S. imperialism's requirements. Nicaragua is a geopolitical battleground in superpower contention, with the pro-Soviet section of the Sandinista leadership working overtime to turn the Nicaraguan masses into a pawn of the Soviet Union's global ambitions.

Challenging the U.S. in its "own

backyard" is an important part of these Soviet ambitions, but is subordinate to the overall Soviet necessity of challenging the U.S. worldwide, seeking to become the clear-cut number one imperialist. In particular, it's not possible at the present time for the Soviets to go directly head to head with the U.S. in Central America; this is not Afghanistan or Poland, this is the area where the U.S. gets to do things like that (e.g., El Salvador, Guatemala, etc.)—sort of the imperialist version of fair play. The Soviets are not now in a position to militarily wrench this area out of the U.S. domain, and other contradictions also come into play here. For example, the current Soviet effort to drive a wedge between sections of the Western European imperialist ruling classes and their U.S. senior partners could be upset by a more direct Soviet move to assert control in Central America. Many of these U.S. allies have supported a section of the Sandinistas, feeling that the present Nicaraguan situation, with its economic dependence on Western imperialism and political "pluralism," offers a better chance for ultimately keeping Nicaragua (and the rest of Central America) in the Western imperialist camp than the more belligerent stance of the U.S. This is a contradiction that the Soviets have tried to make use of, but their ability to do so is dependent on the "moderation" (that is, leaving sufficient openings for Western imperialism) of the Sandinista leadership.

Cuban Role

In line with this global Soviet strategy, FSLN leaders have been told in no uncertain terms by both the Soviets and Cubans that they had better try to maintain "friendly relations" with the Western imperialists, including the U.S., and their internal compradors. As Fidel Castro pointedly stated in a speech in 1980, referring to the "pluralistic," "moderate" strategy: "From our point of view and in the light of the international situation and the Nicaraguan reality, this project they have worked out is the best, the wisest at the moment." Castro, in fact, has played the major role in pushing the "moderation" strategy. (This should be revealing to all those who still believe that the Cuban leaders are somehow more revolutionary than their "stodgy" Soviet

masters.) In any case, one of the first moves by the Sandinistas after seizing power was to offer to carry over and renegotiate Somoza's \$1.2 billion debt, thus insuring that the Nicaraguan economy could not break loose of the Western imperialists' stranglehold. This was a particularly gross betrayal of the masses, since much of this capital had never even appeared in Nicaragua (Somoza often preferred to invest it in more profitable ventures in other countries), and much of what did, was used to equip Somoza's National Guard with the most modern implements for murdering and torturing the Nicaraguan people. Not surprisingly, this debt carryover has been widely praised in both the Soviet and Cuban press as an example of the "maturity" of the Sandinista leadership.

The renegotiation of Somoza's debt insured that the Nicaraguan economy would continue its historic pattern of supplying cash crops, such as coffee, cotton and sugar, for the world imperialist market, mainly the Western imperialist section of this market at the present time. This is the only short-term way to gather the foreign exchange necessary to begin paying off the debt. This is acceptable to the Soviets in the short run, since it fosters the continued structure of dependence on imperialism in Nicaragua that the Soviets plan to make much more direct use of later; Cuba, with a basically one-crop sugar economy mortgaged to the Soviets, is an example of what they have in store for Nicaragua. In the debt renegotiation, one of the key terms involved keeping Nicaragua a "mixed economy"—that is, allowing private capital to flourish—and politically "pluralistic," a code word for maintaining sections of the old-line bourgeois elite in the state apparatus. While most of these forces are very pro-U.S., pro-Soviet forces have been working quite heavily among them to try and gain influence—hoping that they will "switch sides"—while both join in the political suppression of the masses' initiative. At the same time, the Soviets have worked to make sure that their most loyal spokesmen within the Sandinista leadership are as deeply rooted as possible in preparation for the heightened contention ahead.

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Nicaragua

Continued from page 5

The key for the Soviets and their frontmen in getting all this over has been pushing a thoroughly revisionist political line among the masses—and other forces as well—and backing up this line with some judicious use of Soviet material incentives. Not only has “economic reconstruction” been promoted as the primary task facing Nicaraguans—a line which in and of itself robs the masses of their political initiative and takes the question of which class leads every aspect of the country out of their hands—but reliance on foreign “aid” from imperialism has been pushed as the key way to achieve this “reconstruction.” This is all very necessary for the Soviets, since wiping out the initiative and revolutionary enthusiasm shown in abundance through the course of Somoza’s overthrow is a crucial part of their plan, not only for the immediate purposes of playing their superpower chess game, but for the long-range goals of Soviet imperialist domination in Nicaragua as well.

Of course the Soviets’ ultimate aim in this area is no different from what the U.S. has foisted on the peoples of the region (and all over the world) for years—imperialist domination through setting up neo-colonial state apparatuses dependent economically, politically and militarily on the “mother country.” The Soviet imperialists are even using the same gimmick used by the U.S. in the past—replacing old-line colonialist powers (like the U.S. when it replaced older imperialist powers like Britain by posing as a “liberator” from colonialism, only to re-impose it in a slightly new form). In the case of the Soviet Union, the fact that it is a social-imperialist country means some of the particulars are different. Soviet imperialism’s particular qualities and policies are influenced by the fact that it

was once a socialist country but that capitalism was restored through the rise to power of a revisionist bureaucratic bourgeoisie who instituted state capitalism. This means that Soviet domination ultimately requires setting up state-capitalist regimes in the neo-colonies that can demagogically and erroneously be called “socialism,” à la Cuba. Steps in this direction have already been taken in Nicaragua through the nationalization of the former holdings of Somoza and his cronies; the nationalized enterprises are called “People’s Properties” and are administered by leading revisionists through their domination of the state—the highest aspirations of the masses who work on them is supposed to be increasing production. The Soviet plan (shared by revisionists within the FSLN leadership) for these enterprises is, over time, to assume a more and more important role in the Nicaraguan economy, eventually supplanting the most hard-line pro-U.S. compradors and winning over the rest of the private bourgeoisie to participate in the new form of neo-colonial plunder.

Soviet bloc “aid” to the Sandinista-led new Nicaraguan government has publicly been acknowledged to total about \$50 million; but it is clearly considerably more than that. Much of it has been in the form of loans and credits which increase economic dependence on social-imperialism. But the main aspect of the “help” has been highly political. A key role has been played by over 1200 Cuban advisors in Nicaragua, mainly in the public service fields of education and medicine, both of which offer greater opportunities for demagogically presenting the “socialist camp” (Soviet revisionist bloc) as the friend of the Nicaraguan people, not to mention fingering those elements who might violently disagree—a Soviet version of the U.S. Peace Corps. There are also over 1,000 Nicaraguan students in Cuba, mainly learning to be technicians—a very important move for the Soviets since virtually all the technicians in Ni-

caragua are former employees of Somoza or other U.S. lackeys; “training” new ones, who would then be more loyal to the other main imperialist power, is a key part of increasing Soviet political influence, as well as producing the people who can help administer the future state capitalist apparatus. Cuba has also signed a deal to build a sugar export complex in Nicaragua, helping to foster and maintain its neo-colonial role as a cash crop producer.

Disarming the People

An equally important aspect of the Soviet “aid” has been in the military arena. The development of a regular bourgeois army—known as the Sandinista Army—has been accompanied by donations, Czech rifles and Soviet T-55 tanks. Of course this equipment can potentially be used against both the U.S. and its frontmen on the one hand, and the Nicaraguan (and other Central American) masses on the other, if necessary—both of which interest the Soviets a great deal. But these arms donations didn’t start flowing to Nicaragua until the Sandinista leadership had successfully shown that they could disarm the masses—a process which took a number of months after the overthrow of Somoza. Because of the character of the insurrection—a genuine popular uprising where hundreds of thousands grabbed whatever weapons they could get their hands on, especially through attacking National Guard posts and forcing the Guard’s surrender—the FSLN leaders had to wage a vigorous propaganda campaign against the “excesses” of the armed masses, spreading horror stories of “wild-eyed youth” launching “criminal attacks” against the general population to gain support for disarmament. Those who resisted publicly were arrested. When this process was completed, and the new bourgeois army pulled together (including a number of former National Guardsmen within its ranks), military “aid” from the Soviet bloc began to appear in Nicaragua.

Suppressing the Nicaraguan masses has been a difficult task for the Soviets and their revisionist supporters from the moment the FSLN leadership seized power. Vigorous campaigns have been waged to stop the masses themselves, including many Sandinistas, from publicly putting on trial and executing former National Guard murderers on the spot, and from taking over factories and plantations owned by U.S. compradors and other Nicaraguan reactionaries. “Ultra-leftism” and “lack of labor discipline” have become the most horrible crimes in Nicaragua, and the Soviets have made sure that their most loyal frontmen enforce the new criminal code to the utmost. An article on Nicaragua in a recent issue of the Soviet magazine *America Latina* contained the following gem: “Organs of the new power, the Ministry of the Interior, headed by Tomás Borge, worked to comply with the revolutionary laws, and to stop excesses of the ultra-left and abuses of pseudo-Sandinistas. Tomás Borge repeatedly condemned the *depraved practice* (our emphasis—RW) of extrajudicial punishments and illegal expropriations. Guided by humanist ideals, the Sandinista leadership tries to channel the energy of the Nicaraguans into creative channels.”

Transforming the revolutionary energy of the Nicaraguan masses into blindly following the orders of the revisionists has been the particular role of the much-vaunted mass organizations of Nicaragua—the “creative channels” that pro-Soviet revisionists around the world have pointed to as proof of Nicaragua’s “popular democracy.” Officially, these organizations not only have the task of promoting the imperialist dominated “economic reconstruction,” but also of “defending the revolution,” or in other words protecting the current leadership’s strategy from both U.S. efforts to “destabilize” their political control and “ultra-left” opposition from the masses. But the essence of their “democratic” nature is very clear to the revisionists. Last year, for example, Borge told the workers of his Ministry of the Interior, “Of course when we talk of democracy, we mean that everyone has the right to discuss and give opinions, but not only that, but also to carry out the decisions taken and translate them

into action; because discussion is not enough if it is not accompanied by action, by practical every day energy. In this sense our own experience, as other experiences, tell us that it is very important to consolidate the presence of leaders, the stability of leaders within the organization...”

U.S./Soviet Deadly Game

This growing Soviet influence on Nicaragua has led the U.S. to take more and more strident moves of its own to try and “destabilize” the current government, going after the pro-Soviet revisionist forces in a big way; and in keeping with its own necessities, the Soviets have countered every U.S. move with their particular Central American version of contention. When the U.S. ordered its most loyal compradors, some of whom were initially leading members of the post-Somoza government, such as businessman Alfonso Robello, to resign and organize an opposition movement, the revisionists in the Sandinistas organized “mass mobilizations” to demonstrate support for the present leadership, taking advantage of the fact that these opposition forces are widely exposed as agents of the U.S.—a position which is somewhat akin to being a Soviet agent in Afghanistan in terms of mass popularity.

Much of the masses’ outrage has been centered on a notorious U.S. propaganda mill called *La Prensa*, but when one of these demonstrations threatened to tear apart *La Prensa*’s presses, the Sandinista police were called out to disperse the crowd. This was a fine example of the Soviet balancing act in Nicaragua. Too much of an uprising by the masses would have had a negative effect on their maneuvering within the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie, as well as encouraging more direct action by the U.S. to bring down the government—something which they hope to avoid. And it also would have been uncomfortably reminiscent of the kind of initiative—even if directed against their main rival—that characterized the insurrection. Rather, the pro-Soviet revisionists need to use this mass outrage as pressure on the more pro-U.S. bourgeois forces, getting them to negotiate with the revisionists about the prospect of returning to the government—in an even more secondary position, of course. In keeping with this bourgeois maneuvering, other bourgeois forces, slightly less loyal but still basically tied to the U.S., have been brought into the government as replacements for those who quit.

Such further Soviet successes, of course, have only further increased desperate attacks by the U.S. in Nicaragua. A particularly key example was the U.S. cutoff of \$9.6 million in credits that were scheduled to buy wheat from the U.S.—a serious development because it raised the possibility that Nicaragua would have to divert resources from export crops of food production to keep the internal situation “stable.” This would have seriously jeopardized the economic plan and threatened foreclosure by the Western financial institutions. Operating on the questionable pretext that the Sandinista leadership was supplying arms to the Salvadoran guerrillas, the U.S. said that there would be no resumption of “aid” until Nicaragua’s foreign policy was brought more into line with U.S. interests.

The Soviets countered with an offer of 29,000 tons of wheat to the Nicaraguan government—more “friendly help” from the “socialist camp” which, not coincidentally, also insured that food production would not have to cut into the export economy favored by Soviet imperialism. But even more importantly, the Sandinista leaders announced shortly thereafter that they had come to the conclusion that a “negotiated settlement” of the Salvadoran struggle was now necessary, and ordered the Salvadoran guerrillas’ radio stations to stop broadcasting from its territory. While this might appear to be capitulation to the U.S.’s demands, in fact it coincided with declarations from the most pro-Soviet forces in the Salvadoran opposition of their willingness to “negotiate” with the U.S. puppet junta—a move the Soviets are trying to pull off over the masses’ heads in El Salvador to bring an “historic compromise”

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Cuba: The Evaporation of a Myth

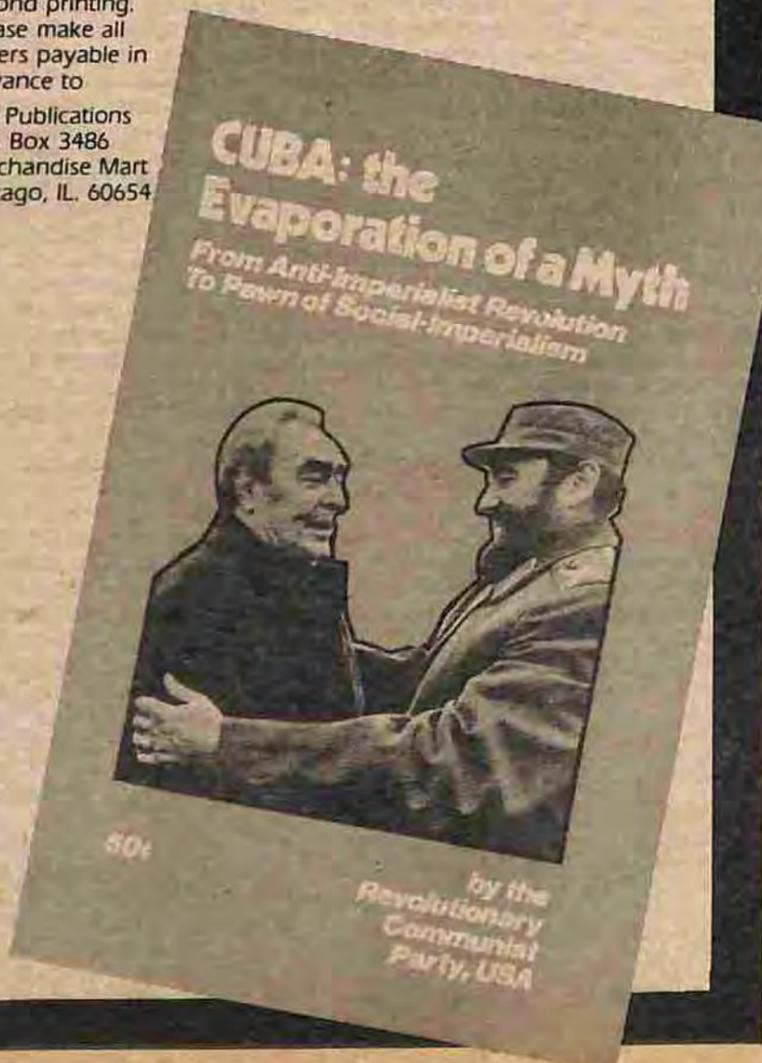
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Cuba, which despite all this has become a pawn of Soviet social-imperialism, a breeding farm for cannon fodder for the expansionist ambitions of the revisionist superpower.

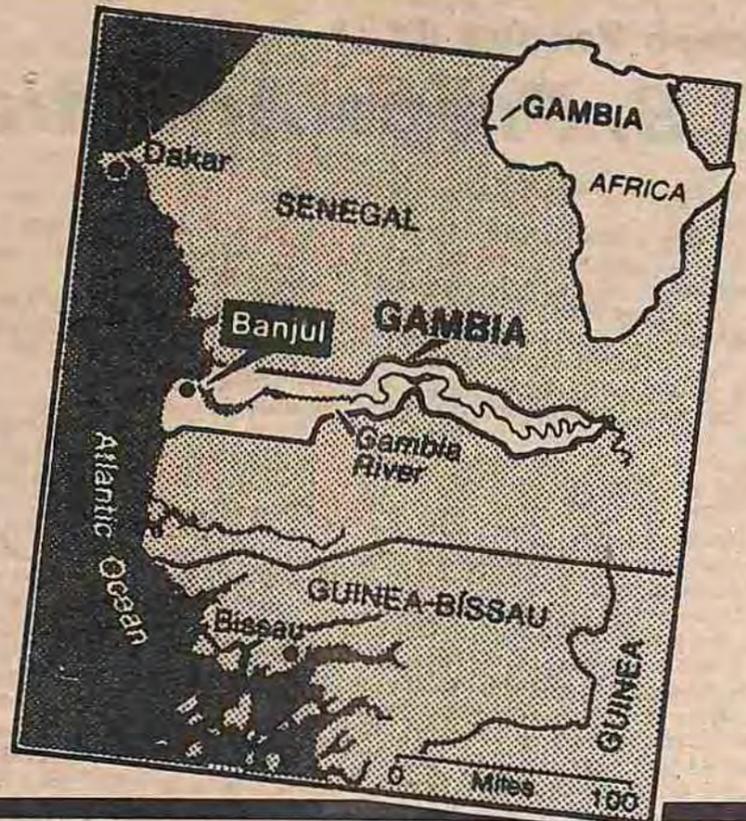
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Senegal Invades French Backed Suppression of Gambian Rebellion



While Sir Dawda Jawara, President of The Gambia, a small enclave nation surrounded on three sides by Senegal, was toasting the royal wedding on July 30 in mother England, a 12-man "National Revolutionary Council" led by the Gambian Socialist Revolutionary Party carried out a coup against his corrupt, stale and exposed neo-colonial government.

They suspended the constitution, dissolved parliament and took over a main communications center—Radio Gambia—announcing their action and appealing for support. Three members of the Revolutionary Council belonged to The Gambia's Field Force, a paramilitary extension of the police, many of whose 500 men reportedly joined in the fighting on the side of the coup. The rebels also were said to have opened the jails, releasing prisoners, and passed out arms stolen from the Field Force armory to people in the more downtrodden sections of the capital, Banjul, as well as elsewhere.

Within 24 hours, President Jawara called in 1500 French-trained and French-armed Senegalese paratroopers, who arrived by land, air and sea to put down the rebellion under the terms of a "mutual defense" agreement between Senegal and The Gambia signed in 1965. In response, one of Jawara's wives and other members of his family were taken hostage, along with several Senegalese diplomats and a few Gambian government officials, and threatened with execution unless the Senegalese troops withdrew. At this point, the British sent in their so-called counter-terrorist experts as well, the Special Air Services Unit.

The fighting was particularly sharp around Banjul. It lasted for several days, with the opposition forces holding onto significant areas of the capital's outskirts—even after Senegalese troops took over the airport and forced them to put Radio Gambia in a mobile unit to keep broadcasting to the outside world—clearly indicating that large numbers of people had joined in. The Gambia, which has less than 500,000 people, has no official army.

When the smoke had cleared on August 5, nearly a week later, at least a thousand people lay dead, shops and buildings were half-burned to the ground, vehicles wrecked everywhere, and rubbish of every kind was piled high in the streets. The invading Senegalese troops had brutally suppressed the uprising. A number of the rebel forces, including the coup's main leader, Kekoi Samba Sanyang, escaped. So the smoking ruins of the reins of neo-colonial rule were handed back to Jawara... but things weren't quite the same: he sadly remarked that he was afraid his democratic reputation and that of Gambia as a quiet and stable corner of West Africa where European tourists could safely sun themselves were damaged forever.

Meanwhile, as many as 2500 Senegalese have stayed in town to guard "strategic points" and generally keep order under the state of emergency and gov-

ernment-issued curfew. They have set up roadblocks for identification checks and are manning bulldozers, seen digging large common graves and shoving hundreds of corpses from their bloody mission into the sea.

Some Gambian students in the U.S. called back to their families and discovered there were French-speaking telephone operators working the international lines, who also did not know a word of the local Mandinka language. These students held a demonstration against the Senegalese invasion in Washington, D.C., August 4, in front of the French and Senegalese embassies. They then marched to the office of the International Monetary Fund, which has been a financial protector of the Jawara regime for some time, and is a hated symbol of neo-colonialism.

The Senegalese army is also reported to be interrogating the 200 captured rebels who will be tried for "reason." More than 30 of these prisoners have already died from suffocation in police cells.

Just who the rebel forces are and if they had foreign backing of some type is not clear. Jawara and every Western press agency have taken plenty of potshots at their Soviet rivals, even if sparse on details and contradictory. Several reports say that, in radio broadcasts appealing to the outside world for support and demanding that the Senegalese troops get out of The Gambia, Kekoi Samba Sanyang especially called for help from neighboring countries of Guinea and Guinea-Bissau, but also contacted pro-Soviet Libya and the Soviet Union itself. The Soviets, whether just fishing or in some way directly involved, were quick to denounce the Senegalese invasion.

The murky and treacherous hand of Soviet social-imperialism may well have had an influence in this uprising. However, there is plenty of reason for rebellion in The Gambia against British imperialist rule and the corrupt and despised Jawara who administers it. Just two days before the coup there, mass demonstrations were held in Banjul protesting food shortages and the high cost of living. Britain's neo-colonial domination has twisted The Gambia's economy into a non-productive, one-crop, import-dependent disaster, compounded by flagrant and widespread government contraband activities.

Much like the French colonizers did to Senegal, The Gambia was turned into a big peanut plantation for cash crop export to supply Europe with oil needed for soap and cooking oil back in the mid-19th century. This, along with the tourist trade, a secondary chain on The Gambia's development, is all that stokes the country's economy. However, drought has led to a poor peanut harvest in the last several years. Together with declining peanut prices on the world market and the rising prices of imported goods, this has increasingly strangled the Gambian economy. The tourist trade is also on the wane, causing high unemployment

in the coastal area. On top of all this, the same families who run the government run some of the most active smuggling operations in Africa through their control of the import-export network. More than 70% of The Gambia's imported goods supposedly pass through the lucrative contraband circuits.

While Jawara has been heralded by Western bourgeoisies as a democratic statesman "dedicated to African independence" and "tolerant of political opposition" over the long period of his reign even before The Gambia's formal independence from Britain in 1965, his demagogic routine is becoming transparent to the masses who live in abject poverty. The Gambia is ranked as one of the ten poorest countries in the world...yet, apparent to all, Jawara and his family, with their extensive ties within the small bureaucratic bourgeoisie, live like wealthy little despots. The father of one of Jawara's wives (the one taken hostage) is himself the largest merchant in Banjul. His son is the general director of the Gambia Commercial Development Bank, while his other daughter is married to Jawara's former finance minister. Jawara himself also owns a house in Sussex, England.

But it hasn't been going well lately. Twice last year private yachts of this loyal footman of British rule were set on fire by "unknown terrorists." And last summer as the tourist season opened, political slogans began appearing on the walls—including those of the presidential headquarters—demanding social justice and an end to government corruption and exploitation.

It was just last October that Jawara called in the same Senegalese paratroopers after his commander of the Field Forces was assassinated by a Field Force member. While circulating rumors of an imminent invasion by Libya, the Gambian government's official story was that the Senegalese army was merely carrying out military exercises as part of the mutual defense agreement. But suddenly all Field Force members with less than one year experience were sent home on vacation and 500 troops from Senegal arrived in helicopters and armored trucks to surround the airport and all major cities and towns in The Gambia. The next day, the two leftist opposition parties were banned, including the Gambian Socialist Revolutionary Party, whose leader, Kekoi Samba Sanyang, had run against Jawara in the national elections back in 1977. The threat of "invasion", it seems, more stemmed from the President's fears of trouble brewing right at home...

"The Gambia doesn't figure all that much in the African political chessboard...and many foreign chancelleries have chosen to ignore this 'micro-state' because of its small size and population...and feeble economy," a *Le Monde* editorial on the intervention states. So why the joint imperialist-backed dash to snuff out this coup attempt rather than allowing it to settle itself internally? The same

piece by the French daily, similar to the *New York Times*, entitled "The Abscess," makes no pretense of concealing the imperialists' fear of rebellion of any kind taking root in one of their strategic areas. Senegal has long been the political kingpin of France's empire in West Africa, particularly as an administrative and military outpost, and Dakar, its capital, has been built up as a key port on the Atlantic shipping route for expropriated raw materials. In recent years, Senegal has felt the catastrophic effects of the imperialists' economic crisis—massive unemployment in several sectors, particularly nationalized industries which have been turned back into private hands—and, like The Gambia, the cost of living has shot way up as the government has raised taxes on necessary imports, partly because of the poor peanut crop.

After a period of paltry reforms called the "democratic opening," the doors are snapping shut. The neo-colonial regime has actively stepped up political repression as renewed opposition and, in some cases, sharp struggle against them has begun to clearly take shape. For its part, France still has permanent military installations in Senegal, including several hundreds of naval and air force personnel. The *Le Monde* editorial admits openly that "France obviously gave the green light for intervention from Dakar" into The Gambia. "Knowing the significance of the economic, political and cultural interests (France) has in Senegal...this would hardly be surprising."

The "peace and stability" that Jawara and Senegalese President Abdou Diouf so anxiously sought to maintain in their bloody quashing of the attempted takeover in The Gambia are in fact real questions for their masters, particularly the French imperialists, as things heat up towards world war. One of the current items on France's agenda for war preparations is to tighten up areas it controls in Africa. West Africa will undoubtedly be strategic militarily and within that, Senegal a key base area. A very important part of this is building up a strong neo-colonial police force for use in neighboring regions. Enter the Senegalese paratroopers. The French recently constructed a new, third military base, which along with reinforcing their naval and air bases and beefing up the troops, constitute the first steps to modernizing their Senegal "launching pad" into the rest of West Africa. They are so intent on avoiding a coup in the Senegalese military, that there are French soldiers within the Senegalese army! Not much "neo" to this colonialism!

And in the political arena, there is newly-elected "socialist" French President Mitterand emoting his deep concern and firm resolve to strengthen "friendship with Africa," promising large injections of development aid to some of their best friends, such as Senegalese President Diouf and his ruling Socialist Party, a brother party to Mitterand's.

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Ocean Venture 81

U.S. Preps Atlantic Armada

The largest naval exercises since WW2 have been underway since August 1. These maneuvers, in the planning stages by U.S. Naval brass for over a year-and-a-half and involving military forces from 13 countries, range afield from U.S. coastal waters and the Caribbean, to the South Atlantic and the Baltic Sea. These war "games" will mobilize the entire U.S. Atlantic fleet (some 250 ships or over half the U.S. naval strength) and over 1,000 planes and assorted military personnel from various countries numbering 120,000. Welcome to Ocean Venture 81—nothing less than a full-scale dress rehearsal for an even greater venture: World War 3.

In the course of the next two-and-a-half months, Ocean Venture maneuvers will traverse nearly half the world's seas and oceans, drawing in, in addition to the NATO forces, such countries as Brazil, Colombia, Uruguay, Argentina, Venezuela, and the Puerto Rican National Guard. The unprecedented scope and size of Ocean Venture show the nature of the conflict that is shaping up between the rival blocs headed by the U.S. and USSR, in particular that the imperialists' battlefield will indeed be worldwide, much more so than both of the two previous world wars.

The Ocean Venture maneuvers consist of 4 major phases, each one involving air, sea and amphibious operations with much of it occurring simultaneously. The scope and breadth of these exercises are specifically designed to test the ability of the U.S. in coordinating its naval

forces and those of its allies, to both keep vital sea lanes open to troop and supply movement, and to send naval muscle to areas of need that may be thousands of miles apart. The whole Ocean Venture operation is a vivid illustration of the fact that the U.S. imperialists are on the front lines of the upcoming war with their far-flung empire in all parts of the world. Indeed, the very truth that the U.S. will be pressed and strung out in the course of a world war, was somewhat echoed in the remarks of one of the U.S. Navy public relations hot-shots for Ocean Venture: "It's like a 3-ring circus all going on at the same time... This is giving us the training and skill for actual hostilities. This is to see how far we can push our assets and how far we'll be stretched then."

The 4 phases of Ocean Venture provide a glimpse into the kinds of scenarios and contingencies that the U.S. and its allies must consider and prepare for. The South Atlantic phase will test the ability to keep those sea lanes open and out of Soviet control. This phase involves the 5 previously mentioned South American countries along with some U.S. ships and Strategic Air Command planes. NATO units from the Netherlands and Britain will join with U.S. naval units and portions of the Puerto Rican National Guard in the Caribbean phase, while the emphasis on anti-Soviet submarine warfare will take place off U.S. shores at the Virginia Capes. But there can be little doubt that the pinnacle of these current maneuvers will be the

Baltic Sea deployments that will coincide with the NATO ground troops' Autumn Forge exercises in Western Europe. By mid-October, Western Europe will quite simply look like the mock-up for the next war, as sea, air and ground forces converge on the area.

The strategic importance of the Baltic Sea, bordering on East Germany, Poland and the Soviet Union, makes it a likely theater of military operations in the event of war in Europe. In fact, the ripples have hardly subsided in the Baltic from the recent Warsaw Pact naval maneuvers and amphibious landings. Steaming into the area with NATO forces and the U.S.'s Destroyer Squadron 26 will make a point the Soviets are unlikely to miss. Nor will it be missed in Western Europe itself. Last year's Autumn Forge maneuvers were met by sharp struggle, including inside the military.

The opening phase of Ocean Venture 81, occurring in the Caribbean this past week, provided a stark illustration that this coming inter-imperialist war is a war between competing slavemasters for the maintenance and expansion of slavery. A combined force of U.S. planes, amphibious assault ships, Marines, Army Airborne Ranger units, the Puerto Rican National Guard, and ships from the Netherlands and Britain "simulated" an invasion of the Puerto Rican island of Vieques. An air assault, using "live fire," was followed by an amphibious landing. Vieques has been the focal point of intense struggle between the

people of Puerto Rico and U.S. government. Since 1941, the U.S. Navy has forcibly occupied three quarters of Vieques and turned the island and the surrounding waters into one big target area for live shelling and bombing runs. Over 11,000 people have been forced to flee the island entirely, while the livelihood of the area's fishermen has been decimated. The remaining 9,000 people still living on Vieques have been herded into a narrow strip of land towards the center of the island, surrounded by barbed wire and "Keep Out" signs.

In recent years, the annual U.S. Navy maneuvers called Operation Springboard have been the target of outraged Vieques and their supporters. In February 1978, in what was to become a powerful and frequent display of the determination of the Vieques to drive the U.S. off the island, a flotilla of fishing boats sailed directly into the target area demanding the Navy withdraw. That time the Navy was forced to retreat. Since then a number of confrontations have ensued. In January 1979, while 10,000 troops practiced invading Vieques, Vieques held an in-your-face anniversary celebration of their first victory over the U.S. Navy by staging an early morning "occupation" of the Navy camp, much to the consternation and embarrassment of Navy brass. The struggle of the Puerto Rican people is but one example of the rough waters ahead for imperialism as it prepares to make the transition from "war games" to war time. □

MOSLEM STUDENTS DEFY INS

As reported in the last two issues of the RW, 62 members of the Moslem Students Society, supporters of the People's Mojahadeen in Iran, were arrested on the night of August 5th in private homes in Englewood, N.J. after participating in a demonstration to protest the torture and murder of Mojahadeen leader Mohammed Saadati. They were subsequently moved to the Brooklyn Federal Detention Center, where a number of them have been threatened with deportation to Iran. Since the students were protesting the fascist repression of the IRP-Khomeini

regime, any forced deportation to Iran by U.S. officials would hand over the students directly to the regime's firing squads.

The arrested students responded by starting up a hunger strike, protesting attempts to split them up and to release some while threatening others with deportation. At a hearing on Thursday, August 13th, an agreement was reached with Immigration officials. The students then called off their hunger strike, pending the final signing of the agreement on Friday. A press statement released by the Moslem Students Society explains what happened next:

"However, on Friday, Immigration officials informed our lawyers that the proposal has been rejected by their superiors in Washington D.C. As a result, we announced that our brothers would refuse to disclose any information in deportation hearings, mainly because of the lives of our brothers and in particular, life of their families is in great danger. The reactionary regime of

Iran has announced on the Iranian Radio the names of those who oppose the regime, and has already sentenced them to death; their families have also been threatened.

Meanwhile, the life of one of our brothers who—as declared by the Immigration officials—would be deported back to Iran soon, is in serious danger. It is important to note that the name of this brother, which was found out by the Immigration officials through his fingerprints, has been made public and has been reported by Associated Press (AP) and a number of papers (*New York Times, Record, ...*); this is contrary to the pledge made by Immigration officials that the U.S. government can be trusted for not making any of the names public.

Having been informed of the decision by the Immigration in regard to the agreement, our brothers who were denied any visitors until Sat. Noon, resumed their hunger strike and are now in their 18th day of hunger strike." □

Gambia

Continued from page 9

Thus no cracks—especially one 200 miles long and 20 miles wide, which is the size of the finger-like projection of The Gambia into Senegal—are going to be tolerated. *Le Monde* makes no mistake on assessing this one: "...M. Senghor's (former Senegalese president) successors have decided to lance this boil before it gets infected and risks contaminating Senegal..." To which they later add, "and this means honoring scrupulously their cooperation agreements including for military assistance." The stage for this recent burst of Senegalese responsibility (on behalf of the French)—both military and administrative—over The Gambia is a long-held design to "unite" the two countries under one neo-colonial government. Jawara may soon find himself "assisted" right out of office, though this is clearly secondary to the tightening of the military noose. Already plans are in motion for organizing a more professional Gambian army, which, the London *Economist* insightfully predicts, will be trained and commanded by Senegalese officers. A political police force to "watch" for undercurrents is also on the agenda—no doubt to be taught by the Senegalese, who are themselves being sent for training to the finest U.S.-sponsored torture academies that Chile and Brazil have to offer.

But the cracks are already there, evident as Diouf squirmed to justify Senegal's attack on The Gambia to his countrymen and ranted about internal security and the Soviet threat. According to the Senegalese Marxist-Leninist paper *Jaay Doole-bi (Le Proletaire)*, seven out of nine legal opposition parties and organizations in Senegal, including the revolutionary forces, released a communique denouncing the invasion and calling for the immediate withdrawal of Senegalese troops from the Gambia. This opposition reflects the broad stirrings which have been developing for some time among different strata and class forces of the Senegalese people in response to the crisis and the neo-colonizers' complete inability to change anything fundamentally. In fact, the situation is quite a bit more serious for these puppets than a single "abscess" on the shabby face of their neo-colonial rule. □

TO THE MARXIST-LENINISTS, THE WORKERS, AND THE OPPRESSED OF ALL COUNTRIES

Joint Communiqué of 13 Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organizations

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تقدیم به کلیه نیروهای مارکسیست-لنینیست، کارگران و خلقهای تحت ستم دنیا

۱. حزب کمونیست ایران (تیموریان)
 ۲. حزب کمونیست افغانستان (مشار)
 ۳. حزب کمونیست هند (پنیکار)
 ۴. حزب کمونیست چین (ماو)
 ۵. حزب کمونیست کوبا (گزاره)
 ۶. حزب کمونیست ویتنام (هوانگ)
 ۷. حزب کمونیست رومانی (تیموریان)
 ۸. حزب کمونیست یوگوسلاوی (تیموریان)
 ۹. حزب کمونیست آلمان شرقی (تیموریان)
 ۱۰. حزب کمونیست لهستان (تیموریان)
 ۱۱. حزب کمونیست یونان (تیموریان)
 ۱۲. اتحادیه کمونیست آلمان شرقی (تیموریان)

Three weeks ago, in RW No. 115, we reprinted excerpts from the booklet "Sooner or Later" by the Communist Unity Organization and called upon our readers to respond to it. This call was made to encourage readers to correspond on the most decisive political questions of our time, in particular how to respond to a situation in which very real preparations are being made for a world war between rival blocs of imperialists led by the U.S. and the Soviet Union. The cutting edge question is whether to take a position of revolutionary defeatism toward one's "own" imperialist rulers, or to adopt some form of alliance with one or another bloc as a "lesser evil" against a "main enemy." This question involves both analysis of the present world situation and of history, including the positive and negative experience of the international communist movement during this whole century. The following are the first letters we have received in reply to our call. We welcome these contributions and also wish to point out that they certainly do not exhaust the subject and we encourage further correspondence of any sort.

To the Editor:

First off, and focusing only on the booklet "Sooner or Later"'s deceitful pretense at an analysis of the current world situation, it is a pack of lies. The authors blatantly distort and misconstrue the contradictions that are bringing the world to war, and this in order to lay the basis for their open call to defend U.S. imperialism. Of course there are aspects of the truth in each distortion. The United States is in a state of decline, a "paper tiger." The Soviet Union does aim at world domination, is an "Ivan-come-lately on the imperial scene," and operates under the cover of "friend to liberation movements." There have been some great advances in certain third world countries toward achieving national independence. But through whose eyes are the authors looking at these events, and looking at the world, anyway?

Are we to suppose that the United States is not also seeking world domination? That the "vestiges of national self-determination and democracy" it bestows on subject states is not also a cover? That it has no arsenal and is not fully intending to fight it out to regain "its perch atop the globe," as the authors wistfully describe its former state? Is the Soviet Union somehow exempt from the crisis of capital that racks the world and creates favorable conditions for anti-imperialist forces? Is the condition of the vast majority of the nations in Asia and Africa really "national independence from colonial rule"?

And the people, where are the people? There is no mention of the current position of the international proletariat and the masses of oppressed people, and the great opportunities to change the world that are at hand in this "new period" of historic significance, as the authors are willing to call it in their pitch for defense of the present world. No comment on this, the most important question of all to anyone who hates imperialism.

What are the conditions? They are not characterized by a paper tiger vying against a real tiger, as the authors suggest. Poland has exposed this. The tanks didn't roll into Warsaw at the first sign of a serious challenge. It's not Czechoslovakia, 1968. The present world situation has made such a move extremely undesirable, even though Russia may soon be forced into taking it. If it doesn't move militarily, it invites the continued widening of the cracks in its bloc. If it does, it assumes enormous burdens it is ill-equipped to shoulder. This is the contradiction Russia finds itself facing.

For it's not just the Soviet economy that is "limping badly," it's the whole Warsaw Pact. Romania's economy is near collapse. The Soviets would be taking control of a bankrupt Poland, including a 27 billion dollar foreign debt. Some 16 billion of this is from 460 Western banks. This debt cannot just be wiped away without losing the financial and trade support from the West (given with a rapacious eye) that Poland must have to avoid starvation. Even as

"Sooner or Later" Debate

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DEFEATISM

things stand now, it is reported that the Soviets borrowed 1.3 billion from Western banks in the fourth quarter alone, mainly to assist Poland, and still Poland ran out of hard currency by the end of March. Moreover, economic plans are already in disarray throughout Eastern Europe because of Poland's failure to supply goods. How would the destruction and dislocation an invasion surely would entail affect this situation already headed "into the abyss"? (The fact that the U.S. has its own reasons for wanting to prop up Poland does not change the contradictions facing Russia.)

At a recent Kent State seminar of Western specialists on the Warsaw Pact, it was pointed out that there are some serious questions about the loyalty of the Polish army to Russian interests. The highly trained 317,500-man army, mainly conscripts thought to be in sympathy with Solidarity, just might not point its guns at its own people. And how reliable are other Pact forces? As the *RW* reported recently, East Germany, the most reliable ally of Russia in the Pact, is beginning to experience unrest similar to that in Poland. Even Romania, for all its economic woes, has refused to play host to Pact military maneuvers because of internal resistance.

The seminar also reported that Russia would need upward to 45 divisions of combat-ready troops to achieve the 3 to 1 majority it considers necessary for the kind of guerrilla war it may find itself in. This huge force is not readily available, at a time when 80,000 Russian troops are being held in check in Afghanistan, and a much larger force is amassed on the China border.

Nor can it be supposed that the Russian people themselves are speaking with one voice in support of the war moves. One report from Moscow quotes a young Russian woman saying that there was no future for the youth there. "Twenty years ago, people accepted it but we are not like them." Big black Zil limousines leaving the Kremlin for the well-guarded suburbs, which are mini-cities for the elite, symbolize developments in Russia over the past 20 years and demark the class in power from the class that has been overthrown. Even bourgeois journalists can draw the conclusion, for their own propaganda purposes, that the huge Soviet military arsenal is not enough to wage war. Where are the people's heads at?

And this is just the question one would expect the authors of "Sooner or Later" to be asking. What are the people thinking and doing? But what we read is rather the terrified warnings that the tiger has teeth, which of course it has. This is the essence of the contradiction. And that it is lean and hungry, which it is... 50 Russian vessels, including the pride of the fleet, the carrier Kiev, are off the Polish shores and practicing amphibious landings. But if the authors are going to use Mao's phrase, they should apply its meaning to every aspect of their analysis. "All reactionaries are paper tigers," he said. On the surface they appear terrifically strong, "but from a long-term point of view, it is not the reactionaries but the people who are really powerful."

The authors' contention is that the Russian-style tiger is not just hungry, but that it is "hungrier, more aggressive, and more willing to take risks" than the U.S. variety. This is a cornerstone of their analysis, and it disregards the fundamental characteristic of the U.S. and its lesser allies. The *sine qua non* of any imperialist power is the blood it sucks from its prey. Countless

millions around the world suffer incredible misery and deprivation to keep the U.S. monster still on its feet, whose appetite for blood is insatiable, and intensifies, not diminishes, with each new infusion. The authors overlook this in their support for U.S. imperialism.

The conditions within the Western bloc have far more in common with those in the East than they have differences. No matter what economic road the separate countries of the West may take, the results will be the same. Whether Britain and the U.S. pursue monetarist policies, and France and to some extent West Germany a Keynesian populism, it will do nothing to ward off the disintegration of their economies. As the *RW* commented on the recent Ottawa summit, "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." The Common Market summit preceding Ottawa had just as hollow a ring, issuing its understated and impotent warning to the bourgeoisie that current economic trends risk plunging the nations into "serious financial and monetary instability." Only someone who has deliberately poked their eyes out could seriously infer, as the authors do, that it is only the Soviet Union that "desperately needs a redivision of the world's resources and markets." Or would offer a comparison of the relative strengths and weaknesses by typifying the U.S. as "forced to maintain a defensive posture... powerless," as contrasted to the Soviet Union which is on the "strategic offensive."

Anyone armed with the science of Marxism surely is not surprised by the record-breaking war build-up in the U.S.: 1.6 trillion to the defense of the fatherland. Or by the decision to assemble the neutron bomb. If the authors were surprised, they leapt for joy when one of their leaders, Cap Weinberger, made it clear the bombs would eventually be deployed in Europe over what-

ever objections, to augment the paltry 10,000 nuclear weapons already in Europe. That term "defensive posture" that the authors use to describe the U.S.'s military program has a familiar ring. Where did it come from?

So while it is true that the monster is stumbling badly, and certainly will fall (and finally find itself with a knife through its heart, put there by the masses of the world, not some other imperialist power), it is clearly still on its feet. It is still fighting and will till the death, and still quite capable of and fully intending mass destruction in hopes of hovering a while longer over the world.

Some may want to excuse the authors of "Sooner or Later" because much has happened since they wrote, perhaps even as long as a year ago. But the contradictions that have created and are bringing to a head this situation hardly arose within the last few months. A Marxist, one armed with the science of the development of human society, should be able to see, or be struggling to see, as Bob Avakian is continually pointing out, that within the current crisis of imperialism, developments can, do and will dramatically and very quickly and even in unexpected ways change the complexion of the world, and afford ever increasing opportunities for revolutionary work, and will more than likely bring forward revolutionary situations in more than one pivotal country. In an analysis of conditions, a Marxist could never rule out the possibility of a revolutionary situation arising in this country in this period. In fact it would be seen as necessary for one working in this country to focus on those very possibilities.

Which brings us again to the people. In reference to the recent uprising in West Berlin, and relating them to Ireland and England, the *RW* had this powerful sum-up. "Coming as this did in the midst of continued street fighting in Northern Ireland, and while Mother England's urban petticoats were being

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You'll Never See It On 60 Minutes



Tick, tick, tick, tick... Good Evening. I'm Mike Wallace, and this evening on 60 Minutes we're going to be looking at the current youth rebellion in Europe. Here in this run-down building in the heart of safe, affluent, and conservative Zurich is the headquarters of... Hey! What are you doing? Stop! You can't do that, we're from CBS! Oh my God, that's an \$8,000 camera. Holy shit, let's get...

According to Associated Press, TV producer Al Wasserman and the film crew of "60 Minutes" experienced a close encounter of the first kind with Zurich's rebellious youth movement last week. When they arrived at the youth movement headquarters, they

were seized by masked youth who promptly tied them up to a post.

"They threw bucketfuls of paint, red, black and white, on us and emptied ketchup bottles over our heads while the film was burned in front of us," said Wasserman, recounting his terrifying experience. When they were finally cut free by some other youth, the remaining minutes were used in beating a hasty retreat. "When we got back to our van, we found two tires slashed," recounted the dejected producer, who failed to appreciate the fact that this "interview," produced by the Zurich youth and not CBS, would have made great TV viewing for a change.

Tick, tick, tick, tick...

Concentration Camp Hearings A Risky Thing for U.S. Imperialists

The U.S. imperialists have opened an explosive Pandora's box by setting in motion a national series of public hearings on the World War 2 imprisonment of Japanese-Americans in concentration camps. (See *RW*, July 10) The hearings are, and are increasingly becoming, a startling example of the risks which the U.S. imperialists must take as they maneuver to pull their war bloc together—in this case to mend some fences with Japan and, in the course of this, to drum up patriotism for their war plans. Why else would they want to re-open the case of this hideous imperialist crime, where 120,000 Japanese-Americans were ripped from their homes overnight, their land and property confiscated, and placed in concentration camps behind barbed wire, machine gun towers, and in some cases troops and tanks which could and did shoot to kill? The hearings will also go to Alaska, where native Aleut peoples on the Aleutian and Pribilof islands were evacuated and as a result decimated—their population of 15,000 is today barely above 3,000. The stated aim of the hearings is to study the possibility of monetary reparations for Japanese-Americans incarcerated in the camps.

By the time the hearings hit San Francisco, their third stop, over 1000 people jammed the meeting room, and headlines were played in all the local newspapers. Similar crowds arrived during all three days here; many people had decided to come out to testify at the last moment, in some cases breaking years of silence. What has emerged in the testimony so far is a blaze of spoken bitterness, an indictment of the crimes of imperialism which many have waited 40 years to give. One startling example was the woman who told how as a child she was imprisoned in the segregation center at Tule Lake, and then "repatriated" to Japan—to the city of Hiroshima.

Although among the activist groups there is disagreement over how much and how far to push the issue of repara-

tion (monetary compensation), the issue of reparations has frankly taken second place in the testimony to the exposure of this crime. There has been the aim voiced by some that their testimony was "for history." Indeed, the impact of this exposure will be made historically and also internationally, but the intentions of the imperialists in this matter are a far cry from the aims of many who have testified.

The lines had been drawn especially sharp by the statement of Senator S.I. Hayakawa, an open advocate of imperialist butchery and reaction, who was propped up as the first speaker in Los Angeles, and said that the demand for reparations and, implicitly, the protest against the camps generally, "makes my flesh crawl with shame and embarrassment" and described the average three-year imprisonment as a "vacation." (Hayakawa, as a Canadian, was not interned.) An answer came from one young Japanese-American in San Francisco, who suggested that Hayakawa "revive an ancient Japanese feudal rite" and that he would be happy to provide the sword.

In replying to openly reactionary chauvinism of the Hayakawa type, there has been near unanimity. But how, on what terms to reply to it, and even more basically, how to understand the experience of imprisonment in the camps—these are questions which reach all the way back to the period of internment itself. In short, there is sharp struggle, somewhat underneath the surface as of now, on how to sum up the camps, how to indict them: are these a "shameful exception," or typical of the system; should Japanese-Americans have to "prove they were loyal," or is the onus on the imperialists to show why this crime doesn't prove their system is rotten to the core; and why are the imperialists holding these hearings now?

The hearings are in part, a response to this genuine hatred of and movement against oppression among the Japanese-Americans, something we

shall touch on more later. But the bourgeoisie's primary aim is to twist and distort and use these hearings as part of its international maneuvering for war, and it is this that has prompted the imperialists to re-open this issue in the very public and, for them, dangerous way that they have.

Why the U.S. Government Needed the Camps and Why They Want the Hearings

Historically Japanese immigrants and people of Japanese ancestry have been subjected to the vicious national oppression heaped on the oppressed nationalities in this country throughout its entire history. But while the full weight of the racist superstructure of the "American way of life" was certainly brought to bear in the internment of Japanese people during World War 2, the brutal evacuation of more than 100 thousand Japanese people to the concentration camps served an important and particular purpose for U.S. imperialism. As we have pointed out before, while the camps posed certain difficulties for the U.S. internationally, since they were waving the banner of "freedom and democracy" in the last inter-imperialist world war, the camps were necessary politically to create an atmosphere of war hysteria and get the country on a war footing. Given the racist superstructure, the round-up of Japanese people could certainly be accomplished with less difficulty than an attempt to round-up people of Italian and German descent, which would have been more likely to be interpreted as an attack on "real" Americans.

Furthermore, while Roosevelt met with Churchill to discuss how the defeat of Germany was their first aim, the U.S. imperialists in reality turned their attention to the defeat of Japan and the gobbling up of the British Far East and Pacific Empire as their first priority. The U.S. imperialists sought a redivision of the world as desperately as any imperialist power, and in particular aimed to muscle in on the British empire; this was principally accomplished by allying with Britain in the war. The Japanese imperialists were the main rival of the U.S. for British and French colonial possession in the Pacific arena. There is much evidence to show that the U.S. government not only knew about the Japanese imperialists' plan to attack Pearl Harbor, but welcomed it as a way to arouse an unwilling U.S. population to their imperialist war efforts. The attack on Pearl Harbor also became the premise on which the U.S. government launched their attack on the Japanese people and those of Japanese ancestry in the U.S. Thus, we can see a convergence of imperialist interests in the internment camps. Not only was this an effective means for creating a war climate at home, but it also served internationally, like the atomic bombings of Japan at the end of the war, to put their rival Japanese imperialists and the rest of the world on notice that the U.S. intended to become the undisputed master of the Pacific area and, indeed, top dog imperialist in the world.

As the two imperialist blocs headed by the U.S. and the Soviet Union prepare for another inter-imperialist showdown, this episode of U.S. imperialist ugliness is posing a problem for the U.S., since Japan is now part of the Western bloc, headed by the U.S. It is politically expedient for the U.S. government to do something cosmetic after 40 years to clear up this particular blot and mollify the Japanese and the influential Japanese-Americans who are demanding reparations. It is in this context that the current hearings are being held. U.S. envoy to Japan Mike Mansfield stated in a recent interview, "The alliance between our two countries is the most important bilateral relationship in the world...the strong

point is our need for each other, the weak point is our lack of understanding of each other—especially on the American side." Indeed, the incineration of 200,000 Japanese people at Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the internment of people of Japanese ancestry in concentration camps and numerous other U.S. acts pose problems of "understanding." But while the U.S. imperialists do seem to have some difficulty, due to their thoroughly national-chauvinist cowboyism, treating the Japanese imperialists in the imperialist-to-imperialist style accorded to European powers, the "weakness in understanding" is an inter-imperialist problem and has much to do with creating public opinion for their next war among the masses of people in Japan itself. It is this "weakness in understanding" which these hearings and a whole series of other acts by the U.S. have, in part, aimed at clearing up.

This is not the first time that the U.S. has attempted to deal with the problem that the concentration camps poses for them in their relations with Japan. In the early 1950s, the U.S. imperialists began the legal machinery aimed at "repaying" Japanese-Americans for property losses while in the camps. From 1954 to 1965, the government did dole out \$38 million (a paltry sum which amounted to about 10¢ on the \$1 of losses absorbed by the ex-camp internees). Significantly, this move was first made in the context of the Korean War, when the U.S. needed Japan as a firm junior partner in its continued hot and growing designs for bringing Asia under its wing and "containing" revolutionary China.

In 1971, Richard Nixon stopped at Portland, Oregon for a ceremony signing into law a bill repealing the infamous Title II of the Internal Security Act, the provision which had maintained concentration camps for potential "subversives" and which had been fought against for years by a movement spearheaded in the Japanese-American community. In part, this was a retreat in the face of the struggle (but mainly a cosmetic one—the constitutionality of the World War 2 camps has always been upheld by the courts; only this particular law was repealed). But then Nixon continued on the main purpose of his trip: to Alaska, to the first summit.

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Soldier posting Civilian Exclusion order No. 1.

On Resistance Concentration Treachery

The following letter was sent to the *RW* by a reader in the San Francisco Bay Area.

I was glad to see the article in *RW* No. 113 about the Japanese concentration camps during World War 2. This whole disgusting episode in the history of this "great country" continues to be an open sore that blatantly reveals the real nature of "American democracy"—and for this reason it is one subject the government has systematically tried to "sweep under the rug." Most people know very little about the evacuation, and the article did a good job of exposing both the extent to which racist hysteria, lies and physical violence were promoted and used, and also the overall necessity the U.S. faced in the midst of

ings: erialism



Field laborers of Japanese ancestry from a large California ranch argue in front of the Wartime Civilian Control Authority station where they have been given orders on "evacuation" procedures. They will be shipped off to the concentration camps in 3 days.

ance in the U.S. tion Camps and the of the CPUSA

world war.

But especially in light of the recent reparation hearings going on around the country—and the public opinion the government is trying to create with this, I think some things about the concentration camp experience need to be gone into deeper. As the article in No. 113 points out, "Here was the U.S. posing as worldwide champion of freedom and democracy, and setting up concentration camps right within its own borders. For the imperialist gentlemen, that posed a real 'challenge to democratic principles'... the real challenge was how to keep the reality of these camps from exposing the essence of American democracy—the naked armed dictatorship of an exploiting and world-grabbing class, no different fundamentally from the

rival bloc of Axis imperialists."

In fact this continues to be a problem that the government has in summing this up in the reparation hearings, and there is tons of evidence that is completely hidden about the concentration camps that points to the fact that the government had to use very extensive repressive measures to carry out this evacuation. This goes right up against the line of argument that the government seems to be pushing in these hearings, that if the Japanese should be compensated for their losses in the evacuation at all, it is only because there was no reason to incarcerate them because they were "loyal Americans." Indeed this is part of what went on—and was consciously pushed by some in the camps, but is hardly the whole picture

or even what overall characterized either the evacuation itself or the camps. The truth is that the government had a big problem right from the start. By the time the camps were closed in 1945, those in prison had staged mass boycotts of the army volunteer campaign; had faced the largest mass trial of draft resisters in the history of the U.S. to date; had mounted a virtual uprising at the Tule Lake Segregation Center against troops, and tanks, who used their weapons, killing two; had in some cases grown utterly contemptuous of the red, white and blue, and demanded it be lowered in at least one case; had expressed their resistance of cultural identity in countless forms, including photography, art, literature and education. The "democracy" they enforced in the camp at gunpoint serves as further indictment of the line that paints the Japanese as passively going along with this, pissed off but "understanding" of the necessity of it because the U.S. was at war "fighting for the American way." From the very beginning the War Relocation Authority (WRA) was faced with the problem that there were many Japanese who expressed outrage and active dissent to the point where it became necessary to institute a policy where the actively "disloyal"

evacuees were systematically segregated from the loyal. As the *RW* article pointed out, the first thing the people had to do as they entered the camp was sign a loyalty oath in which they gave up virtually all their rights and swore their loyalty to America. And as people realized that the government's "assembly centers" were in reality concentration camps, and promise after promise was broken about "rights and bettering conditions," "pledging allegiance" to America behind barbed wire became a sickening and cruel joke. In fact the government had much to be concerned with—not because, as they rationalized, these disloyal might help Japan bomb America, but because of the increasing rebellions and riots that erupted spontaneously. By June 1942 the evacuation of over 110,000 Japanese had been completed. They had been taken from their homes and jobs under military guard at the average rate of 3,750 per day. They had been ripped off of millions of dollars of personal belongings and businesses. They had been housed in filthy horse stables and finally taken to barracks completely surrounded by barbed wire, and told that this was their "new home" for an indefinite period of time. Contrary to the picture that many

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War, Revolutionary Defeatism

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set aflame—these battles in the streets of West Germany have given new depth and dimension to the spectre of rebellion that is casting its shadow across the face of the Western imperialist bloc." Nor is there any sign of a let-up. One commentator in the pages of the *Wall Street Journal* is not so wide of the mark when he warns his friends that they might try to console themselves that it is just another passing spasm that they can live with. "But it is not a spasm. It is a tidal wave that will sweep all before it, leaving NATO in ruins."

Even the controllers' strike is a portent. Out of their relatively privileged position, nice home, swimming pool, et al., here are those who do not think their lot in life is so fine, who in fact find conditions of work unbearable, and are willing to play high stakes in order to rebel. As the *RW* points out, which way this stratum will eventually go is a serious question, but the international connections of the strike, its threat to the war preparations, and the iron fist of the bourgeoisie in reaction against it, are evidence of the vulnerability of imperialism and the strength of the people.

With their analysis, the authors would be hard pressed to recognize these forces that are now taking the initiative, and driving deeper and deeper wedges into both blocs. More likely they are terrified by these developments. Turning to the so-called third world, what kind of Marxism prompts them to assess in 1980 that Western appeasement allowed the Soviet Union to take Afghanistan, or to say that "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"? What is this? Didn't these "Marxists" learn a lesson from the people of Vietnam? Another proof of Mao's principle that "the outcome of a war is decided by the people, not by one or two new types of weapon." The Afghan people now control 95% of their country, and at night, the streets of 2 of the 3 leading cities.

For naked national chauvinism, the authors' analysis of the third world countries can't be beat. Two predominant aspects are given: "achieving greater independence...beginning to act together." They fail to comment on what kind of "independence" is being achieved by OPEC, ANDEAN, ASEAN, and OAU, in whose interests that independence is being gained, and in whose interests these countries are working together. Is it the authors' condescending curtsies to underdeveloped countries (giving them honorary leadership in their united front) that exempts them from distinguishing between the interests of the proletariat and the masses of people on the one hand, and the interests of the national and comprador bourgeoisie on the other? As was stated in the *Joint Communiqué* of 13 Marxist-Leninist parties issued in the autumn of 1980, "Experience has shown that without the leadership of the proletariat and a genuine Marxist-Leninist line it is impossible to free these types of countries (semi-feudal, colonial, semi-(or neo)-colonial) from imperialist enslavement, still less to advance on the socialist road."

How these authors must have applauded Alexander Haig, Jr. (they may be writing some of his speeches) after last spring's whirlwind trip to the Middle East to build the anti-Soviet consensus. The Saudi royal family, leader of OPEC which the authors laud as "having a tremendous impact on the world—in its oil pricing and its fund to aid developing countries," was grateful for the chance to "work together" with its neighbor, Egypt, since the nature of the deal was another massive influx of U.S. arms. Ditto for Sadat, "holy wars" brewing in and around Cairo. It's a tricky game these despots play, but hardly one to be applauded by any progressive person, much less by those supposedly dedicating themselves to the

science of revolution.

The applause, the support, and the gratitude for the blows struck against imperialism and the forces of oppression, and gratitude for the tremendous inspiration ought to be directed consciously, daily, insistently, toward the people of Afghanistan, of Iran, the Palestinians, all the fighters in the Mideast and throughout OPEC who resist oppression. That's where our attention should be directed. That's where the hope of the world lies.

These "Sooner or Later" people must have really been cheering madly in June when in Manila their hero Haig told his buddy, the butcher Marcos, "You can indeed be confident there is a new America." Just the America these authors are calling for and dreaming of. Haig laid the groundwork for a new ASEAN policy, those countries "working together" with the U.S. and China in a "United Front resistance movement," as he later put it, against the Soviet presence in the region and its base in Hanoi.

Very much related to this, in fact an instance of what is at the basis of the whole worldwide imperialist contention, is recent news out of ASEAN member, Thailand. "Thailand is becoming a land of big development projects, and banks are likely to compete aggressively to finance them," goes the report. Zinc refining, oil refining, polish extraction, are 3 of the projects, raring to the billions of dollars, just waiting for any investment capital that might be lying around starving for some profitable, politically stable environment to feed on. The authors' analysis and strategy is hand in glove with the cynical admonition of the *Wall Street Journal*: "The central thrust of that policy (toward ASEAN) should be to bring the tormented people of South Vietnam and Cambodia under more enlightened rule. They were once our allies."

The recent article in the *RW*, "Slaves of Thailand," speaking of the horror of the system of child slavery there, is a grim reminder of the nature of this enlightened rule that the authors pine for, which would lay a more advantageous basis for them to do their political work. And indeed, it would.

Whether we follow Haig to Cancun and the preparations for the 22-nation North-South summit (with stopping the revolutionary movement in Latin America at the top of the agenda), or his emissaries to Pretoria with the so-called new policy with South Africa, or wherever in the world, the purpose is essentially the same. U.S. imperialism, matching stride for stride the Soviet Union, ganging up to try to save the day for its side. This these authors applaud.

A final word on conditions in China. Two currents continue to show themselves. One is characterized by the unrest, strikes, resistance occurring in many cities in the face of 20 million (reported) unemployed youth and other typical capitalistic conditions. Also by a widespread underground press. Much of it is attacking the "bureaucratic privileged class...a new ruling class" that has put China in a position of "facing economic collapse since the downfall of the Gang of Four." These developments are in the spirit of the Cultural Revolution; the thirst of people to grapple with the life and death questions of political and ideological line, and to transform all of society.

The other current is characterized by the conditions which the authors use as the basis for their analysis, China beginning to "modernize" its economy. Chinese bureaucratic boasting, for instance, that the Shenzhen economic zone is now being run "like a big private enterprise." And the elevation and implementation as an international strategy of Deng Xiaoping's notorious "three worlds theory." The framework and details of the analysis given us by the authors of "Sooner or Later" is another example of the fact that at this moment of historic conjuncture, the position one takes on the line of Mao Tsetung divides revisionists from Marxists, traitors from communists.

There is a saying evidently making

the rounds these days in certain lesser circles of high finance on Wall Street, among those seeking upward mobility. "Lick what's above you, kick what's beneath." These bootlicker authors should lend an ear, and learn the latest in properly posturing oneself vis-à-vis the ruling elite, as they attempt to condemn the world to yet another round of mass destruction, this time terrible beyond imagination, in order to help save the asses of those they look up to, as well as their own. Their criminal acts are the more heinous in that history has given us ample evidence of where their road leads, and has likewise given us a conscious understanding and expression of what road to take at this moment when the world is coming up for grabs.

S.E.

To the *RW*:

I would like to comment on the excerpts from "Sooner or Later" (New Outlook Press) that were reprinted in *RW* No. 115. Sorry, there are no new outlooks here. Anyone somewhat familiar with Lenin's writings on the subject, especially those reprinted in the *RW* over the last few months, would have to say that "Sooner or Later" literally reeks of opportunism in the form of social-chauvinism. Lenin defines this in *The Collapse of the Second International* this way: "By social-chauvinism we mean acceptance of the idea of the defence of the fatherland in the present imperialist war, justification of an alliance between socialists and the bourgeoisie and the governments of their 'own' countries in this war, a refusal to propagate and support proletarian-revolutionary action against one's 'own' bourgeoisie, etc. It is perfectly obvious that social-chauvinism's basic ideological and political content fully coincides with the foundations of opportunism. It is one and the same tendency." (Lenin's emphasis) "The idea of class collaboration is opportunism's main feature." "Opportunism means...an alliance between a section of the workers and the bourgeoisie, directed against the mass of the proletariat." Taken in this view, "Sooner or Later" has the effect of being suddenly accosted by a wafting of "eau-de-skunk." It would come as no great shock, I'm sure, if the authors of this pamphlet, the Communist Unity Organization (CUO), were exposed as a subsidiary of the U.S. State Dept.

Right off the bat, they pour on some hysterical chauvinism: "...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." They then go on to bemoan how poor U.S. imperialism, once "the seemingly invincible superpower", "lost" China, Korea, Cuba, Indochina, etc., "and was exposed as a paper tiger in the eyes of the world." And how it now has become the "powerless" superpower, "seeking to maintain the status quo" (its position as No. 1 exploiter).

"The Soviet Union, on the other hand, has passed onto the strategic offensive" and "is more dangerous than the United States" because "as a latecomer it is hungrier" and "it seeks to spread its brand of fascism to all parts of the world."

Well, it makes me wonder, if "In the last thirty years, we have seen the development of the U.S. and the Soviet Union into superpowers", didn't they *Both* achieve this status by the same means (imperialist exploitation and oppression), and with the same purpose (domination of the world markets)? Not according to the CUO. They give us a lengthy roll-call of Soviet sponsored aggression: Angola, Zaire, Ethiopia, Kampuchea, South Yemen, Afghanistan, etc. All true enough. But nary a word is said about the U.S. role in world-wide oppression, say in El Salvador, Guatemala, (in fact, most of Latin America), South Africa, Uganda, Pakistan, East Timor, etc. While passing mention is made of the vicious persecution being waged against the people of Palestine, no mention is made of the fact that it is the U.S. that's backing the Zionists of Israel to the hilt, relying on them to insure an inroad to the Middle East.

And what about these hapless souls in the "third world"? Well shit, *Just* as they are starting to get it together "in new regional associations" (such as, ANDEAN, ASEAN, OAU, OAS, OPEC, and the non-aligned movement, no less!), "to protect their sovereignty and to develop their economies" (free from "former" U.S. domination, of course), along comes the nouveau-imperialist, "Ivan-come-lately", relying "heavily on sheer military clout" to subdue them to its bloody rule.

Now, there can be no doubt that the Soviet Union is seeking world domination, but what the CUO is consciously doing here is trying very hard to completely evade the *inter-imperialist* nature of this impending showdown between two equally oppressive rival war blocs. The CUO would have us believe that it's not really the very nature of imperialism, the very fact that this system has reached a crisis of international proportions that can only be resolved by a forced redivision of the world, enabling one imperialist bloc or the other to expand and plunder new markets. No, they tell us, it's simply a matter of U.S. "democracy" versus Soviet "hegemonism".

But wait, there is a way to achieve salvation! For not only has China "begun to modernize its economy and has normalized relations with the U.S.," but a clear strategy has emerged (fanfare here please!) "THE UNITED FRONT AGAINST HEGEMONISM" (hallelujah, we can still be saved from the Soviet terror)! Distilled to its essence, this "new task" amounts to running around yelling: "The Russians are coming! The Russians are coming! Quick! Quick! Everyone unite behind the benevolent U.S. imperialists, the nice, friendly, 'democratic', bloodsucking, oppressive, exploiters!" In the same work cited above, Lenin was exposing the opportunist Kautsky when he said of this type of "unity": "The war has...brought the capitalist class still greater political advantages in that it has split and corrupted the proletariat...he sanctified this international *split* among the militant proletarians in the name of unity with the opportunists of their 'own' nations, ...the unity slogan of the old parties (again, there is nothing new about the CUO—P.M.) means the 'unity' of the proletariat of a given nation with the bourgeoisie of that nation, and a *split* among the proletariat of the various nations." (all emphases Lenin's).

And what great goal does the CUO think the people of the world can accomplish by forming this "united front" with their own ruling classes? "The purpose...is to postpone (emphasis P.M.) war...until the world understands..." how terrible the Soviets really are. One might be tempted to ask here, how is it that a "communist" could have such a condescending view of the masses of people? Oh yes, it's because "their forces are no match for the Soviet Union" (a seemingly invincible superpower?) "with sophisticated weaponry and the lessons learned from the U.S. in Vietnam." Such utter contempt!

Of course, the masses of people world-wide learned nothing from "the U.S. in Vietnam," so there is no point in relying on them to rise up against oppression. Faced with Soviet "hegemonization" they must necessarily be helpless! Instead, they must run quaking behind the robes of their saviors, the "democratic" countries, led by U.S. imperialism, and form a "united front". That's it, go to it! Just pour blood and sweat, heart and soul into re-establishing the U.S. as the top dog once more. There's no imperialism like the good, old stars-and-stripes brand!

This is because this "united front" has singled-out Soviet hegemonism as the "principal enemy" to the people of the world (just as their oft-quoted 1935 Seventh Comintern Congress singled-out Nazi fascism as the "principal enemy"). And of course, there is no cause to rely on the masses of the Soviet bloc countries either, especially in the Soviet Union itself, since they must be (please pick any one or combination): 1) hopeless dupes, 2) mindless robots, 3) ecstatic at the prospects of world

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There is a little argument going on in the pit known as the U.S. ruling class, with the two "sides" being headed up by Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger and Secretary of State Alexander Haig. It seems that cowboy Caspar has taken to acting like he doesn't give a damn about the fustling and fretting of the U.S.'s imperialist allies, while Haig feels that his position in Western Europe—being constitutionally in charge there—has given him more "sensitivity" to the necessities of cooperative war bloc building. *RW* readers will recall the timing of last week's neutron bomb announcement was seemingly opposed by Mr. Sensitivity on the grounds that it might jeopardize the very necessary deployment of new Pershing and Cruise nuclear missiles in Western Europe by 1983, making the task of fellow Western imperialist spokesmen, like West Germany's Helmut Schmidt, more difficult. Al, of course, is just as much in love with neutrons as Caspar. He just wanted to delay the romance for a little while. This week's tiff concerns the MX Mobile Missile, and once again it is equally an object of affection for both; this time, the question is *where* the little darling will be deployed. Weinberger wants to put it on airplanes, partly because some influential residents of Utah and Nevada have raised a few objections to living in the middle of a nuclear bullseye. Haig is appalled because he fears another outcry from Europe—after all, if we won't shove the MX down "our" peoples' throats, how can we expect our allies to shove the Pershings and Cruises down "their" peoples' throats. Especially when those people have raised a few objections to living at ground zero themselves. Indeed, even the most politically aware

Haig/Weinberger "Gentlemen's Argument" Over MX Bombs Away, But Where?

among Western Europe's bourgeois elite appear to be getting a little suspicious about the U.S.'s maneuverings as the big shootout gets closer.

The basic problem is that *all* these imperialist allies, including the Europeans, want—or more precisely, *need*—to see their Soviet bloc rivals wiped out, but none of them wants to take the heat—both figuratively and literally—of the inevitable Soviet retaliation. Not only would this mess up more of their property than they would like, but much more importantly, the entire social fabric of these bourgeois dictatorships could very well be ripped to shreds. In fact, the very knowledge among their subjects that they are a target, in the face of a particularly blatant move toward the big bang, could have a quite devastating effect on the present rulers' ability to continue ruling even before war breaks out. Thus, sections of all the Western imperialist ruling classes are jumping out to oppose this or that specific war move, desperately hoping to ride the whole bloc's might to victory while telling the Soviets, "It's not *me*, it's the *other* guy you want to nuke."

For example, France supports the Pershing and Cruise missiles wholeheartedly—in *West Germany*; as for France itself, it has its own *independent* nukes which it hopes to avoid using until the Soviets are already softened up by its allies. Great Britain's Labor Party has already called for British nuclear disarmament, hoping to rely on the

U.S.'s umbrella while trying to convince the Soviets that Britain is no longer a threat and therefore should be bypassed when the bombs start dropping. Norway and Denmark have gone whole hog with NATO's conventional weaponry while trying to keep their area a nuclear-free zone, apparently hoping to pick up the marbles after the nuclear heavies blow each other back to pre-World War I levels of productive forces. In the Netherlands, the prime minister who supports the NATO missiles has been unable to form a ruling coalition in Parliament because there is much fear within the Dutch bourgeoisie that putting those missile sites on their turf would put them in the center of Soviet scopes. And in West Germany, a section of Schmidt's ruling party is threatening to bar the Pershing and Cruise at their next convention, with Schmidt countering that he will resign if such a move is taken.

What all this boils down to is the modern-day version of trying to sit on the mountain top and watch the tigers fight—much like the U.S. did in Europe in World War I and II—letting others take the casualties while you sweep in for the spoils. But unfortunately for *all* these imperialists, there just aren't such safe mountain tops in the imperialist world anymore. The development of imperialism worldwide has turned the whole world into the front lines, and the turf of each ruling class, whether in the "mother country" or out in the colonies, have become reachable targets of

their rivals. While watching them haggle over how to sneak off into the background is quite amusing, it is nevertheless true that all these imperialist efforts will ultimately prove to be exercises in futility. Knowing this further impels all class-conscious observers to step up their struggle, for as Mao Tse-tung once said there are only two possibilities: either revolution will prevent war or war will give rise to revolution.

Which brings us back to the Haig-Weinberger "debate." After all, this is the U.S.'s bloc; none of the others have anywhere near the military ability required to go head to head with the Soviets for world domination. It appears that the U.S. bourgeoisie is leaning toward Weinberger's argument in hopes of deluding those in the heartland awhile longer about the eventual resting place of Soviet nukes in time of war. But neither "side" in this U.S. bourgeois gentlemen's argument has any such illusions. While both Weinberger and Haig are calling for more and bigger nuclear submarines, more and bigger nuclear bombers, and of course, the good old neutron, the key part of their latest military buildup call is in the area of "communications." It seems that a lot more satellites, airborne command posts and underground bunkers are going to be necessary for the U.S. imperialists in the not too distant future. □

Revolution Magazine



Forces of the Republic rout fascist troops on the Sarcogossa front in 1936.

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Concentration Camp Hearings

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mit meeting between a U.S. president and Emperor Hirohito of Japan.

The current hearings coincide with the sharply stepped-up effort by the U.S. imperialists to pressure and cajole the Japanese rulers, as we pointed out in *RW* No. 109 "to drop the pretense that they are a non-violent power, to more openly advertise their decades-long military alliance with the U.S., and, however difficult, to begin more actively molding public opinion for the role Japan is playing, and will be playing more strongly in the future—in the U.S. imperialist bloc as it prepares for war with its Soviet-bloc rivals." Just three months ago, the U.S. openly flaunted its nukes on Japanese territory as part of its pressure toward these ends. And as part of the major problem the U.S. (and the Japanese imperialists) have in pulling this off, the nukes were met by massive and sustained demonstrations in Japan.

As the bloody capper, the current hearings occur right as the U.S. has been wildly shaking its neutron weapon on the very anniversary of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Whether this coincidence of the hearings with the neutron bomb announcement is by accident or design, it has provided the media an opportunity for a vicious counterpoint: "We're real sorry about what we did to people of Japanese ancestry" (in the hearings), "but we're the ones who do have, and have used, these weapons, so step into line, motherfucker" (in the neutron bomb announcement).

The Loyalty Oath Revisited

The international significance of the hearings showed itself at the very inception of the idea of the hearings. The commission holding these forums was established in July, 1980, after a two-year struggle started by the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL), and later joined by other groupings. It has once again focused the long-simmering anger and genuine hatred of this imperialist crime among Japanese-Americans and many other people. But in an official position paper, the JACL made this pitch to the bourgeoisie for the hearings: "In an historical sense, America must rectify the mistakes of the past to the greatest extent possible if we as a nation are to continue as the best hope for mankind."

Certainly this is an attractive argument for the imperialists, who do very much want to "continue as the best hope" for millions whom they must convince once again to die for the "great cause" of U.S. imperialism and "democracy." On this subject, World War 2 has been a great ace in the hole, subject of an increasing avalanche of movies and other propaganda—this was the "war worth fighting." The fact of concentration camps on U.S. soil during this "noble war" doesn't do this propaganda much good.

All this represents a reactionary misrepresentation by JACL leaders of the whole thrust of the continuing struggle around the concentration camps among the masses of Japanese-Americans and others, and even misrepresents the sentiments of forces right within the JACL. During the Iranian hostage crisis, for example, S.I. Hayakawa pitched in for the imperialists, saying that the Iranians should be put in camps like "his own" people were; the very next day, some forces in the JACL held a news conference condemning this idea. This conference, which certainly went against the tide of imperialist propaganda at the time, reflects the dangers (to the imperialists) and powerful hatred of oppression called into life by raising the concentration camps again. These contradictory forces, even right within the JACL, show the extreme difficulty the U.S. imperialists have in trying to line up behind their war plans—and their chauvinist ideology—the oppressed nationalities, the very people they have historically heaped with one atrocity after another.

So how does the bourgeoisie aim to deal with this problem? For one thing, the bourgeoisie attempts to portray the hearing testimony and promote a

debate around it, in such a way that, behind the sugary "We're sorry about all that," actually shakes the fist of bourgeois dictatorship right at the masses of people. This shows in the very terms of the "debate" they want to foster on the issue: the JACL protest is that "an entire group of loyal American citizens were deprived of their constitutional rights" (JACL position paper). Gerald Ford said the same thing as he signed into law a bill repealing officially Executive Order 9066, which in 1942 had set up the camps: "We know now what we should have known then—not only was the evacuation wrong, the Japanese-Americans were and are loyal Americans." Not too far behind this lurks an obvious threat: if people are not loyal, well then it's perfectly fine to put them away... or worse.

In actual fact, the catalyst of sharpest resistance within the camps was the very question of loyalty, centering around the loyalty oath, questions 27 and 28, on the camp registration forms, and resistance to the draft. But, as Japanese-American activists have pointed out, the very parameters of the hearings are a strong deterrent to such testimony coming out—since the purpose of the hearings is to decide whether to grant reparations money to the internees, those testifying will hardly want to talk about how they raised hell!

On this loyalty question, it should also be seen that the bourgeoisie has another whole tack, an ideological double whammy to put over. Because at the time of the camps, loyalty or disloyalty of the Japanese-Americans was not at all the uppermost question for the bourgeoisie. While at the time the bourgeoisie made a big deal about the "military necessity" of the camps (this was pure bullshit), today there is no effort made to excuse them on these grounds. Today's reactionary message around this is well stated in one of a flood of letters in the *San Francisco Chronicle*, which started by granting that the camps were unnecessary militarily, and then stated: "How can we repay these people back for their internment?... how can we pay back the families of those killed and maimed at Hiroshima and Nagasaki? The answer, of course, is no way. War is hell. War is not rational. No one can pay back for anything. What could be more ridiculous than mewing about having parades and sit-ins to redress certain segments of a war." (*SF Chronicle*, July 29)

Or in other words: yes, we brutalized you as a people—so tough luck. War is hell. This is a very up-to-date message, for a bourgeoisie which is calling on people to make even more horrible "sacrifices" than in the last war. Overall, the government commission portrays its intentions, as the influential Senator Daniel Inouye of Hawaii put it, "to haunt the conscience of the nation" so that it supposedly never happens again, or as someone else said in the opening San Francisco session, "We should wipe out the stain on one page of American history." Again, this should be read in a mirror. In reality, this class would do it again in a minute. In actuality, not just one page but whole volumes could be written on the unreserved intentions of the U.S. bourgeoisie to both imprison and exterminate any numbers of its own population or those around the world under its heel whenever it feels its rule or interests are threatened... beginning with the evacuation and internment of the entire Creek and Cherokee nations in 1831, and continuing up through the "strategic hamlets" in Vietnam.

Ever since the World War 2 camps were disbanded, the bourgeoisie had been willing to dole out some money—insultingly small amounts, to be sure—but has maintained its "constitutional right" to do it again. While these payments were being made, three separate Supreme Court decisions upheld the constitutionality of the camps.

And more, since World War 2, each time crisis has rocked the U.S. imperialists, the preparations for mass incarcerations have been revived. On the

verge of the Korean War, the infamous Title II of the Internal Security Act designated and appropriated money for six existing prisons to be maintained as concentration camps; one was the old Tule Lake segregation center. After a few years, funds dried up and the camps fell into disrepair, but at the outset of the Vietnam War, money was again quietly appropriated to rehabilitate the camps. In 1968, Chairman Edwin Willis of the House Un-American Activities Committee proposed the use of the camps "for Black militants."

CPUSA And Other Patriots

One of the most disgusting aspects of the hearings is the antics of the revisionist "Communist" Party, USA. At the time of the camps, the CP was widely hated by Japanese-Americans for its support of the internment, which the CP attempted to justify on the basis of their general line of the "anti-fascist united front" which in fact meant siding with the Allied imperialist bloc against the Axis imperialists in an inter-imperialist war. A story, written by Mike Quinn, and published in the *People's World* newspaper on December 1941 is a stark illustration of their overall line on the war and the depths of social chauvinism these yahoos sunk to in defending the incarceration of the Japanese people: The story is a conversation between two workers, Murphy and O'Brien. And since readers of the *RW* may have trouble discerning the difference, we will point out that Murphy is, according to revisionist logic, supposed to be a "class-conscious" element: The story is called "O'Brien Practices Ju-Jitsu":

"I'll tear them limb from limb." He renewed his attack on his own foot. "It would be more sensible to work harder in the shipyard and enlist in the civilian defense.

"Anybody can do that," said O'Brien. "I'm going to deal with them directly."

"And how will you get to them?" asked Murphy. "They said you were too old when you tried to enlist."

"I'll start on the Jap pants presser down the street. I'll strangle him in his own shop. I'll teach those Japs some civilized manners."

"Then you'd better let go of your foot and get after him," said Murphy, "or he'll be gone."

"Gone?" O'Brien straightened out in alarm. "Where would he go to? He won't get far. Just let me get my hands on him. Hand me my coat. Murphy. Which way did he go?"

"He enlisted in the United States Army," said Murphy. "The government sent for him immediately. He's to be attached to the Intelligence Service."

O'Brien blinked his eyes in disappointment and amazement. "You mean he's going to fight his own people?"

"You are his own people, O'Brien, and so are the Garibaldis across the street, and the Cohens upstairs, and the MacGregors next door, and the Smiths around the corner. This is not a war of race against race, or nationality against nationality. It is a war of all right-minded people against fascist oppression."

"But he's a Jap," complained O'Brien.

"And you're an Irishman and Smith is an Englishman, and Cohen is a Jew,

and MacGregor is Scot, but we're all Americans, united by principles of freedom and democracy. That's what makes America. and Koromoto is an American too. He was born here and this is his country."

"But think of the fifth column, Murphy. If we don't clamp down on the Japs in this country, how are we going to tell the good ones from the bad?"

"They will all be clamped down on and watched, so to speak—the good ones as well as the bad. But this will be done by our government in an efficient, sensible manner for the protection of all. It will not be done by boneheads like you setting out to strangle men who might be better Americans than you are yourself, and more important to the defense effort..."

Franklin D. Roosevelt could not have put it better himself. And this line of thought continues in the CP's performance in the hearings today. A white woman, the wife of one individual who was a CP'er at the time of the camps, related how she fought to get into the camps (her husband later volunteered for military intelligence), and complained that "gangs of hoodlums" threw stones at those who were diligently helping with a camouflage net for the war effort!

A group called the League of Revolutionary Struggle also has played a role in the hearings; this supposedly communist group clearly aspires to play the above-described glorious role of the CPUSA, in this historic conjuncture by promoting the line of a united front with U.S. imperialism against Soviet "hegemonism." This group managed in a recent article in their newspaper (*Unity*, July 31) to devote literally thousands of words to the tactics of "a strong stand on monetary compensation" without once mentioning the main controversy (and main veiled threat of the imperialists), that of "loyalty" to U.S. imperialism, nor even once mentioning, much less exposing that the capitalist class is to blame for this, and a thousand similar atrocities. So when this group tells us that "fighting for (this and) other forms of redress is also a good way to build the movement and expand the united front among other classes and sectors of the Japanese people," it's quite obvious where they would like to lead this "movement"—as can be seen from their line as a whole, right into the "generous" and "apologetic" arms of the U.S. imperialists.

To us, and we're certain, to the revolutionary proletariat worldwide, if the imperialists are forced to pay reparations for these crimes, this is fine, and will be yet another indictment of the barbarous nature of imperialism. But to accomplish this at the price of people attempting to bury the hatchet with U.S. imperialism, smothering their hatred for the oppression heaped, not only on themselves but on the people of the whole world and giving loyalty oaths to the mad dogs who are preparing to incinerate millions in their next world war would indeed be a criminal price. The outrage and exposure which has continued and has been reawakened and deepened by these hearings, shows what a risky dilemma it is for the U.S. bourgeoisie to try to mend their bloody fences, and it is in the interest of the people of the whole world to further deepen this exposure and make all around preparations to put an end to their system at the earliest possible occasion. □

Treachery of the CPUSA

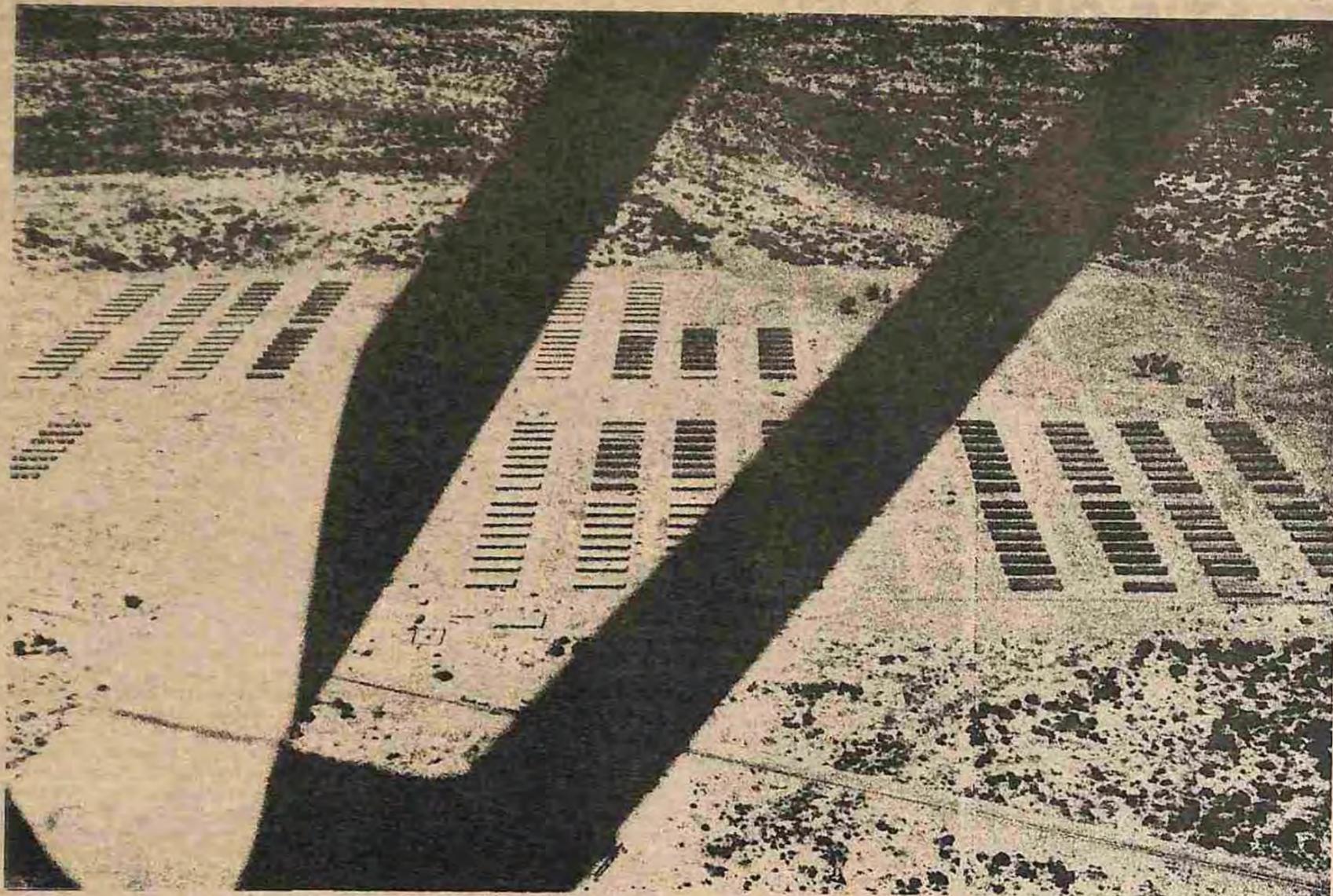
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bourgeois historians paint about this—that the Japanese were "disoriented and disconcerted" by the sudden move but were "culturally passive" from the beginning, all through the camps there was sharp struggle and a dividing line drawn between those who tended to accept the evacuation and those who pushed to actively resist.

There is much to learn from looking at the resistance that went on. This is not only because it is such an indictment of imperialism, but because it is also a very sharp lesson in the limits of spontaneous resistance, however right-

eous, and the utter criminality of a revisionist line that not only refused to lead this resistance but actually opposed the most advanced resistance with a sickening patriotism and complete capitulation. Dragged from their homes, many times separated from their families and thrown into subhuman living conditions, people in the camps responded in many different ways, and this was always a point of controversy and struggle. Also this struggle was not only over whether to comply or resist but many times how to resist. Spontaneously people fought back in the only way they

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Aerial view of the Colorado River Relocation Center.

Q. Are you a dual citizen (of Japan and the U.S.)?

A. No...but in the first place, if we are citizens, what are we doing in these camps?

Q. This is war time, and things were done because of military necessity that would not be done in normal times.

A. I'd rather leave the answer the same as it was... I answered "no" because of how they treated us. When they asked us to come here they told us they would pay union wages. They even used the Catholic Church for such lies. How can I have faith in this country? I lost all my faith in this country...

—Government interview of Japanese-Americans who answered "no" to loyalty question on camp registration forms.

"As the train went over the Tehachapi Mountains, a young Nisei cried for water. The nurses gave him water, but he was a tubercular case, and the water was not sufficient. Doctor Sasaki recalls: 'The train stopped but it was too late. His heart stopped beating. He should not have been forced to travel, due to his condition, according to the physician on the train. But this was war hysteria... I saw him die. Nothing could be done due to the high altitude, oxygen insufficiency, and the high heat and humidity in the Pullman...'"

—*America's Concentration Camps*, Allen Bosworth.

"We want to keep the Japs out of California!" State Senator Slater: "For the duration?" Mrs. Benathl: "No. For all times." State Senator Slater: "That's the stuff!"

—*Gold Star Mother Mrs. Benathl*, California State Senate, February 1943.

"I say to you that they must not come back to our state—we must keep them away from California as long as the flag of Nippon is flying over the Philippines!"

—California Attorney-General Earl Warren.

The Manzanar camp, like the others, was built in the midst of desolate desert country. The Owens Valley had become desert under peculiarly imperialist conditions. In the '20s, the Los Angeles real estate capitalists secretly diverted water from the fertile valley, driving thousands of farmers to ruin. There was money to be made in L.A.

In September 1943, the JACL began a campaign for volunteers for the all Japanese-American 442nd Brigade. At Tule Lake, home of the poorest and the most rebellious "troublemakers," of 16,000 internees, 59 volunteered.

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could without class-conscious leadership—scattered and without an understanding of the real nature of the system that had put them behind barbed wire. Sometimes this took the form of pro-Japan nationalism or fighting militantly against the incarceration, but still within the confines of bourgeois legality and with heavy illusions about American "democracy." This only underscores again the criminality of the "leaders" like the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) and the supposedly "left" forces like the revisionist Communist Party USA, who fought like hell to keep things under control and poison

people with the line that "this is the way we can do our part for the war effort."

After Pearl Harbor was attacked, the JACL had immediately wired President Roosevelt with a message: "In this solemn hour we pledge our fullest cooperation to you Mr. President and to our country. There cannot be any question. There must be no doubt. We in our hearts know we are Americans—loyal to America. We must prove that to all of you." And this line was actively propagated, from the JACL's complicity with the WRA in carrying out the evacuations and fingering "potential troublemakers" to their continuing active role in the camps of being the

"There is no hyphen in Japanese American. We explain that by saying 'Japanese' is only an adjective describing the wonderful noun 'American.' We may be short, but we are *not* hyphenated."

—Mike Masaoka, JACL leader and first volunteer for the 442nd.

The Chairman: "Tell us about the DiMaggios."

Mr. Tramutolo: "Three of the boys are outstanding leaders in the sports world. Joe, who is with the Yanks, was leading hitter for both the American and National Leagues during the years 1939, and 1940. His younger brother Dominic is with the Boston Red Sox, and his older brother Vincent is with the Pittsburgh Pirates... To evaluate the senior DiMaggios (non citizens) all this in view of the splendid family they have reared, and their unquestioned loyalty, present, I am sure you will agree with me, a serious situation."

—February 1942 Tolan Commission hearings, explaining why Germans and Italians would not be similarly imprisoned in the camps.

In 1941, there were already over 4,000 Nisei living there. As the war years progressed, some of the Japanese-Americans imprisoned in the camps had renounced their American citizenship and set sail for Japan. By August 1945, a number of the ex-internees had joined the Japanese-Americans already living in Hiroshima.

"Let it be said that within this state, there was heard but one voice of reason and understanding. It came from second-generation Japanese, some of them members of our unions. They proposed the evacuation of all Japanese, both alien and citizen. Their proposal did not come from agreement with those leading the pack. It rose out of a realization that the forces of hysteria and vigilantism had won out over decency and government...."

—Communist Party member Lewis Goldblatt, speaking on behalf of the CIO at the Tolan Commission, February 1942.

"They thoroughly eradicated the site of the internment assembly center at Tanforan, the San Bruno racetrack near San Francisco. A new regional shopping mall was constructed over it, with a Sears, and a Penney's and Emporium—a tacky new coat of Miracle Whip over this hideous reminder of national oppression. One May Day we decided to blitz the mall with leaflets until we were ejected. The first Security Guard passed by my post, gave me a wink, and kept walking. But a second was enraged: he tore the leaflets from my hand before I could stop him. Even as he ripped them apart, I caught a flash, like the sudden glint of sunlight on a trumpet, of the red flag symbol on the paper, sign of proletarian internationalism. 'We don't want that garbage here!' the guard blustered, 'this is America!'"

WRA's Japanese mouthpiece; but while perhaps in some ways this could be expected coming from an organization like the JACL, one would think that people who called themselves "communist" would be in the forefront of exposing the imperialists' crimes and leading the resistance. But in fact the Communist Party USA took the same line as the JACL. One book describes this line of the CP this way: "More typical of the left-wing attitude was the line taken by *People's World*, West Coast daily. Restrictions upon the liberty of Japanese were 'unfortunate, but vital' and by late February, General DeWitt's plans were termed 'a sensible program.'" In

one camp, Manzanar, the Citizens Federation, which was a coalition between pro-American and pro-communist "patriots" (CP forces), came together around the issue of urging volunteering to the Second Front.

All this—including the present gyrations of the government to deal with the real anger of the testimony coming out of the hearings by downplaying and distorting resistance in the camps—all this makes the actual nature and extent of the resistance very important to look into. By December of 1942 incidents had already occurred at Poston and Manzanar. Fearful of these demonstrations

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"THAT'S OUR LAKE"

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It is ridiculously obvious that the U.S. was taking no chances that this latest muscle flexing show would degenerate into another fiasco such as the so-called heroic hostage rescue mission of April 1980. On direct orders from President Reagan, the entire U.S. Sixth Fleet parked itself off the coast of Libya for this dramatic "test of strength." In a widely publicized item in the August 24 issue of *Newsweek* magazine, which appeared on the stands a few days before the jet fight, the plan was breathlessly laid out: "After months of debating how to neutralize Muammar Qaddafi, the Reagan administration this week will offer its first direct challenge to the Libyan strongman. On instructions from President Reagan, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger has ordered the Sixth Fleet to conduct maneuvers off the Libyan coast in the Gulf of Sidra, which Qaddafi declares to be Libyan territory. The United States doesn't recognize Libya's claim and will test Qaddafi's reactions—and those of his allies in Moscow—by staging war games inside the Gulf."

The official U.S. account of the incident is that two U.S. F-14s were engaged in a "combat air patrol" in international waters as part of routine Sixth Fleet firing exercises when two Soviet-built Libyan SU-22 jets appeared on the radar screen. Suddenly and without warning, one SU-22 "fired first," missing one U.S. jet with a heat-seeking missile. The F-14s then followed "routine engagement procedures" by blowing the SU-22s out of the sky.

The question of "who fired first" is certainly irrelevant in any case; the whole affair was a blatant imperialist bullying and terrorizing operation deliberately designed to proclaim that the only power with any "sovereignty" or "territorial rights" in the Mediterranean is the U.S. Apart from the specific goal of "humbling" Libya, the exercise was supposed to be yet another lesson to any other regimes in the Middle East who in one way or another have stepped out of line and a message to the Kremlin. But since the blatant and clumsy big lie is also a famous weapon in the U.S. imperialist arsenal, it should be noted that this weapon, too, has undoubtedly been extensively employed.

In the wake of the aerial dogfight, U.S. officials and the media first claimed that the "madman Qaddafi" ordered his jets to attack the F-14s because of an "insane Libyan claim" that its sovereignty extends 200 miles into the Mediterranean Sea. Kissinger foamed on TV that "I know of no country in the world that recognizes Libya's claims." In fact, Libya, along with 76 other countries, has raised the issue of a 200 mile limit only in relation to economic rights, such as fishing and sea floor mineral extraction. Libya—again, along with dozens of other countries—claims territorial sovereignty off limits to foreign military forces just 12 miles from its coastline. A glance at Libya's coastal map, however shows that the Gulf of Sidra is in effect a Libyan bay; Libya insists that in the area of the Gulf, its territorial limits run 12 miles north of the baseline drawn from the mouth of the Gulf. It was this baseline which the U.S. F-14s deliberately crossed repeatedly during the Sixth Fleet's so-called "exercises."

According to U.S. accounts, Libyan MIG-23s had repeatedly flown toward the exercise area and had been intercepted and "warned" off by F-14s; the U.S. Deputy Secretary of Defense Frank Carlucci claimed that 38 such incidents had occurred before the "dogfight," and that the F-14s were engaged in another such mission when one Libyan jet fired a missile. But the jet fight occurred not in the vicinity of the Sixth Fleet, but in Libya's own Gulf of Sidra.

Administration briefings on the episode initially attempted to skirt over the fact that the Libyan SU-22s are designed only for close air support against ground troops or tanks, are not at all comparable to F-14s or likely to be employed in a planned dogfight with them. But on August 20th "an unnam-

ed Pentagon source" was quoted in the *New York Daily News* as admitting that "the SU-22... was the most unlikely plane to use if there had been a deliberate Libyan plan to attack the highly sophisticated Navy F-14s. 'It's like sending a '56 Plymouth on the Grand Prix Tour of auto racing,' he said."

The same "Pentagon source" was quoted in the *News* as stating that the U.S. jets were flying straight toward the Libyan coast at 500 miles an hour, and, when Libyan jets were five miles away from the U.S. jets the F-14s suddenly began to "scramble," maneuvers which, he stated "may have caused the Libyan pilot who fired the missile to believe himself to be under attack by the F-14s." All this, the "source" concluded meant that it was probably that the Libyan pilot "acted on his own," without instructions from the Libyan government.

But the leaking of these "new details" came on the heels of a sharply different Libyan account. According to the Libyan version, 8 U.S. jets attacked the two SU-22s in the Gulf, and one U.S. jet was shot down. The Libyan government has produced a tape which it claims contains a recording of radio transmissions during a U.S. search for the downed F-14. Libya has also indicated that it will soon produce the wreckage of the downed U.S. jet.

The U.S., while heatedly denying the Libyan charges, is now rushing to declare the incident "closed, as far as we're concerned." The U.S. Navy at first tried, unsuccessfully, to resist press requests for interviews with the new "heroes," the four crewmen of the two F-14s the U.S. claims were involved, on the grounds that if their identities were disclosed they might become "targets for Libyan terrorism." While Ronald Reagan emerged from his California ranch to stand on the deck of the aircraft carrier *Constellation* and boast that "this should be a lesson that nobody can fire at U.S. military forces and get away with it," the administration is now scurrying to fend off closer scrutiny of its story. It is not necessarily the case that the Libyan account matches "the facts" in every respect—the bourgeois Qaddafi regime has its own propaganda priorities, both for domestic consumption and internationally. But the essentials of what happened are clear and irrefutable already and they had the U.S. as the clear aggressor: The U.S. deployed a massive military force off the coast of Libya and set out determined to manufacture a "stirring U.S. victory." "Frankly, I think we sent a fleet in there to provoke an incident, and provoke an incident we did," crowed Louisiana Senator J. Bennett Johnson. "And we, in effect, won. I think that's very proper we did it, and if we'd just draw the line with some of these dictators, we'd cut down their influence in the world."

"The First Shot" Isn't the Question

One blatant feature of the Gulf of Sidra episode is that it is intended as another little "training exercise" for people in this country on the right way to approach the question of "who is the aggressor?" In any military conflict, no matter what "really happened," the other side is always "the aggressor." However wildly the U.S. rampages around the world, right up to the coming big war with the Soviet Union, it's all in "self-defense." If Israel can bomb an Iraqi nuclear reactor "in self-defense," certainly the U.S. can attack Libyan jets in Libyan waters after stationing a huge military fleet off the Libyan coast 6,000 miles from the U.S. "in self-defense"—and even admit their intention to deliberately provoke an incident in order to exercise their "sacred right to self-defense." The U.S. is constantly ranting and raving about so-called Libyan "terrorism," even charging that the Libyan embassy was "plotting assassinations" in the U.S. But the various U.S. schemes to assassinate Qaddafi which are calmly discussed in leading U.S. imperialist journals don't qualify as "terrorism"—only as proof that the U.S. won't be pushed around anymore by "two-bit dictators." But if a two-bit

dictator wants to do the U.S. bidding, on the other hand, as Prime Minister Begin of Israel could easily tell us, the U.S. can think of plenty of ways to utilize his appetite for "terrorist activity" in the service of U.S. imperialism. "Who fired first" and "the right to self-defense" have relevance only as rhetorical figleaves for the politics of imperialist aggression. Let this "Gulf of Sidra" incident be a "training exercise" of another sort for awake and class-conscious people—the real question is never "who shot first," but what politics, what economics, what *class interests* are being pursued. If the imperialists can understand that and act on it from their class interests, then why can't the proletariat?

On the other hand, however, the U.S. does need tactically to maintain some credibility for its version of events. There are signs of concern in imperialist circles that if the U.S. claim that the Libyans "fired first" doesn't hold up, or if other huge holes are punched in their story, the whole thing could backfire. The *New York Times* comments that "the original Credibility Gap opened up, it will be recalled," when now admitted U.S. lies about the Bay of Pigs and the Gulf of Tonkin incidents were exposed. "There may be no more to yesterday's episode in the Gulf of Sidra than meets the eye, but in this chastened era, Americans need doubly to be reassured." In other words, whatever cowardly little tricks were pulled in the Gulf of Sidra, better be covered up good this time. The *New York Times*, clearly, are believers in the imperialist logic once spelled out by Henry Kissinger: if we really want people to fight for us when we go to war, then we have to look like we have really sought peace.

But, although history has proven a thousand times that there is always another layer of imperialist hypocrisy and lies to uncover, there is really nothing to be "proven" in order to assess the Gulf of Sidra incident for precisely what it is. For some time, the U.S. has been engaged in a campaign aimed at punishing Libya, a country of 21/2 million on the African coast of the Mediterranean, for its anti-U.S. stance and its growing political and military ties with the Soviet imperialists. In December, 1979, in the wake of anti-U.S. riots around the Arab world which followed the seizure of the U.S. embassy in Iran, large crowds attacked the U.S. embassy in Tripoli, Libya. The U.S. broke off diplomatic relations. This May, the U.S. government ordered all remaining Libyan diplomats out of the country, charging them with "fomenting terrorism" within the U.S. It was revealed two months ago that the U.S. CIA has presented to Congressional intelligence committees a plan to overthrow the Qaddafi regime; the plan already had the approval of the White House before it was presented to Congress. Numerous press editorials have called for the overthrow of Qaddafi, and there has been open speculation about the pros and cons of engineering his assassination.

Despite the clear fact that Qaddafi, who took power in Libya in 1969, is mainly dependent on Soviet arms and has moved closer to a role as a Soviet surrogate, there is bitter contention between the U.S. and the Soviet Union over who will ultimately dominate and control Libya. Libya is one of the United States' principal oil suppliers; 6 large U.S. oil companies maintain operations in Libya and control the main oil extraction operations. Libya occupies an important strategic position both in Africa and the Middle East. It has played an active military role in North Africa and served as a principal instrument of Soviet political influence in the Arab world. Qaddafi, while currently close to the Soviets, also has his own bourgeois nationalist interests to promote. The U.S. press has commented repeatedly during the Gulf of Sidra episode that the Soviets "do not trust" Qaddafi. The Soviet Union, by the way, doesn't recognize Libya's claim to sovereignty in the Gulf of Sidra any more than does the U.S.; it, too, is a "maritime power," vigorous in defense of its sacred right to prowl the

seas at will.

In the eyes of the U.S., one attractive aspect of the plan to box Qaddafi's ears was that it provided an opportunity also to indirectly tweak the nose of the Soviet Union. The U.S. is very eager to project the impression throughout the Middle East that only the U.S. can really protect and reward its client regimes, and that hooking up with the Soviets is a sure recipe for getting vamped on by the U.S., which exerts the dominant military and political leverage in the Middle East. This is by no means the first time the U.S. has tried to drive this particular point home. Kissinger also mentioned the U.S. hope that "moderate" elements within Libya would begin to see the light, and that either the current regime or a replacement would begin to steer towards the U.S. camp.

Dreams of John Wayne

But the careful U.S. plot to set up a "brilliant military exploit" in the Gulf of Sidra had more to it than its desire to knock Qaddafi upside the head in circumstances of absolute safety and overwhelming superiority for the U.S. The U.S. imperialists are very anxious, not only to have the world see how "big and bad" it is, but to whip-up public sentiment in the U.S. for the glory days of "gunboat diplomacy," to foster some kind of dimwitted, slack-jawed "pride" in the minds of the backward in this country at the idea of U.S. forces running around the globe stomping on foreigners. This, of course, is another big reason for the U.S. to challenge the Libyan version of the outcome of the battle. In the days of Teddy Roosevelt, the U.S. policy of international piracy was known as "Talk softly and carry a big stick." Those were more parochial days for U.S. imperialism, when the U.S. Marines principally occupied themselves with terrorizing small states in the Americas and were largely unchallenged by any major imperialist power in the Western hemisphere. But today, of course, the real power the U.S. has to suck up its gut and confront is not a so-called "Banana Republic," or Libya, but an equally brutal and militarily powerful imperialist rival, the Soviet Union. And right along with this, they also have to confront (and have already been whipped several times at the hands of) revolutionary struggles of peoples worldwide. Maybe that's why our swashbuckling Errol Flynns and bow-legged John Waynes in the ruling class don't "talk softly" about their petty thuggery (like this week's) but are babbling with glee at every contrived and stage managed opportunity to strut their stuff as "tough guys."

During Defense Secretary Weinberger's briefing on the Gulf of Sidra incident, his gloating exultation was so embarrassingly obvious that one reporter brought it up. Weinberger cut him off with irritation, snapping that, "I don't think it's necessary to do any amateur psychoanalysis at this time." Another Pentagon spokesman smirked, in detailing the "brilliant work" of the U.S. F-14 pilots, that "I am constrained to editorialize that what we have worked—the problem is that we don't have enough of it." Ronald Reagan bestowed the deck of the U.S.S. *Constellation* (after his White House advisors finally woke him and told him the "great news") wearing a naval air crewman's soft cap and spoke of the importance of "impressing the world" with U.S. military might. All of this breast-beating certainly does seem designed to conceal fear and nervousness; everybody knows what a loud-mouth braggart is trying to cover up with his bellowings. But Weinberger is right: no psychoanalysis is required to understand this wild-eyed behavior. With everything at stake in the approaching pirate war for the "control of the Seven Seas," a little seasickness among the officers of imperialism's leaky armada is quite understandable. It's brought on by a queasy sort of sinking feeling. Hold onto that swagger stick Henry—maybe it floats.

Vet's Letter

Planned "Incidents" and the Personification of a Fool

Dear RW,

Yesterday the U.S. imperialists claim to have shot down two Libyan jets as a part of war preparations in the Mediterranean. What is mainly going on here is not the "democratic" U.S. teaching the "terroristic" Libyans a lesson, but the imperialist U.S. gangsters sending a message to the world, especially the imperialist Soviet gangsters. All this "they shot first" shit is part and parcel of this gangster logic. My own experience in the U.S. Navy around exactly these "incidents" are a clear exposure of this.

I was stationed at a major U.S. intelligence "listening post" in Turkey in 1971-1972. One day in late February, 1972 a panic went through the operations center. Two U.S. jets with Turkish pilots, on a NATO mission, had "overflown" the Turkish-Russian border on the east side of the Black Sea and were shot down by Soviet missiles. An "acci-

dental overflight"? No, a routine operation. The various officers were scurrying around talking about how the jets were flying low, with their bomb bay doors open, which is an act of war.

In a flash the base commander and other higher-up brass were running between the maps and the various Russian language radio intercept operators, wanting to know what was being said by the Soviets. Were these officers worried about war? No. They were making sure that they retrieved the Soviet "order of battle," i.e., how the Russians go to war, what their code words were, the chain of command, etc. After all these weren't maneuvers! This was a live shutdown, the real thing.

Lest anyone think that these are just two isolated incidents, they aren't. In training school, lifers often bragged about these "incidents." Soviet planes flying over U.S. ships with bomb bay doors open, U.S. planes doing the

same.

Beyond the bragging though I have more first-hand knowledge. A frequent practice in the Black Sea area was for NATO aircraft (a NATO aircraft in these instances is almost always a U.S. jet with a foreign pilot) to fly a bombing or strafing pattern over the Soviet city of Sebastopol with bomb bay doors open. They would approach the city at a level of 50 feet above the Sea and fly as close to rooftop level as possible. There were several reasons for this. One was to test the Soviet's ability to detect them and also to retrieve the precious "order of battle" and a second reason was also why a populated area was chosen: it was a means of terrorizing the Soviet masses! Imagine looking up and seeing an open bomb bay, filled with bombs!

Another practice was to send 2 U.S. destroyers, loaded with electronic listening gear, into the Black Sea during Soviet maneuvers. I knew several guys

who went on these, and they would never say what they did, except to remark, "It was hairy." These guys were always gung-ho types. That was a prerequisite. While we all had Top Secret Security Clearances, not all of us were considered "reliable."

Submarines were always *trying* to provoke firings, for the same reason. If you want to know the personification of the word "fool," it is a lifer that brags about having had a torpedo fired at him. This is also how both blocs of imperialists test their "evasive maneuver" gear.

There was one bone that was stuck in the imperialists' throats. I mentioned that some of us weren't allowed to go on these types of maneuvers because we weren't "reliable." This shit I'm writing about took place during the Vietnam war, and it opened a lot of our eyes even wider. As Bob Avakian has pointed out, there are a lot of us that U.S. imperialism has trained, and this includes in intelligence gathering. I think that the proletariat of the world will find us very reliable.

A Co-conspirator

Treachery of the CPUSA

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growing and spreading to other camps, the WRA began to institute a policy of removing and isolating those "who were addicted to troublemaking..." An isolation center was set up in Leupt, Arizona where these "recalcitrants" were sent without trial, sentence, or any way to defend themselves.

In January of 1943, the government decided to "allow the Nisei (second generation) to sign up for duty in the armed forces." Already groups had arisen spontaneously and in more organized ways to actively combat the leadership of the JAACL/CP types, and the government's campaign for army volunteers only spurred this rumbling ferment into more direct action. One book describes this incident: "The trouble began in block 42, which contained only males. Two-thirds of the residents of block 42 did not report for registration. On February 18th and 19th, the names of those failing to show were read in the mess halls. Trucks were dispatched to bring them to the registrar's office, but nobody boarded the truck. On February 21st WRA officials accompanied by MP's with machine guns and bayonets went to block 42. 35 young Nisei and Kibei (American-born Japanese raised in Japan) already had their suitcases packed. They were taken to jail."

Antagonisms grew in the camps as controversy raged over how people should respond to this added insult. The term "Inu," which literally means dog and traitor, was commonly used against those who worked with the WRA and openly advocated signing up for the army. Along with government recruiters sent out to all the camps, these "Inu" were primed to create public opinion broadly that this would be an even further opportunity for them to prove their loyalty. People were told this might "make it easier for us when we get out of the camps." But despite this, it was a disappointing campaign for the army. Out of all internees, only 1181 Nisei enrolled as volunteers, 6% of the nearly 20,000 American citizens of Japanese ancestry of draft age. A quota had also been announced by the War Department for 500 women volunteers for the WACs, but only 139 even applied. In fact, contrary to the government's hopes that the Japanese would jump at the chance to "fight for democracy" that had put them behind barbed wire, the issue of loyalty and the draft touched off a whole series of rebellions and protests.

When the government started the policy of segregation, separating the loyal from the disloyal, the idea had originally been to segregate by degree of ties and ancestry to Japan. But as events were to prove, disloyalty and rebellion didn't necessarily represent loyalty to Japan, as most books try to portray. This became startlingly and uncomfort-

tably clear to the government when in the process of carrying out their registration for the army, they required every internee to answer a questionnaire. For American citizens there were two loyalty questions, 27 and 28. No. 27 read, "Are you willing to serve in the armed forces of the United States on combat duty when ordered?" And 28 read, "Would you swear unqualified allegiance to the United States of America and faithfully defend the United States from any and all attacks by foreign or domestic forces, and forswear any former allegiance or obedience to the Japanese emperor or any other foreign government power or organization?" Over 4,000 male Nisei, over a quarter of the draft-age male American citizens of Japanese ancestry, refused to swear allegiance outright. And at Tule Lake, those unregistered and those answering "no" to the loyalty questions constituted nearly half of all persons of draft age (42%). Meanwhile, what were the "Inu," including the CP forces, doing? At one camp some of the CP members were the first to sign up for military service—many times in direct opposition to boycotts by the "disloyal." One such "leftist" recently testified that when they were in the camps they were threatened by young "hoodlums" who threw rocks at them and threatened them as they worked making camouflage nets for the U.S. army. In fact many of these Inu ended up being segregated from the general camp population "for their own protection."

It was after this increasing inability for even the "trustees" to get over in convincing people to sign loyalty oaths and sign up for the army that segregation was more aggressively put into effect. Tule Lake was designated as a whole camp where all these ingrates would be sent. For those who had dared to resist, a double "man-proof" fence, 8 feet high, was constructed around the whole area, and the external guard was increased from a couple hundred soldiers to full battalion strength (almost 1,000 men). A half dozen tanks were lined up in full view of the residents, and stout turnstiles were installed at the only entrance. But soon after the government implemented this ingenious tactic of putting all the troublemakers together, several rebellions took place. In November of 1943, National Director Dillon Myer visited Tule Lake. A protest group quickly organized a demonstration involving over 5,000, and a human barricade was formed encircling the administration building for 3 hours while Myer and administrative heads within were confronted with charges of neglect, incompetence and corruption. A list of demands were presented for immediate redress. Three nights later the army invaded Tule Lake in force. Tanks, jeeps and mounted machine guns were brought in. On the outside

the press covered it like "the battlefield at home." One racist editorial put it like this: "The WRA policy of coddling and kid-gloving these treacherous, fanatical, insolent monkey men finally has resulted in an incident which promises to clean up the whole mess." Mass repression followed as Tule Lake became an armed camp.

By this time the War Department had concluded that not just at Tule Lake, but in general, the "voluntary inductions had been a flop." They announced "involuntary inductions" and Selective Service procedures would start immediately. But again the response was not exactly lines forming up to express gratitude. Inductees didn't show up for registration and physicals; some refused to be sworn in or take military training. And as a result, many were indicted for violation of the Selective Service Act, tried and eventually convicted.

For those in the camps, the naked hypocrisy of "American democracy" and illusions about the "land of the free" were being torn away day by day. Still, Inu leadership continued to work hand in glove with the WRA even after gеста-po-type raids were carried out, all in the name of fighting the fascists "over there." The WRA, however, was disappointed to find that even after the segregation, protests and resistance continued in all the other camps. Things got hot, for example, at Manzanar's kitchen 22. A mass meeting of internees was held there and a list of those who collaborated with the government was read aloud. Groups among the demonstrators then began to move out, forming again in a rally at the camp's police station to demand the release of a resistance leader. Camp police (composed of internees) melted away, and in their place appeared troops who pushed the crowd away from the police station and lined up with machine guns, rifles and shotguns. The crowd jeered; tear gas was thrown.

When the crowd still formed back into a group and continued the rally, the troops opened fire, killing two and wounding 10. The next day bells tolled endlessly, and most of the camp wore mourning bands in protest.

The Heart Mountain Camp, too, had its share of "Inu" leadership. When the loyalty question at registration was administered, while an informal boycott by most Nisei was going on, the *Heart Mountain Sentinel* (the evacuee-run newspaper which backed the WRA) insisted that "too much was at stake to brood over the injustices of the past." When only 38 men volunteered for the army, the government then began enforcing stricter segregation. By the end of September some 900 were shipped out to Tule Lake and replaced with "1000 loyal" evacuees. Still opposition continued, including more organized forms. One leader of the left opposition was Kiyoshi Okamoto, a Nisei who formed the Fair Play Committee of One and began to agitate and hold open forums in the camps. Most of the com-

mittee's energies went into fighting legally, and they had supporters outside like attorneys and others who gave them publicity. The Committee also began to distribute its own bulletins within the camp, urging others to actively resist. In the first week of March, 12 Nisei refused to board the bus to take Selective Service physicals, and others were vowing to do the same when called. One supporter on the outside, James Omura, who had taken an anti-JAACL line during the evacuations, opened the columns of the *Rocky Shimpō* newspaper to the committee. In counterattacking the outrageous and slanderous lies that the *Sentinel* had run to discredit the committee, the *Rocky Shimpō* ran an editorial that accused the *Sentinel* of "perching a seat in the great gallery of bigots, racist demagogues, autocrats, and fascist-minded..."

On cue, the WRA "discovered" in a "reexamination" of Kiyoshi Okamoto's papers that there was evidence of disloyalty, and he was shipped off to Tule Lake. Another leader, Isamu Horino, in order to dramatize the lack of freedom and outrage at the whole incident, publicly announced the intention of leaving Heart Mountain and in broad daylight tried to walk out the main gate. Naturally he was stopped and charged with overt disloyalty. And he too was immediately shipped off to Tule Lake. A project director, Robertson, argued that Omura's editorials in the *Rocky Shimpō* bordered on "sedition," and editorials in the *Sentinel* (remember this was run by the "Inu" in the camps) attacked Omura for "prostituting privileges of freedom of the press to advocate an un-American stand." Federal officials seized Omura's records and letters, and he and his staff were all fired. A month later the federal grand jury indicted the draft resisters from Heart Mountain, who had now grown to 63, and they were tried in the largest mass trials for draft resistance in the history of the U.S. They were all found guilty and sentenced to 3 years imprisonment.

One other thing must be said about the resistance not only at Heart Mountain and Tule but in all the camps. Most of this was spontaneous and scattered and was still within the confines of protesting that this was "not what American democracy is supposed to be like." While it indicted the government, it was still full of illusions about the real nature of imperialism and mainly rebelled from the point of view that, as one *Rocky Shimpō* editorial said, "It has deserted justice, fair play, equal rights and all that are revered in our Constitution and in the government of the United States." But as pointed out before, while the JAACL and such community leaders must be criticized for their complicity with the government, an even more indicting finger must be pointed to the CP, who doomed all this resistance to spontaneity. As the *RW* article pointed out, the CP "not only went

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Nicaragua

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government to power where pro-Soviet forces would be let in on a share of state power. To the Nicaraguan masses, who overwhelmingly support the revolutionary struggle of the Salvadoran masses, Sandinista leaders appealed to the nationalism of our "best contribution is to consolidate our own revolution," calling this "true internationalism." Indeed it is a fine example of Soviet-style internationalism—that is, whatever's in the international interests of the Soviet imperialist bourgeoisie.

The U.S., well aware that this was hardly an example of its mastery of the situation, again stepped up its "destabilization" efforts. In addition to refusing to resume economic "aid" the U.S. has begun unleashing military attacks on Nicaragua from bases in Honduras. These attacks have involved both regular Honduran army troops and former Somoza national guardsmen who are being trained in both Honduras and the U.S., and while they have thus far remained relatively small-scale incursions, the possibility of an actual invasion using these forces—and possibly others from the area and beyond, including even the U.S.'s own troops—cannot be ruled out. The growing Soviet influence in Nicaragua is not going to be idly tolerated by a U.S. imperialism desperately trying to tighten up its "own backyard" in preparation for the big shootout.

On the other hand, there are grave risks involved in this for the U.S., which is why they have not made a larger move in the military direction. It could help spark off uprisings against the U.S. throughout Central America and beyond (including helping to "destabilize" Mexico—a fearsome thought to the U.S.), and any invasion of Nicaragua would be widely exposed as a U.S. move. Internally, it could have the effect of strengthening all the more the Soviet influence within Nicaragua, driving the more vacillating forces in the Soviet direction and completely icing out the more pro-U.S. forces. And this could heighten contradictions with the same U.S. imperialist allies the Soviets have been trying to play up to. Thus, more maneuvering by the U.S. is in the works, with a recent trip to Nicaragua by Assistant Secretary of State Thomas O. Enders a prime example. Enders met both with Sandinista officials—to tell them they had better change their pro-Soviet policies in Central America—and

with a raft of pro-U.S. forces, who apparently urged him to resume aid and make them the key link between the FSLN and Washington. A *New York Times* editorial praised this maneuver, saying "Lacking the power, arms and popularity of the Sandinistas, the opposition's greatest potential aspect is a role as intermediary with Washington. Once the United States decided to slam the door on Nicaragua, it would probably doom this opposition. The time for slamming doors has not yet come. Nicaragua is still not 'lost.'"

But the bottom line for the U.S. is decreasing the growing Soviet influence in Nicaragua and the rest of Central America, and more "destabilization" efforts are sure to be a continuing part of their approach. Thus far, these moves have been used by the Soviets to strengthen their political influence over the masses, as pro-Soviet revisionists heightened their demagogic "anti-imperialist" rhetoric—and slip in such gems as the "socialist camp... will not sit with arms folded in the face of threats made by the imperialists and warmongers." The fact is that the extent to which the Soviet imperialist camp will openly and militarily confront the U.S. in Nicaragua is highly questionable, and will depend on the international balance of forces at the time, and particularly how their efforts at domination in other parts of the world are going. One

thing is certain: they will surely try to take advantage of any U.S. moves to further their own political advantage worldwide, including possibly sending arms and other material to use the Nicaraguans as cannonfodder for their own aims, and try to bog the U.S. down in Nicaragua, thereby improving the Soviet position in other areas. But even if they do this, it would require strict control of the masses and a stronger bourgeois military organization to fight the U.S. Any lessening of this control of the masses would hold the danger of screwing up the ultimate Soviet aims in Nicaragua and the rest of the world, and could have the effect of sending political jolts throughout the entire imperialist-dominated world of both blocs.

And there are "problems" with the masses. The U.S.-sponsored incursions on the Honduran border have led to the masses demanding arms to defend themselves from the attacks—demands which have been refused by the Sandinista leaders on the basis of "the army will protect you." But the army is obviously insufficient, given the low level of the productive forces in Nicaragua, and the FSLN leaders have been, somewhat reluctantly, forced to organize a popular militia that is at least 100,000 strong. Of course, they are trying to keep this potential fighting force as lightly armed as possible—at present—

and organized along the same bourgeois lines as the regular army. And in that sense the popular militia could be useful to the Soviets in the future. But there is also a danger involved here. These are the very same masses that it was so urgent to disarm a little over a year ago, including large numbers of the most volatile section of the Nicaraguan population, the urban youth.

Certainly, the intensifying infighting between the Soviets and the U.S. is going to present new opportunities for some righteous "ultra-leftism" and "lack of discipline" on the part of the Nicaraguan masses. But in order for this to decisively advance the revolution in Nicaragua, it will be necessary for the revolutionaries there to learn lessons both sweet and bitter from the experience thus far, especially the experience with Soviet revisionism. It will require a party based ever more thoroughly on the science of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought and a broad understanding that there are two imperialist superpowers in the world, and that they both have internal allies promoting different variations on the same essential bourgeois political line. For in the world today, and even more in the very near future, there will undoubtedly be unprecedented opportunities to deliver smashing blows to the entire imperialist system. □

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Jorge Palacios

Treachery of the CPUSA

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along with the internment but encouraged it, developing their own chauvinist cartoons and propaganda against the Japanese. This was only one of the more hideous features of their general line of subordinating everything to the "anti-fascist united front," in fact, taking sides in an inter-imperialist war."

With this thoroughly rotten leadership, apologetic for imperialism, the advanced in the camps—those who were most rebellious and defiant, those who became more and more disillusioned with "American democracy" and took matters into their own hands—this potentially revolutionary force could only develop their struggle within the confines of "fighting within bourgeois democracy." Only with class-conscious leadership could this potential have been diverted and nurtured and developed into a revolutionary force—yet the "communists" in the CP instead were a force that, in fact, these advanced had to go up against.

In the recent hearings all the press coverage has stressed the "loyalty of the Japanese who submitted." Implicit in all this is the reasoning: well, we'll admit that it might have been wrong to intern patriotic Japanese—but to the extent people are disloyal in times of war, we were perfectly justified in what we did, and furthermore we'll do it again if we have to. The government's "unofficial" comments in a Letters to the Editor page included one from a re-

tired colonel who deplored the evacuation and the most terrible aspects of all—"the loss of freedom, freedom to go where we will and do what we will, that all of us take for granted..." In other words, they are still having a terrible time trying to cover their asses around this and to the extent that they can't they must criticize it for being a "travesty of the American way." Then there is the letter from a Japanese-American who was interned in the camps, fought in the U.S. army overseas with its infantry rifle company, and was "one of the fortunate ones to return home whole." But he says, "Please, however, do not speak to me of inconvenience, economic loss or trauma. Above all, don't ask that my taxes go to pay Japanese-Americans a bonus for time spent in the camps. Life is never totally fair, and particularly in time of war, everyone pays some price, some more, much more than others."

In light of the tremendous amount of history that the government is trying their damndest to distort or completely cover up in these reparation hearings, the bourgeoisie's attempts to turn history upside down are especially maddening and must be exposed. To those who testified, those who spoke bitterness and especially to those who have been taught to be ashamed that they were sent to Tule Lake as "disloyals"—history will prove that they will not be the last "unpatriotic" heroes.

While the government continues to slither around and maneuver and lie in an effort to whip up sentiment to "fight once again for democracy," even while slapping themselves on the wrist—their main punch is a left hook of stinking patriotism. But despite all this, they are opening a whole can of worms that just could explode in their face. Not only have many come forward and given vi-

vid and exposing testimony about the camps, but also even their attempts to use these hearings as preparation "to do it again if we have to"—however veiled and hypocritical—are raising this whole ugly and indicting episode in imperialism's history for further examination and questions that can't hide the real nature of the beast—both then and now. □

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War, Revolutionary Defeatism

Continued from page 12

conquest by "their" bourgeoisie, 4) too afraid to do anything. Remember, there are no limits to Soviet hegemonism!

And what is the role of the class-conscious forces in the world, and the concept of revolutionary defeatism during the coming period? Here the CUO repeatedly drags out the erroneous line of the Comintern approaching WW2. (For a comprehensive study and thorough refutation of this line, refer to *Revolution* magazine, June, 1981). Completely betraying internationalism, this line held that "the immediate question was not proletarian revolution", but "saving the working class and its people from fascism". So what is it that the CUO would have the vanguard parties of the international working class do (especially here in the U.S.)? "One of the most important tasks for American communists within the united front is" to develop "a new perspective" and "reverse itself", by uniting with the U.S. ruling class and soft-peddling U.S. imperialism to the masses, giving "serious reconsideration...to the defense budget, NATO, draft registration, civil defense,...", and, no doubt, just doing what they're told.

The CUO sneakily (never outright) attacks the line of the RCP; "There is a 'left' version...which says that 'the chief responsibility of American revolutionaries in the struggle against the two superpowers is to make revolution in the U.S.' " They even intimate that the Soviets are supplying material support. Instead, the CUO says, "prospects for" revolution "in the U.S. would be better...if the Soviet Union loses, better under a democratic than under a social fascist regime." According to them, the class-conscious forces in the U.S. should not be exposing the crimes of U.S. imperialism and preparing for revolution here; here in an advanced imperialist country where the national question has long ceased to be the guiding principle; where the real tasks for proletarians is releasing half the world from its burdens of oppression by eliminating the source—U.S. imperialism.

Rather, the CUO would have you be "particularly alert to the problems of Browderism, taking the lead in summing up that phenomenon". There seems little doubt that the CUO will take the lead in propagating such garbage as Browderism in every way possible. The highest pinnacle they would have the masses aspire to is to unite with the U.S. rulers to defend America from the Soviet Demons.

No, there's nothing new here, it's the same old opportunist junk. A line that would have the masses throw away any chance for revolution by capitulating to ruling class domination and another round of grinding oppression. The U.S. government must surely rejoice to see that they have such stalwart allies in the "communist" movement.

A reader,
P.M.

August 13, 1981

To the *RW*
Comrades,

I have just finished reading the excerpts in *RW* 115 from the pamphlet by the Communist Unity Organization (CUO). More to the point I should say I have just finished puking after reading it. I wouldn't be surprised if, when you ordered a copy of the pamphlet you got a complimentary American flag lapel pin just like the one Archie Bunker wears.

At any rate in the interest of being a part of the debate over the questions raised by this pamphlet I would like to offer some observations about what are some of the main problems with it.

It seems to me that the main body of the thing falls into two categories. (1) The current situation and (2) The tasks

for the coming period. These categories are mine.

The first thing they get wrong is the current situation. While it is true as they say in their introduction that in the '80s "events of historic significance are taking place" the main event they miss is the possibility of proletarian revolution. The word itself is never used once in the body of the piece and when it is used in what appears to be an appendix it is only referred to historically (i.e., something that happened a long time ago but certainly can't happen now. And god forbid that it should happen here).

No, the situation now is seen by them as totally between the U.S. and the Soviet Union with absolutely no role whatsoever for the masses of people to play. One place this stands out starkly is when they mention the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. "But even as the Afghan rebels make valiant (but to the CUO useless—L.M.) 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." I would just like to say in passing that one of the lessons that was learned in Vietnam was that a politically aroused and conscious people can kick ass on a larger aggressor. Not only has the CUO and the Soviet Union not learned this but the CUO hopes that none of the masses of the world learn it either.

But I think this speaks to a much larger question of this group (and many others), whose outlook is so narrow. They only see the bad aspects of the situation that are arising for the bourgeoisie but don't see the opportunities shaping up for the proletarian forces. The whole pamphlet is an example of that. How else could you say that the U.S. is a positive factor in anything? It also speaks to how they can negate revolutionary defeatism and even try to get Lenin to help them out in the process! More about this later.

To return to their one-sided view of the current situation, they present it as all the danger of the Soviet Union and a seemingly impotent U.S. floundering in the face of this threat. (Actually it's a question of which is more disgusting—their pissing and moaning about the "decline" of the U.S. or their blatant national chauvinism which is a part of and goes hand-in-hand with it.) Many of the recent crimes of the Soviet Union are focused on while the crimes of the U.S. are completely glossed over. One example of this is where they state, "The nonaligned (sic!!—L.M.) movement has condemned the invasion of Kampuchea (by Vietnam who by now is a Soviet-dominated country—L.M.) and nations of Asia, Africa and South America have also condemned the invasion of Afghanistan." Without going into how the so-called non-aligned countries are related to the U.S. it is interesting that they don't mention the attempted invasion of Iran under the cover of a "free the hostages" attempt. But then when you're trying to get people to capitulate to their own bourgeoisie you don't want to dwell on those things too much.

They do go to great lengths to explain why they think the Soviet Union is being so aggressive, all (or most) of which is irrelevant. The reason this is so is that they gloss over the contradictions of imperialism which are driving both the U.S. and the Soviet Union to war. In his pamphlet "Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism," Lenin writes that it (the pamphlet) is for the reader "to understand the fundamental economic question, viz., the question of the economic essence of imperialism, for unless this is studied, it will be impossible to understand and appraise modern war and modern politics." The part about being unable to appraise modern war and modern politics is what is relevant here because that is exactly what the CUO can't do.

A few words here about what they see as the prospect for world war and their

attitude about it (we already know what they think about revolution because they never mention it). They don't really believe it can happen. Or at least if it does happen the Soviet Union will be the "aggressor" and the U.S. is the only one who can stop it. At any rate they say this 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 postpone war" (emphasis mine—L.M.).

It seems to me that this talk of war might happen and/or trying to postpone it is still attempting to deny the reality of the situation even in the face of just the perceptual evidence to the contrary. They even repeat in Section D, paragraph 2 of their appendix (where they break all records in flipping from what they call internationalism to narrowing people's sights to economic issues): "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." It is this horror that they clearly focus on rather than the prospects for revolution. Make no mistake about it, World War III will be unspeakably horrible. This is exactly why we cannot forget Lenin's advice that "capitalism is an endless horror." And the only way to stop that horror is proletarian revolution.

These have been just a few examples of what a twisted and distorted view of reality this organization has about how they sum up the present situation. There is much more that could be shown item by item but I wanted to briefly point these out to lay the basis for a discussion of what they see as the tasks for the coming period.

As I see it, the task they have in mind can be summed up in one word: CAPITULATION. Whatever their intentions are (and I think their intentions are pretty disgusting) objectively that is the end result of their program. As the *New Programme of the Revolutionary Communist Party* says, "The banner of the

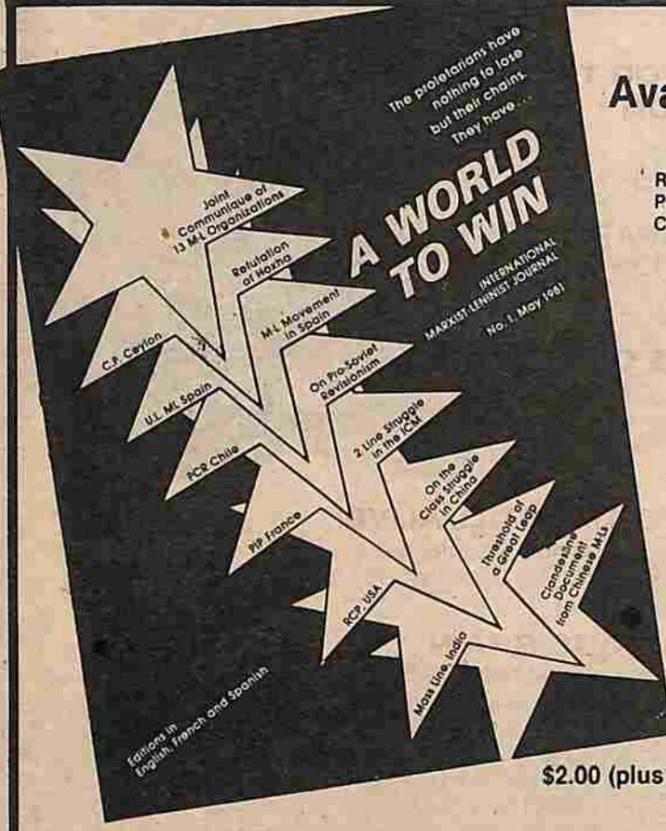
working class will be increasingly contested for by both the class-conscious proletariat and the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class, for both recognize with opposite viewpoints and opposite aims, the potential role of the working class to overthrow imperialism."

Clearly the CUO are not "the labor lieutenants" that the *New Programme* is speaking of here. However, they do fall squarely into that camp and are objectively aiding the bourgeoisie as a whole by attempting to pull the wool over the eyes of the class-conscious. This is the most shameful and disgusting thing about their whole effort. At a time when literally earth-shaking events are shaping up on the foreseeable horizon, these so-called communists are groveling at the feet of the imperialists and bleating about the "decline" of the U.S.'s empire.

This is one of the things that Lenin directed a lot of fire at Kautsky for doing. In "Imperialism and the Split in Socialism," which was reprinted in *RW* No. 114, Lenin says that "The danger of Kautskyism lies in the fact that, using the ideology of the past, it endeavours to reconcile the proletariat with the 'bourgeois labor party' to preserve the unity of the proletariat with that party and thereby enhance the latter's prestige." What else is the CUO's "united front against hegemonism" but an attempt to preserve the unity of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie?

In conclusion it should be pointed out that the CUO is not alone. They are a part of the trend that was referred to above in the quote from the *New Programme* of the RCP. But no matter how much they (or anyone else like them) spew this kind of reactionary trash, the fact of the matter is they are on the wrong end of history. We cannot go forward by clinging to the past. With the guiding beacon of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought we can move through the storms ahead, defeat opportunism and reaction and move society to a whole new level.

In the struggle,
L.M.



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