



# REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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## Sadat's Dive and the U.S. Strategic Scramble



The hasty departure from the Middle East political scene of Egyptian president Anwar Sadat, while being publicly mourned as a "shocking tragedy" by leaders of U.S. imperialism for whom Sadat toiled with such flamboyant servility, was not entirely unexpected. Palestinian and other Arab people celebrated the news in the streets; his godfathers in the U.S. publicly mourned him, but had also been making new plans for some time. This so-called "man of peace," who had been a key instrument for U.S. domination, op-

pression and war preparations in the Mideast, was becoming less and less effective.

Not only had the deteriorating condition of Egypt's "internal security" over the last few months prompted fairly wide U.S. press speculation on the possibility that Sadat might fall; but in important ways the exclusive identification of Sadat with the U.S., Israel and the unravelling Camp David Accords had diminished his assets and increased his liabilities to U.S. imperialism's sputtering drive to knock together an "anti-

Soviet strategic consensus" in the region. Sadat had become a political leper whom even other loyal U.S. flunkies in the broader Arab world could not dare touch publicly.

Sadat was assassinated while reviewing a military parade on October 6th, the 8th anniversary of Egypt's 1973 war with Israel. As a formation of trucks towing artillery pieces rolled past the reviewing stand, a squad of soldiers leapt from the one closest to Sadat and began to spray the rostrum with automatic weapons fire and grenades.

According to the *Washington Post*, "The newspaper *Al Akhbar*, in its early Wednesday edition, printed a photograph of two of the assailants standing at the edge of the viewing stand and firing at virtually point blank range into the official box..."

"The entire incident seemed to last no longer than several minutes, but the vast number of security men around the reviewing stand were slow to react, giving the assailants ample time to shoot and throw several grenades."

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Excerpt from New Talk by Bob Avakian

## CONQUER THE WORLD?

The International Proletariat Must & Will

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In an effort to quell an increasingly bitter five-week old student strike at the University of Puerto Rico's Rio Piedras campus, the administration has shut down the campus indefinitely in the wake of police fire.

On the morning of September 29, hundreds poured onto the campus in defiance of a court injunction prohibiting student demonstrations, assemblies and rallies. Many wore masks and bandannas over their faces to conceal their identity as they stopped to urge fellow students to join the strike, bringing classes to a virtual standstill. As they marched opposite the University of Puerto Rico (UPR) Guard headquarters, suddenly gunshots rang out. The students responded with a shower of rocks aimed at the guards and their accomplices, undercover cops from the Police Intelligence Division. As more shots were fired, the students hastily threw up a barricade of desks and chairs to defend themselves. A maintenance worker standing in the area was wounded in the arm.

University Chancellor Antonio Miro Montilla immediately blamed the shooting on the students. The guards, he insisted, *couldn't* possibly have anything to do with it since they are not *permitted* to carry guns. When photos appeared clearly showing police and guards firing revolvers, the Chancellor hastily called for an investigation into this mystery.

The issue that precipitated the student strike was a 200% increase in tuition cost from \$5 per credit to \$15. Early on the university revealed fears about the political impact of the strike at a campus long known as a hotbed of the Puerto Rican independence movement ever since the anti-draft battles of the 1960s. Chancellor Miro Montilla announced that "political groups on the far left" who support Puerto Rican independence were responsible for the strike. Puerto Rico's House Speaker Angel Viera Martinez chimed in, calling the strike a "terrorist conspiracy." The Rio Piedras campus strike, Viera stated, "is not over the tuition increase. It is a movement motivated by ideology..." The irony of all this is that some of these so-called "far left" Viera is referring to—pro-Soviet revisionists—are working to keep the question of Puerto Rican independence out of the student strike as part of their overall reformist orientation. Although they claim to support it, they consider the demand for independence an obstacle to uniting the broadest possible forces under their leadership. Instead they are trying to focus activity on demanding that the university administration live up to its own rules.

But the defiance of the students, the wide support they have gathered and the total intransigence of the university administration has given the strike broader implications beyond the tuition increase. Each side has hardened its position and the conflict has escalated

# Puerto Rico: Striking Students Defy Govt.



Rio Piedras Plaza—demonstration in support of the student strike.

as the students have resisted attempts to sweet-talk or bludgeon them back into the classroom. A week before the shooting, the students responded to the ban on demonstrations by holding a mass meeting on university property. 4,000 from the 23,000 member campus jammed the hall despite administration threats that all who attended would be suspended, voting 50 to 1 to continue the strike. The university retaliated by suspending 14 student strike leaders and then announcing that some 3,000 students who had paid no tuition would be thrown out of school. When this failed to achieve the desired results, on September 26 criminal charges were brought against six students. This heavy-handed treatment provoked the largest demonstration of the strike thus far as 3000 students swarmed onto campus, again in defiance of the court injunction, the day before the shooting occurred.

Far from being accidental, this

shooting was a calculated response of U.S. imperialism's puppet, colonial government to the tense political situation developing at the university and in Puerto Rico as a whole. At the end of August, struggle flared up once again on the Puerto Rican island of Vieques which the U.S. Navy has turned into a bombing practice range and a staging area for military maneuvers. A long strike by electrical workers has been linked to the independence movement, although as in the student strike this demand has been consciously excluded by certain forces who call themselves independentists. Meanwhile, the Soviet imperialists have taken advantage of the U.S.' difficulties to make some inroads by loudly proclaiming their support for Puerto Rican independence. The most recent occasion for this was an August meeting of the United Nation's Special Committee on Decolonization.

In response to all this it appears that

the Reagan administration is trying to breathe some new life into its "Statehood Now!" campaign begun during the 1980 elections. With all the vigor he could muster, this is the message Vice President Bush delivered during a speech in Puerto Rico on September 27, two days before the students were fired upon. The statehood ploy is both an attempt to quell Soviet charges that Puerto Rico is a colony and to make it more possible to appeal to Puerto Ricans for their support as "loyal Americans" (although Puerto Ricans have had—and revolted against—U.S. citizenship since it was forced upon them to enable them to be drafted into WWI). In the midst of this effort to tighten the U.S. hold on Puerto Rico, the student strike has drawn the battlelines against the colonial regime and engendered widespread support. □

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Bob Avakian, who is in France seeking political refugee status, recently gave an informal talk ranging widely over a number of historical and present questions of the proletarian revolution. What follows is a short excerpt from this talk. The points are of the nature of a "working theses", in which the Party Chairman deals extensively with a number of topics centering particularly on the question of the proletarian revolution as a world process. In this talk there is further delving into points raised in the "Outline of Views on the Historical Experience of the International Communist Movement and the Lessons for Today" (Revolution, June 1981), and also in the 1979 report to the Party's Central Committee, as well as exploration of new points.

In the coming weeks, the Revolutionary Worker will carry further short excerpts of this important document. The entire text will be published in a special issue of Revolution magazine.

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#### More on the Proletarian Revolution as a World Process

Here I just want to make a few points briefly—specifically, more on the material basis of proletarian internationalism. The article which appeared in the *RW* earlier (No. 96) was entitled "On The Philosophical Basis of Proletarian Internationalism" because it dealt with the question of internal and external; but of course philosophy is based on matter and the philosophical basis is the reflection of the material basis. This is all linked to a deeper grasp of this question of

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the fundamental contradiction of the bourgeois epoch on a world scale and how all this is integrated into this overall process; and further we have to grasp how this applies even to the situation of socialist countries existing during this period, that is the period of worldwide transition from the bourgeois epoch to the epoch of world communism.

One of the main things that I've been grappling with and came out in the recent May Day tape and so on is the problem, if you want to put it this way, of the lopsidedness in the world. This is linked to the question of the contradiction of the forces and relations of production on the one hand, and this interpenetrating with the base and superstructure, on the other—both within specific countries, including socialist countries, and overall principally on a world scale. And all this has much to do with the complexity and tortuousness of the process of proletarian revolution towards the advance of communism worldwide.

What do I mean by this lopsidedness? Lenin, of course, insisted on the basic distinction between the handful of advanced imperialist exploiters and imperialist states and the great majority of the world's people in colonial and dependent situations. But the problem has developed in a more acute way in the sense that in a handful of advanced countries is concentrated—perhaps even in an absolute quantitative sense, but certainly qualitatively—the advanced productive forces in the world. In those countries, and not unrelated to this, the proletariat, broad sections of it and the masses generally, to put it in crude, simple terms, are sometimes not that hungry and not that desirous a lot of the time of radical change. There are strata and sections that are, but it's not that often that broad masses of people are demanding radical change in the whole social structure. On the other hand, there are vast areas of the world where the masses are living in desperate conditions.

Now one of the things that really infuriates me about these social chauvinists and people who say, "What's the difference, imperialist country or not imperialist country, they're all on the capitalist road and they're all developing capitalism, some are 100 years behind the others, some of them are so many machines behind the others and so forth," is that it's very easy for people sitting in one of these imperialist countries, even in the European imperialist countries, to say this. In these countries the trains run all on time, trucks drive the goods from one end of the country to the other and there's an integrated market (not that everything's smooth and even, because that's not the way of anything, and certainly not of capitalism) and if there's a serious crisis the unemployment rate is 8%. But in the vast bulk of the world 8% unemployment would be a miracle—it's 30 or 40% all the time, let alone when there's a really acute crisis. And outside of a few pockets, these places are extremely backward and the railroads don't even reach to most of the areas, much less run on time, and the goods aren't moving rapidly all over the country, and there is not an articulated economy (in the sense of the advanced capitalist economies where the linkages between different sectors and between investment and consumption make for integrated national economies).

It is an infuriating thing, this imperialist economist chauvinism where people say capital is capital, what's the difference what the nationality of the capital is. They think they're being very profound talking about production relations when they see it narrowly in a national framework and don't see that an extremely important production relation for the world as a whole is the production relation (which is what it is) between imperialism and these oppressed nations. That's also a production relation and it's a decisive one in the world as a whole and it's more important than the production relation between a factory worker and a warehouse worker in the imperialist countries.

In any case, on the one hand are these advanced countries where most of the productive forces are concentrated but the revolutionary sentiments and level of struggle of the masses and consciousness of the masses is generally, and most of the time—at least so far—not on a very high level. Which is not at all the same—perhaps it does need saying but shouldn't—as the line that revolution is not possible or there's no real prospect for it, even now.

And on the other hand, in most of the world the productive forces are backward; such development of the productive forces as there is is under the domination of finance capital and imperialism internationally, which distorts and disarticulates these economies. The

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Bob Avakian in France, at the wall of the Communards.

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people are in much more desperate conditions, much more desirous of radical change; yet they are also in much more backward, primitive conditions, much less concentrated and socialized (about which there is in this sense something fundamentally important) and frankly, while desirous of change and capable of being rallied more readily to support for revolution, generally the stage of revolution there is one of bourgeois democracy, even if of a new type. And even if the possibility exists, and we should stress the possibility and not the certainty, that it can be developed under the leadership of the proletariat (that's another mechanical law of revolution that needs to be declared illegal, namely that any revolution against imperialism in those countries can only be led by the proletariat), nevertheless, there's a problem. While people are desirous of radical change and can be mobilized more quickly and readily for revolution, though not without contradiction and not simply and easily but more readily behind the banner of revolution, nevertheless the stage of revolution and the content of revolution, even if it is under proletarian leadership, generally corresponds to bourgeois democracy and to the stage of national liberation.

All this represents and makes for a further complication in the process of proletarian revolution throughout the world. In the West—and I am talking about the West in terms of the imperialist countries, including the Soviet Union—it's proven to be more difficult in this period to make revolution than in the East, the East being the colonial and dependent countries in what's been called the Third World. But it's also proven to be extremely difficult to lead and maintain revolution where it can be and where it has been more readily made, and there's no easy way out of this.

Of course, if we succeed in making a qualitative breakthrough (which it would be) in seizing power in one of the imperialist citadels, that would in fact be a new leap forward for the international proletariat and would create new freedom, although we should have no illusions that making revolution in an imperialist country means that the proletariat when it comes to power will inherit that country and its productive forces as they were, for example, 5 years before the revolution began—and probably the world war too. Nevertheless, that would still represent a qualitative leap of a certain kind. But it would not and could not change the fact or eliminate the problem that there is a further complexity because of this lopsidedness as I've described and referred to it.

All this then poses problems, yes, but what it also does, on the other hand, is to heighten the importance of internationalism and, at the same time, the importance of grasping and deepening our grasp of the whole motion of spirals leading to conjunctures when all the contradictions on a world scale are concentrated and heightened, including the possibilities for revolution. This is opposed to views which either deny, fail to grasp or, if recognizing some of this, deal incorrectly with the question of the spiral motion internationally toward conjuncture, and oppose to it erroneous notions such as those represented in the theory of general crisis, the linear type views to which I referred earlier.

So this poses problems but it deepens and heightens the importance of our understanding of imperialism and our need to grasp this correct methodology and analysis precisely because, as I said, even if gains are maximized at every point—even at the decisive points of worldwide conjuncture—not all will be won at once, in one conjuncture or even, in all likelihood, in just a couple of go-rounds. Therefore, this problem of how to deal with this lopsidedness, how to make the greatest breakthroughs and then how to make socialist countries bases for the world revolution is going to be with us and is going to assume very acute form. We're not going to be able to wish away the problem of socialist countries, whether or not we make a breakthrough this time around in terms of a revolution in one of these imperialist citadels, even a relatively lesser one. Whether or not that happens, we're not going to be able to wave away the problem that there's going to be imperialist encirclement and that the pressure, both material and ideological, that such encirclement is going to exert on the proletariat in power and on its socialist state will be immense.

It's a problem of how to actually carry out what's been forged to a higher level in the *Programme*, that is, carrying forward the socialist transformation in that country where such a breakthrough occurs as a subordinate part of, not just a base area in the abstract but as a subordinate part of, the world revolution. That's a question we have to begin grappling with right now, precisely because if we carry out the correct line with the correct methodology there may be—if not in the U.S. then in some other imperialist citadel, and perhaps in the U.S. itself—that actual leap forward of the seizure of power when the question will be very much and pressingly on the agenda.

### How Far in a Single Country?

But beyond that there is a particular question I want

to address: How far can you go within a single socialist country? Just to say that it's been proven and settled historically that socialism is possible in one country—even if we unbeg the question by coming to a deep understanding of what socialism is and say that there is a real socialist road and it's possible to go and stay on the socialist road, at least for a significant distance—it still hasn't even been settled that it's possible to have socialism in absolutely every country under every circumstance. The fact that it's been possible to do it in certain countries in certain times doesn't prove it's possible to do it in all countries at all times. But even more than that there is, I believe, and this is something I'm trying to come to grips with, and only beginning to grapple with, a limitation, though not an absolute limit in a mechanical sense that the old Communist International often fell into, on how far you can go in a single socialist country.

Here I want to say that there's been the old charge that we've plead "not guilty" to and to which now we have to plead "innocent as charged": that's the old charge that's been hurled in a perverted way of course by the imperialists that socialist countries in particular, as they frame it, have a need themselves to expand and conquer more of the world or else they run up against their limitations. And I think we have to plead "innocent as charged" to that. For a long time we've been denying it and pleading not guilty and charging slander. And now I think we have to plead innocent as charged and by that, of course, I'm talking about something qualitatively different from the need of the imperialists for spheres of influence to export capital, to exploit more people, to try to transform the world in their image, or better said, distort it under their domination.

We shouldn't get metaphysical here either on the other side, that is, be absolutist about the limitations on how far you can advance in socialist transformation in one country. But, still, there is a basic truth here and I'm not talking about the need, as is actually imperialist slander, of a socialist country as a *country* to have raw materials and to dominate more territory and to get the resources and people of different countries under its domination. I'm not talking about that—that's just the mirror the imperialists are holding up to themselves.

In terms of maintaining power and advancing further on the socialist road—and not just from the standpoint of a socialist state but in particular from the standpoint of the international proletariat—the question is much more that there is a limit, as I said, to how far you can go in transforming the base and superstructure within the socialist country without making further advances; not in terms of conquering more resources or people as the imperialists do, but in terms of making revolutionary transformations—even

within particular countries. (This was just hinted at and pointed to in a general way in that letter, "On The Philosophical Basis of Proletarian Internationalism.")

As far as I understand it, the reason for this is, first of all that there is the ideological influence, as well as the actual military and political and other pressure, from the imperialist encirclement. But there's also the fact that this is the era of a single world process and that has a material foundation, it's not just an idea. What may be rational in terms of the production, even, and utilization of labor power and resources within a single country, carried beyond a certain point, while it may seem rational for that country, is irrational if you actually look upon a world scale. And that reacts upon that country and becomes an incorrect policy, not the best utilization of things even within that country, and begins to work not only against the development of the productive forces but, dialectically related to that, against the further transformation in the production relations (or the economic base) and the superstructure.

It is not possible to go on forever in a linear country by country way, to go on a separate dialectic within the socialist countries, even with its twists and turns, even beating back at times capitalist restoration and supporting the peoples of the world: at a certain point this is going to turn into its opposite—for material reasons, as well as interpenetrating with ideological and political and even military reasons.

There's a truth here which, correctly grasped with materialist dialectics, strengthens proletarian internationalism and can strengthen, if applied consciously, the revolutionary struggle of the international proletariat overall through its unavoidably long, tortuous path and struggle marked by critical conjunctures, by sudden turns, dramatic upheavals and leaps.

This calls to mind that in the *Communists Are Rebels* pamphlet, this question is put to the side, so to speak, and necessarily, overall, to focus on specific contradictions that are concentrated on there. For example, it simply says on page 11 in the pamphlet, "You are familiar with our analysis of how the class struggle within a socialist country interacts with the class struggle internationally and the fact that the fight against capitalist restoration in a socialist country and to achieve the advance to communism can only be successfully carried out in unity with the whole international revolutionary struggle and on a worldwide basis," which is not wrong overall, but at the same time, as is shown in the differences, that is, the advances from the draft *Programme* and *Constitution* to their final versions, our understanding of precisely this point has been developed even qualitatively in a certain sense.

That is, we have sharpened our grasp of the fact that proletarian internationalism is and must be the *foundation* for the proletariat and its party in all countries. Before power is seized this is a crucial question, but even more so once power has been seized. And it's in the sense of all this that I say that we can and should willingly and defiantly plead innocent as charged to this allegation that we need to keep advancing and winning more of the world, or else our gains will turn into their opposite. □

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# THE CODY CONNECTION



On September 10, banner headlines hit the front page of the *Chicago Sun-Times*: "FEDERAL GRAND JURY PROBES CARDINAL CODY ON USE OF CHURCH FUNDS." In the worst scandal to hit a high church official in recent memory, Cardinal John P. Cody stands accused of diverting up to \$1 million in tax-free church funds to enrich his long-time "friend," Helen Dolan Wilson. Based on the *Sun-Times'* eighteen-month investigation the federal grand jury is now looking into the possibility of criminal charges against the cardinal. Such a move by the Federal Government against a church official of Cody's stature is quite unprecedented.

The substance of the *Sun-Times'* finding is this: Cardinal Cody funneled \$100,000 of church funds to Helen Dolan Wilson for her purchase of a luxury home in Boca Raton, Florida in 1970 (since sold after a church member threatened to blow the whistle). He is said to have arranged a no-show job for Mrs. Wilson, a divorcee, at the archdiocese from 1969-75 for which she was paid \$11,500 per year. During this time she leased and furnished a posh apartment on the exclusive "Gold Coast" in Chicago where Cody was a frequent visitor. Wilson now maintains a \$61,000 condominium in Florida and an apartment in St. Louis. Despite an income based only on a meager pension, she continues to indulge in her taste for furs and designer clothes.

While all this may sound like a bad

novel, such carryings on in the domain of a high official of the church, least of all Cardinal Cody, should come as no surprise. What is unusual here is that this has been allowed to come out into the open including the filing of formal charges. Indeed, the public charges launched against Cody are only the tip of an iceberg. And as this drama unfolds with increasing charges, countercharges and mudslinging, what is usually submerged beneath the surface is being revealed more and more. The Cody affair has offered a rare glimpse into the cutthroat political machinations that are the real workings of the Catholic hierarchy behind the solemn prayers, the holy robes and sacraments. The pressure is being brought to bear on Cody because he symbolizes the entrenched, philistine, war-lord bureaucracy, particularly acute in the wealthy U.S. dioceses, that must be dealt with if the church is to play an effective role for U.S. imperialism as world events grow ever more pressing.

### The Cody Kingdom

A look at the Cardinal's reactionary career gives some insight into the problems facing the church. In 1965 Cody was appointed to the Chicago Archdiocese, the largest in the country with 2.4 million Catholics, on the strength of his connections to the Vatican. He had served in its influential office of the Secretary of State as a young man. He came to Chicago with the reputation of a good administrator and fundraiser

with a liberal tilt—an image that was quickly soured. In 1967 Cody was elevated from archbishop to cardinal. He had quickly ingratiated himself to the Daley machine and provoked widespread distrust and even fear among his parishioners, especially the vocal, progressive Catholics. At that time Chicago was known as the cradle of the Catholic social action movement, a movement which Cody set out to crush.

Cody always relished the exercise of his power and never bothered to hide it under the trappings of a "humble servant of God." He lives in a twenty-room mansion filled with elegant furnishings located in the heart of the "Gold Coast." One of Cody's first acts was to forcibly retire many older priests to knock out any potential threats to his power. His autocratic style and refusal to decentralize the decision-making process as mandated by the Vatican II reforms enraged the local clerics. They formed the Association of Chicago Priests, a group which publicly denounced Cody and tried to get him removed from office several times. The cardinal also concentrated power more and more in his own hands by gradually eliminating four of the six auxiliary bishops.

Cody earned the wrath of Black and progressive white Catholics when he made a unilateral decision to close down parochial schools in the inner city in 1976. Of the fourteen schools he has closed, half were predominantly attend-

ed by minorities. While Cody claimed there was not enough money for these schools, in the meantime land was purchased for new churches in the suburbs and Cody installed a sophisticated but little-used closed circuit TV system in the rectories and convents at a cost of \$4 million.

On theological questions the cardinal ruled with an iron hand, suppressing dissent to official church doctrine wherever he could. Typical of his heavy-handed style was when he simply ordered St. Xavier's College to cancel its Theological Symposium in 1967 because the controversial theologian Hans Kung was a speaker. More recently he personally reprimanded seminarians for taking a stand in support of the ordination of women.

While many clergy and church members were increasingly regarding Chicago as a spiritual wasteland, Cody concentrated on building up his personal fiefdom. During Mayor Daley's reign Cody enjoyed a warm relationship with the Machine which shielded him from attack. In 1968 Cody refused to speak out against Mayor Daley's infamous shoot-to-kill order aimed at putting down the Black rebellions that flared in the wake of Martin Luther King's death. When Cody did raise his voice in protest it was to scold the Inter-religious Council on Urban Affairs because the organization publicly denounced Daley's order.

The cardinal was also not averse to issuing political directives to his parishioners on behalf of the Daley machine. In the 1960s the Machine put up a bond issue referendum for new police stations. This had to be approved by the voters and, as election day approached all assessments were that it would be very close. So, the Sunday before the vote, Cardinal Cody sent out a directive to all parishes to be read at mass, telling church members to vote for the referendum. It passed the next Tuesday by a slim margin.

The Church also developed tight connections to the top financial circles. At least one representative of the Catholic Church, Loyola University President Rev. Raymond C. Baumhart, became a director of one of the biggest financial institutions in the U.S., U.S. Continental Illinois Corp. which owns Continental Illinois Bank. Cody himself served on the Chicago 21 Plan's New Town Board of Directors. This plan was introduced by Daley in 1973 to rid the inner city of Blacks and Latinos and surround the downtown financial district with politically stable, upper-income whites. Cody often approvingly said that the plan would bring middle-class Catholics who had fled to the suburbs back into Chicago.

Cody only intensified the growing antagonism between political activists in the ranks of the Church and the upper echelons. At no time was this more obvious than last December when Cody was challenged by the rebel priest, Father Roy Bourgeois, for refusing to uphold the position of the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops on cutting off U.S. aid to El Salvador. Cody's persistent silence provoked Father Bourgeois to lead a sitdown hunger strike in the Holy Name Cathedral, finally forcing a begrudging statement from the cardinal that U.S. aid to El Salvador should be halted.

Father Charles Dahm, a social activist identified with the "liberation theology" whose book *Power and Authority in the Catholic Church* is to be published by Notre Dame Press in the fall, writes, "My study analyzed the archdiocese as a political economy. That is, it was not interested in official

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# Chang Chun-chiao's Continuing Contributions to Revolution

A recent article in *The Truth*, a bourgeois Chinese language magazine published in Hong Kong, gives a brief insight into how Mao's comrade Chang Chun-chiao continues to defy the revisionist authorities even as he is being locked up in isolation and seriously ill. The source of the article, the magazine claims, is an overseas Chinese who visited a relative in China, a mid-level official of the State Council, and heard the latest news about the "Gang of Four." While the information in the article is unconfirmed, we can assume that if Chang Chun-chiao or Chiang Ching were ever to change their firm revolutionary stand against the Deng clique, the revisionists and other reactionaries would be the first to trumpet such a development.

Chang Chun-chiao and Chiang Ching are now said to be jailed at Qing Cheng prison, not far from Peking. They have been there since January when they were sentenced to a "suspended death penalty." Wang Hongwen and Yao Wenyuan, the two other members of the "Gang of Four" who capitulated to one degree or another to the revisionists at the trial, have been sent to other locations; Wang to a labor reform farm in Shanxi and Yao to a prison in Liaoning.

According to the article, Chang Chun-chiao is reportedly suffering from cancer but has been refusing to go to sleep early after a full day's labor at his work assignment—making chairs. Instead, Chang has been staying up till the late hours of the night writing his memoirs which delve into "theories of classes" and which he claims will be a "witness to history."

Besides being part of the core giving

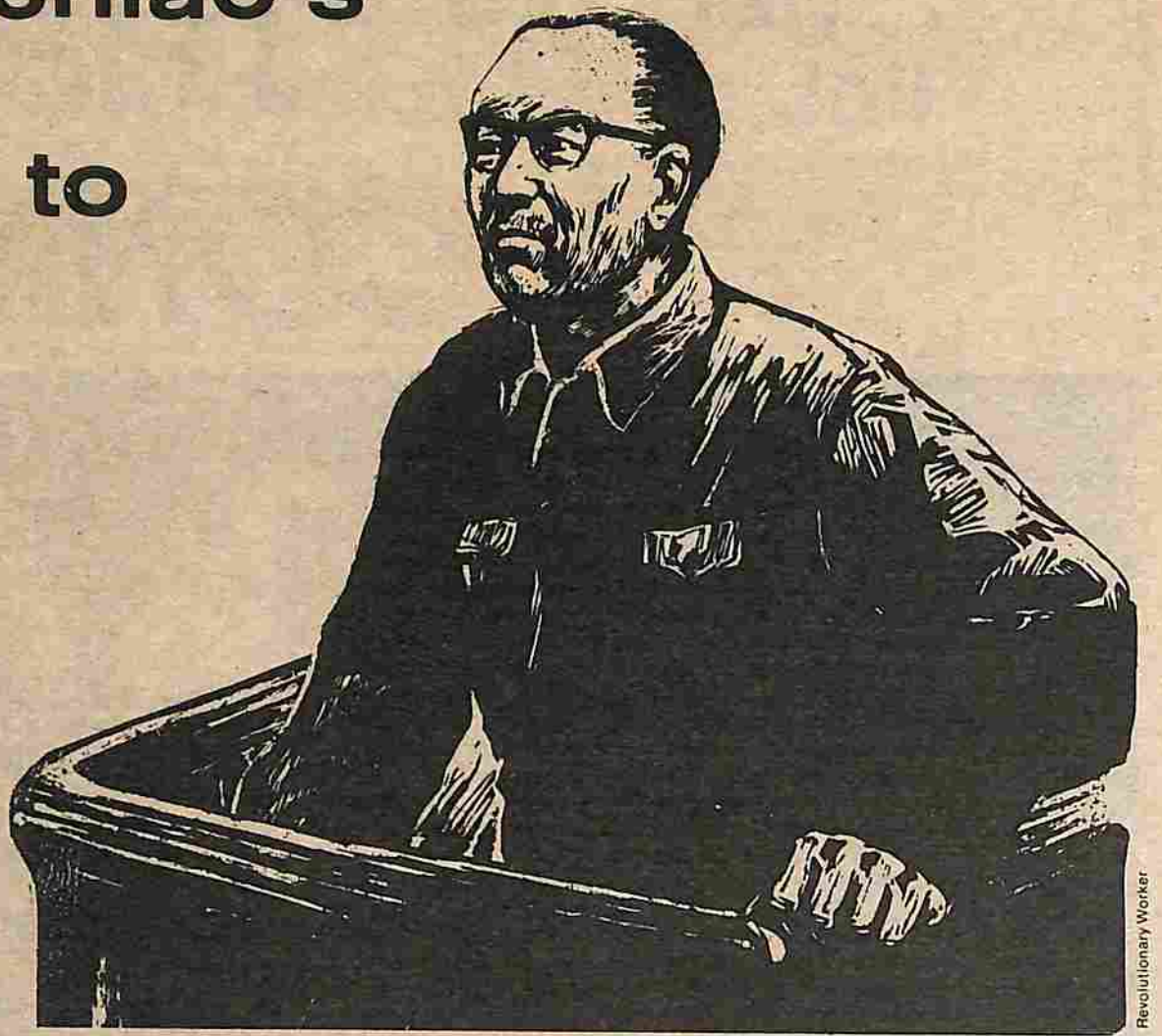
leadership to the political struggle in revolutionary China, Chang Chun-chiao made important contributions under Mao's guidance to Marxist-Leninist theory. In fact he was accused by the revisionists, in the mid-70s, of having the "audacity" to call for new theoretical work analyzing classes under socialism. It can be assumed that his memoirs penetratingly analyze the struggle in China and expose the revisionists. In fact the Hong Kong magazine article reports that the revisionists tried to stop Chang Chun-chiao from working on the memoirs by slipping sleep-inducing drugs into his din-

ner. But this so angered him that he went on a hunger strike, refusing to be examined by a doctor. The revisionists were finally forced to let him continue to write.

It was only a few months ago, that the Taiwan press reported that Chiang Ching had also staged a hunger strike to protest the prison authorities' refusal to provide her with pen and paper so she can write her memoirs.

Such an unwavering revolutionary stand taken by Chang Chun-chiao and Chiang Ching, not only as they are locked up in the revisionists' jails but all through their lives as political leaders, is

not just a question of simple courage or willingness to endure hardships. It is based on a Marxist-Leninist understanding that the path forward toward communism is inevitably full of twists and turns, even some very dark periods like the present one in China. The task of a communist, whatever the times, is to make the utmost contribution possible to the cause of international proletarian revolution and its potential for future worldwide advances. Through their struggle to take up the pen against the revisionists, Chang Chun-chiao and Chiang Ching are continuing to make towering contributions. □



Chang Chun-chiao at the docket during the trial.

Revolutionary Worker

## What Peking Wants With Taiwan

On the eve of October 1st, the Chinese revisionists made a new offer to the Kuomintang (KMT) regime in Taiwan to begin talks for "reunification" of China. October 1st is the anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic in China in 1949 when Mao Tsetung, who led the Chinese Communist Party in defeating the U.S.-backed KMT and forcing them to take refuge on the island of Taiwan, declared in Peking: "The Chinese people have stood up!" Now the revisionist rulers, having overthrown proletarian rule, are not only kneeling slavishly before U.S. imperialism—they have stooped to making sugary appeals to their KMT class brothers to "forget previous ill will" and "bring an end to the unfortunate separation of the Chinese nation."

Previous unofficial offers for reunification by the Deng regime included assurances that the KMT would continue to exercise political and economic control over their island kingdom. These conditions already went a long way in accommodating the KMT, but the new offer was described by *Newsweek* as the "Most comprehensive and conciliatory gesture yet." Aside from officially confirming the earlier promises for "a high degree of economic and political autonomy as a special administrative region," the 9 point proposal by the revisionists now offers the KMT a share of power in the reunified China. KMT leaders are promised an opportunity to "take up posts of leadership in national political

bodies and participate in running the state." KMT can also keep its U.S.-equipped 400,000 member army as well as its "economic and cultural relations with foreign countries." What the KMT would have to give up are its flag, national anthem and designation of itself as the government of the Republic of China.

The KMT quickly rebuffed the overture by Peking. "The government of the Republic of China has no intention whatsoever of negotiating with the Communists...the only way to bring about national reunification is to abandon the communist system," declared a KMT spokesman. Taiwan had also stated earlier in September that reunification could only take place under Three People's Principles (nationalism, democracy, people's livelihood) laid out by Sun Yat-sen, the bourgeois nationalist leader of the 1911 Revolution.

The Deng regime, for their part, are trying to pull the rug from under the KMT by striving to portray themselves as the true successors to Sun. A revisionist official was quoted as saying: "By no means do we demand that the Taiwan authorities implement socialism, we only hope that the authorities truly put into practice" Sun's principles. The revisionists are also organizing a lavish celebration, a contrast to the quiet annual commemoration held when revolutionaries were in power, of "Double Ten"—October 10th, the anniversary of the 1911 Revolution and a traditional national

holiday for the Taiwan regime. The KMT is probably yelling, "Thief!"

While Sun was a progressive leader of the national bourgeoisie in his time, that was, after all, the turn of the century and he was, after all, bourgeois. To see "communists" in a contest scrambling for Sun's mantle in 1981 reveals again the bourgeois class nature of the current rulers in Peking. But because the revisionists are a bourgeois class that arose under socialism, i.e., capitalist roaders who usurped the Communist Party and seized state power from the proletariat, they must continue to use the signboard of the "Communist Party" and "socialism", even as they smash the former socialist society and set up capitalism. The capitalism they are working to set up is state capitalism, based principally on the state ownership of the main means of production achieved under socialism. Therefore Taiwan's demands that the Peking regime must "abandon communism" in name as well as in practice is impossible for the revisionists to meet.

The KMT is thus staunchly holding its ground against formal rapprochement with the Deng clique, although no doubt the KMT realizes too well that Deng already has washed the red out of China and enlisted it in the U.S. war bloc. De facto thawing of relations have already gone a long way. In other countries, off the record contacts between Taiwanese and mainland Chinese students, scholars and sometimes even officials are now frequent, and unof-

ficial trade between the two regimes through Hong Kong totals now at \$200 million—15 times the 1976 figure.

However being a bourgeoisie itself, the KMT looks after its self-interests and self-preservation first and foremost. Despite the revisionist promises of "autonomy" and "joint rule," the KMT sees that it will inevitably be swallowed up by the more powerful revisionist ruling class and become at best a minor partner if it agrees to a merger with Deng and company. For the KMT, the proposals for reunification are sugar-coated takeover bids, and it feels that it's better to be the sole lord over an island than one of the many vassals in the large kingdom. Actually, the KMT has several factors to their advantage in their rivalry with the Deng regime. It can rightfully claim that its developed comprador economy is looked upon in envy by the Deng regime itself, whose economy is floundering. Furthermore, unlike the revisionists, the KMT's interests are not served by a "socialist" mask while practicing capitalism.

Realizing the misgivings that the KMT has, the Deng regime went public with the reunification proposal in order to turn up the pressure on the KMT. There is even some speculation that the Deng regime made the proposal in order to confuse or split the KMT and trigger the downfall of the current leader Chiang Ching-Kuo, son of Chiang Kai-shek, in favor of a new leadership more inclined to approach Peking. The revisionists anticipate that even if there are no concrete results from the proposals in the immediate future, they can gain political mileage by portraying themselves as being "reasonable" and the "real patriots." The 9 Point proposal bids the KMT to "put national interests above everything else" for the goal of reunification "so as to win glory for our ancestors, bring benefits to our pro-

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# Haitians Send Testimony to Atlanta Tribunal

To the *Revolutionary Worker* and Co-Conspirators,

The fourth session of the Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunal of U.S. Imperialism was recently held here in Atlanta and I came to this city with the Tribunal with great excitement. Atlanta—a symbol of and battle cry against the oppression of Black people. Atlanta—where American flags went up in smoke last May First. Atlanta—where the U.S. rulers may well install their "hipster," former U.S. ambassador to the UN, Andy Young as mayor and where highly sophisticated weapons development and research is doing a brisk business at Georgia Tech. Atlanta will now be known for something else, for here in three days of hearings powerful exposures of U.S. imperialism were delivered in a very historic tribunal.

When I came here, I was struck by the newness of the city, this "Mecca" of the U.S. rulers in the South with its newly towering buildings and a year-old sprawling airport. But the signboards of U.S. imperialism were old and familiar: Prudential, Coca Cola, edifices to the plunder of U.S. imperialism around the world.

A Haitian brother in his testimony sent from Miami stated, "Sometimes you can't understand how the United States is powerful. They are powerful because they have under their oppression, under their system of exploitation a lot of little countries around the world. You can't be in a lot of countries if you don't assassinate people, if you don't kill people." Much of this has been hatched in Atlanta which houses Loral Corporation and Marconi Avionics, Inc., who, respectively, built the RAPPORT III "blanket" system (a radar jamming system) and bombing system used in Israel's raid on Iraq's nuclear reactor. This brother's testimony was also delivered in the wake of the U.S.' announcement authorizing the U.S. Coast Guard to shoot Haitian refugee boats out of the water on the high seas.

In the past weeks the Tribunal has met people from several countries from Africa—Azania (South Africa), Zimbabwe, Ethiopia—living here in Atlanta. The Tribunal has reached into the pockets of Spanish-speaking communities, meeting people from Cuba, El Salvador and Mexico. From Tampa and Miami and from North Carolina we received testimony from Haitians, Puerto Ricans and veterans. One vet was a participant in the Autumn Forge war maneuvers in Europe in 1979.

Officially the bourgeoisie tried to carry on as if nothing was happening. Unofficially, however, the Tribunal received a number of harassing phone calls inviting folks to "go to Russia" accompanied by an incident or two of rocks being thrown through the Tribunal window. Right down to the

wire at Atlanta University, where the Tribunal was held under the auspices of the Political Science Department, the administration tried to stop the Tribunal from happening. One of the professors was told by a university dean, "I believe in freedom of speech, but not here!"

The major media also tried to ignore the Tribunal. But the bourgeoisie could not keep it off the air waves. People from a local Public Access cable station filmed the entire proceedings of the Tribunal (except where filming was not permitted to protect the identity of participants) and they will be broadcast over the next several weeks. Also a class of students at the station produced their first TV show—on the Tribunal, interviewing participants and supporters of the Tribunal. In addition, a Spanish-speaking program at a radio station at Georgia Tech also interviewed a participant of the Tribunal.

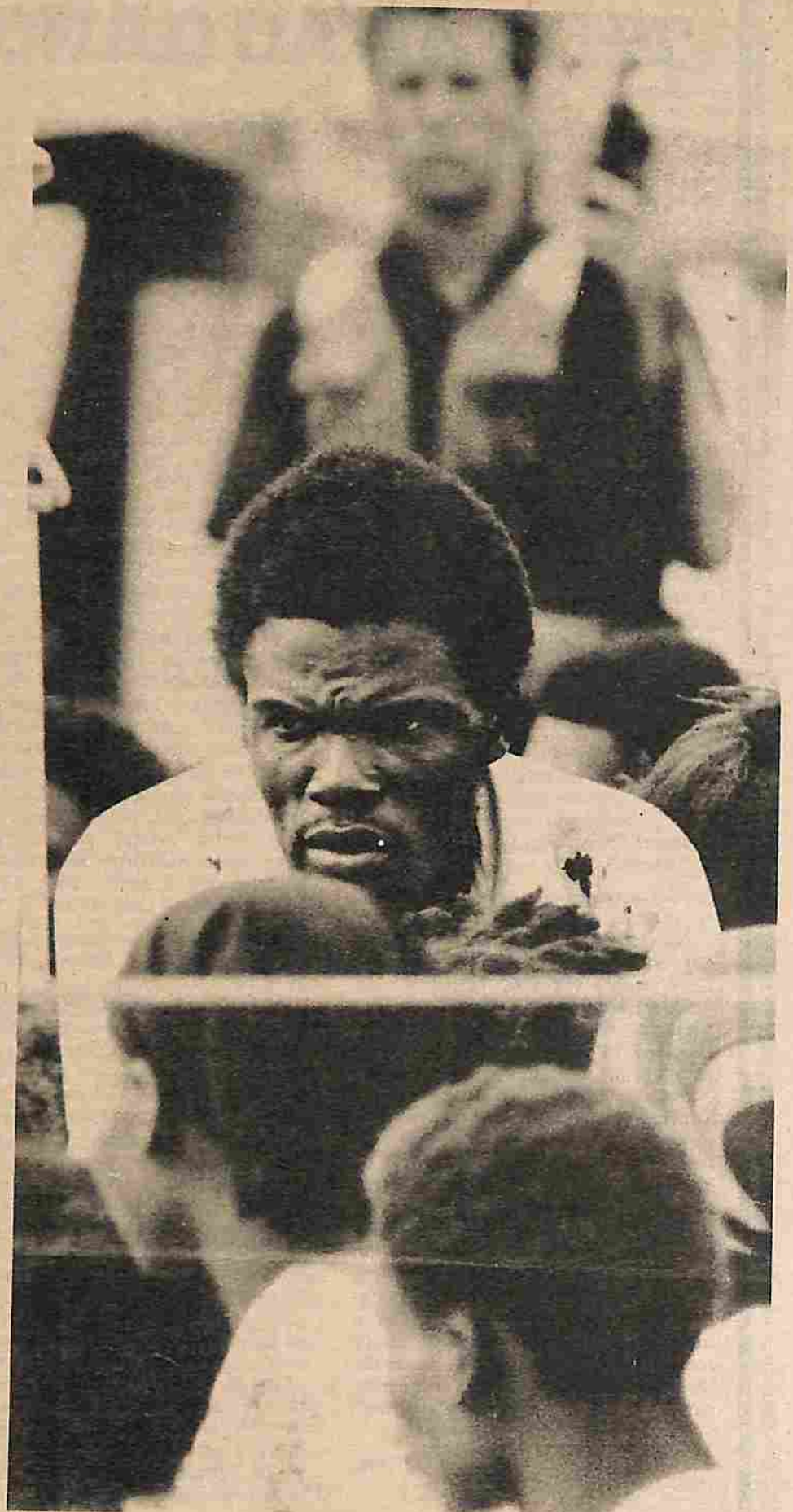
From all walks of life people stepped forward to testify, proletarians, clergy, professors, the foreign-born. We received testimony on South Africa, the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, Haiti, on CIA activities in Jamaica, Dominica, Grenada, testimony on Iran, on the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II, from veterans and more.

I must say, speaking for myself, as the Tribunal's focus of exposure is on U.S. imperialism and will hear testimony on the Soviet Union pro or con, it has however, become very clear to me that in many parts of the world it is unavoidable to hear people denounce the Soviet Union as an equally imperialist power. This came through during the testimony of a Cuban brother who fought to drive U.S. imperialism out of his homeland and then took up the fight against Soviet social-imperialism. This was the first time that I have heard a Cuban revolutionary sum up this experience.

Among those who served as panel members during the hearings were Carl Dix, one of the Forth Lewis Six; Earl Picard, Political Science Department, Atlanta University; Cecil Mzingisi Ngcokozane, a personal friend of Steve Biko and graduate student at the Inter-Denominational Theological Center, Atlanta; Dan Stern, professor of Sociology, Northeast University, Chicago; and myself.

In a short time the Tribunal will culminate in New York City and I want to urge people to contribute to making the effort of the Tribunal surpass what has been accomplished to date, to testify, to actively build for the hearing, to contribute financially, and to assist in the dissemination of the Tribunal findings throughout the world.

Virginia Wohl



Haitian refugees in the Miami detention center.

Following is part of a tape which was sent to the Tribunal in Atlanta by a number of Haitians now living in Miami:

Today we take advantage of this opportunity to cry out and to say to everybody what U.S. Imperialism did do and maybe will do in our country. First of all, let me say to you something about my country. My country is Haiti. It is not far from Cuba and Jamaica. This country was liberated in 1804. It was for the first time in the history of humanity the Black slaves rebelled against colonialism and put out the French men and the French soldiers. But you know it's very easy sometimes to put out those who make suffering in this country. But when they go, they leave the roots of everything that is the reality of colonialism. This was in 1804. We had independence, political independence, but it was not a good independence because this independence meant new exploiters continued to plunder the country. It makes France, Germany, and every country in Western Europe come and make everything bad for this country.

At that time after the independence a lot of Haitian peasants were rebelling against feudalism. They needed to cultivate land, to own their own land. But this uprising was crushed by the landlords, helped by the big owners and the big capitalists.

In 1915 the U.S. Imperialists went to Haiti and made a lot of crimes; those crimes are so horrifying, are so cruel that nobody in this humanity can

understand. From 1915 to 1926 more than 30,000 people were killed by the marines. And they put them in jail and crushed this uprising against the petty bourgeoisie, the bourgeoisie and the conservative forces and the reactionary forces in Haiti. When the peasants were crushed, they went to Cuba to cut cane. They went to Santo Domingo, the Dominican Republic to do the same thing. But there is struggle, a lot of struggle, class struggle. Every time the people are oppressed, the people are exploited, they come up against those things. But you know it's very necessary if a people want to have it, want to make a new life for this class, for the proletarian class, they must have a scientific knowledge of what's going on in the country they belong to. The peasants... they can't understand why many Haitian presidents—more than 35—can't resolve, can't solve the problems of land, the problems of food, the problems of malnutrition which the poor people living in the rural areas are stricken by.

Today, we see a lot of Haitian people living in Miami have a lot of problems. Now, the American working people can't understand why these people come over here. Before I go further, I must clear this up.

In 1957 there was a so-called election in Haiti. But sometimes the bourgeoisie, to deceive the people, to mislead the people, says there is an election for electing a man or a woman to run this office and make life easy for all

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# THE AWAC GANG

As Ronald Reagan dragged out a host of ex-government officials in front of the White House last week in a show of broad and powerful support for the U.S. sale of AWACs to Saudi Arabia, the list of assembled "dignitaries" read like a *Who's Who* of recent U.S. war criminals. Below are some thumbnail biographical sketches of the "achievements" of these illustrious hitmen for U.S. imperialism (which, it must be said, do not even come close to doing them justice).

1. **Ronald Reagan**—President of the United States, 1981—

Chief political representative and present *Capo de Tutti Capo* of the U.S. imperialist criminal class.

2. **Lyman Lemnitzer**—Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, 1960-1962, Supreme Allied Commander, Europe, 1963-1969

Helped launch the Bay of Pigs invasion in Cuba in 1961 under Kennedy and called for sending in American air and naval power after the CIA operation was abruptly smashed. Almost fired for not "anticipating the defeat." Told Kennedy in 1961 that 40,000 troops would be sufficient to suppress the Vietnamese people. Shunted to NATO command in 1963 where he stumped for "nukes for NATO" until retirement in 1969.

3. **McGeorge Bundy**—National Security Advisor, 1961-1966

Advocated a military strike to knock out Soviet missile emplacements in Cuba during the 1962 Missile Crisis. Co-architect of U.S. involvement in Vietnam under Kennedy and Johnson. Involved in planning U.S.-sponsored coup against Diem in Vietnam. In 1964, personally helped direct targeting of South Vietnamese puppet army's torpedo boat raids against North Vietnam. In 1965, though suggested by historians to have "opposed" intensified bombing of Vietnam, Bundy in fact personally reviewed and selected targets for the notorious saturation bombing campaign, Operation Rolling Thunder. Opposed any negotiated withdrawal from Vietnam as "surrender on the installment plan." Played major role in U.S. decision to invade the Dominican Republic in 1965 and sent as chief arm-twister to get a "settlement" negotiated for a U.S. withdrawal.

4. **Melvin Laird**—Secretary of Defense, 1969-1973

Family nickname: "Bomb": Carried out the "Vietnamization" strategy under the Nixon administration and oversaw general coordination of U.S. invasions of Cambodia and Laos after publicly denying any U.S. troop build-ups in these areas. Had the tricky job of disengaging whipped and dispirited U.S. forces from Vietnam while still carrying out vain U.S. attempts to win—a "defense posture" that he described as a "prudent middle course between two policy extremes—world policeman or a new isolationism," though it was clear which policy he would have preferred. Angrily announced in 1969 that all GIs would be tested for drug addiction. Defender of ABM missile system. During his tenure, rebellions by Black GIs forced him to put out a Pentagon report feebly acknowledging racism in the military in 1970. Offered to replace all equipment lost by Israel in 1970 Jordan crisis and personally met with Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Dayan to discuss (i.e. plan) military campaigns against the Palestinian people. Announced 70,000 man troop withdrawal from Vietnam in 1972 and then supervised the bombing and mining of Hanoi and Haiphong a few months later, etc., etc. Upon departure from Nixon administration, assumed several corporate directorships and became a senior counsellor for Readers Digest Association.

5. **Henry Kissinger**—National Security Advisor, 1968-1975, Secretary of State, 1973-1977

Notorious member of the Rockefeller brain trust gang known principally as the creator of the "Vietnamization" strategy under Nixon—a policy of getting the South Vietnamese puppet government to conduct the war while combining gradual U.S. troop withdrawals with periodic military escalations, mainly "savage, punishing" bombing raids like the notorious Christmas bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong. Exposed as the prime mover behind the CIA-engineered overthrow of the Allende government in Chile in 1973 by the fascist junta headed by Augusto Pinochet that murdered over 30,000 people in the first 6 months of the dictatorship alone and jailed and tortured another 150,000. Urged that the U.S. renew bombing of Cambodia in 1973 after the signing of the Paris Peace Accords in hopes of continuing to influence developments in Indochina



and also put U.S. nuclear forces on alert during the Middle East crisis of the same year. Wiretapped government officials and newsmen in attempt to stem policy leaks during this period. Champion of MIRV missile development. Reportedly knelt in prayer beside a weeping Nixon just before the president resigned. Known for extensive "shuttle diplomacy" involving intrigue too detailed to mention here (among other things getting late Egyptian President Anwar Sadat to start crawling on his belly like a reptile toward the U.S.). Originator in 1978 of the phrase "window of vulnerability"—currently in vogue as the slogan under which the U.S. is massively building up its nuclear war fighting abilities. Has continued to be a major criminal consultant in U.S. ruling circles under Carter and now Reagan, though he now operates in the

background.

6. **Caspar Weinberger**—Secretary of Defense, 1981—

Obscure slasher from Reagan's California gang who rose along with his mentor to become "Cap the Knife" under Nixon as Budget Director and then Secretary of HEW. Known as a vicious knife man for the U.S. imperialists and has now been entrusted by the "family" with carrying out the trillion dollar military preparations for World War 3. Enormous potential for future criminal activity.

7. **Admiral Thomas Moorer**—Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, 1970-1974

Faithful "soldier" who became a notorious don of the U.S. military. Named Commander of the Pacific Fleet in 1964 and put in charge of naval command of NATO in 1965. Personally

## Sadat

Continued from page 1

A *Washington Post* staff writer who witnessed the shooting noted that "There was practically no return fire from the security men for what seemed like a full minute after the soldiers began shooting. Clearly, the attackers had made good use of the element of surprise.

"Secondly, I remember wondering how, with the tight security precautions we all had noticed coming in, a group of soldiers could pull something like this off, or even get the live ammunition for their rifles and grenades.

"Eight soldiers and a driver had somehow managed to be placed together in one truck, had shot and killed the president, and had come dangerously close to wiping out the entire leadership of Egypt."

The inference intended to be drawn from these comments is that there may have been complicity in the attack from higher echelons of the military.

The *Post*, perhaps, intended even more inferences to be drawn because in an October 8 article titled "Photos Show Bodyguards Missing" they point out how all these fellows who had made themselves scarce at the critical moment were trained in the U.S. All, in fact, had spent a year under the tutelage of the Secret Service.

The United States, as a matter of fact, has apparently had what amounted to primary responsibility for

Sadat's personal security since 1974. Every time Sadat left the country, U.S. AWACs planes have tracked his jet and scanned the surrounding air space for potentially hostile aircraft. The CIA has, according to both the *Post* and the *New York Times*, provided Sadat with special communications equipment that would allow him to send and receive messages without revealing his location to anyone—even his own military.

The *New York Times* was more guarded, stating that "It was hard to tell whether the assassins represented a disenchantment with Mr. Sadat within the military." In a separate article, however, the *Times* quoted U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig as having told reporters privately that "widespread discontent over Egypt's separate peace with Israel was known to exist among lower ranking Egyptian army officers and that 56 of them were detained this morning before the beginning of the military parade during which Mr. Sadat was shot."

The message being broadcast by all this U.S. commentary was, at a minimum: "Our man Sadat was in a lot of trouble—even high up in Egypt," and maybe even, "We let him fall so we could pursue some new tactics."

The Sadat regime, during the severe political crackdown on leftist, Islamic, and bourgeois opposition groups over the past two months, had strenuously insisted that the military was free of political turmoil and had not been a target of the crackdown. And in the wake of the assassination, the new

regime headed by Sadat's protégé, Vice President Mubarak, has insisted that the assassins were an "isolated band" of Moslem fanatics who "acted alone" without any internal or external collaborators whatsoever. But this Egyptian version of the "lone nut" theory so familiar in American assassination coverups is being advanced mainly because it would be fatal to admit widespread disaffection in the military; the unified cooperation of the military being essential to consolidating and holding political power.

This "disaffection," while it has varied components, is widespread, and it runs higher than "lower ranking Egyptian army officers." On August 22nd, the magazine *8 Days* reported that "a group of high ranking Egyptian officers last month submitted a petition to the President," which demanded that "Egypt should suspend all dealings with Israel."

"The Camp David road," *8 Days* went on, "is littered with the resignation letters of senior officers and politicians who have departed in protest from the army, government or diplomatic service... Resentment is spreading within the armed forces at home and among diplomats, including some military attachés in European citadels..."

"Informed Egyptian sources expect an increasingly military focus to the opposition... If he [Sadat] looks likely to be hit by a wave of anti-Camp David anger from high ranking officers, which threatens his hold on the country, it is

not impossible that he could be ousted, under pressure from a different quarter.

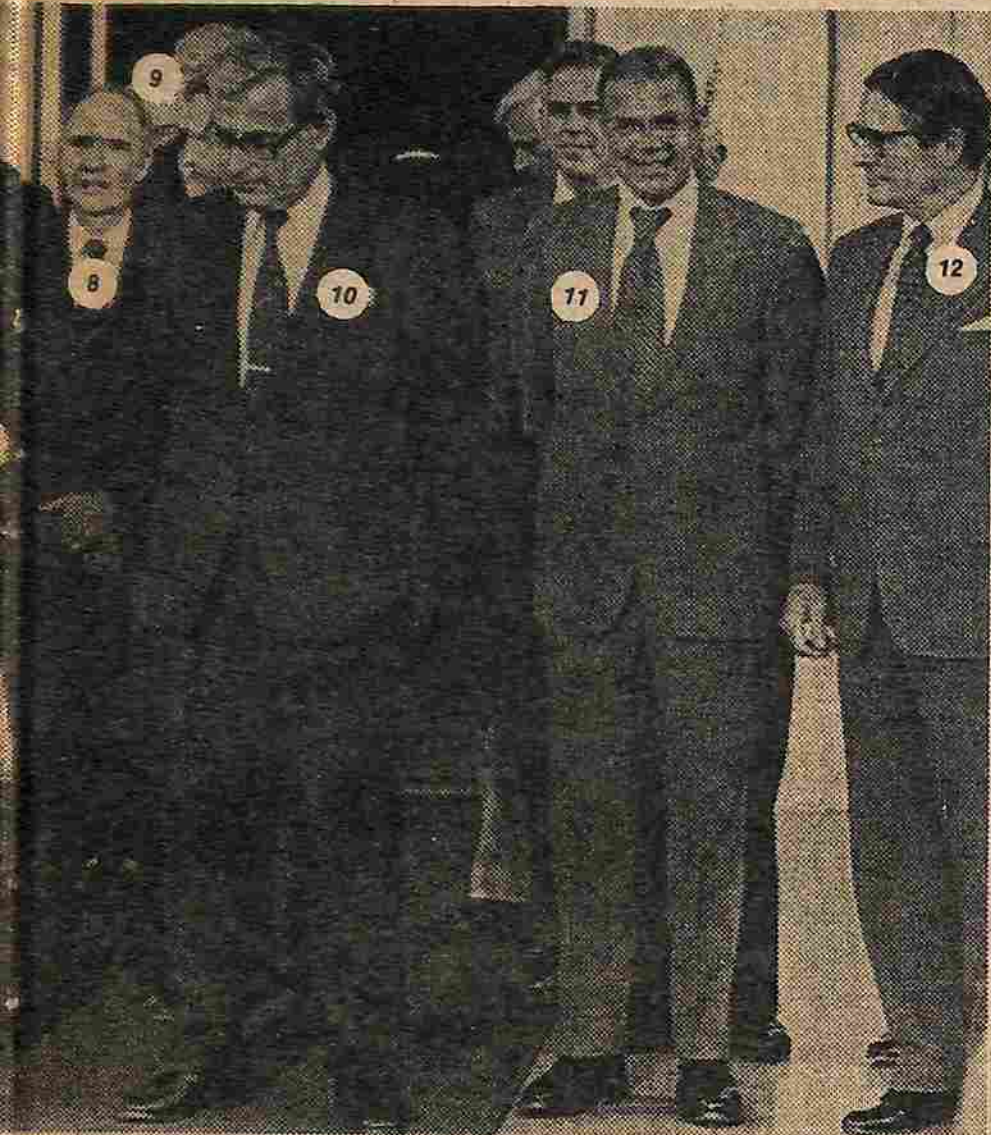
"In other parts of the world over the past few decades, national leaders who have become totally dependent on American backing, but who cannot sustain a credible government, have been ousted in military coups d'état from the right, preempting seizure of power by a more radical upsurge."

While the Mubarak government claimed that the assassination was devoid of broader political implica-

## JOY IN I

The news of Sadat's demise hit like a thunderbolt in the largest Arab community in North America, concentrated in the south end of Dearborn, just across the boundary from Detroit, Michigan. As the official confirmation began to penetrate the grimy apartments and coffee houses near Dix Avenue, where the Ford Rouge plant belches black smoke and stench two blocks away, people began to fill the streets in joyous celebration. The hatred that thousands of immigrants from Lebanon, Palestine, Yemen and other Arab countries feel for this imperialist lackey was unchained. "Sadat humiliated the Arab people. I hate both superpowers and I don't want to see either one of them rule over the people in the Middle East," said one store owner, who was engaged in a lively





**9. William Casey—Director, CIA, 1981—**

Former OSS chief of intelligence in Europe before it became the CIA. Financial mover for Nixon and then Reagan. Headed the Securities and Exchange Commission for a time and has authored such books as "How to Raise Money to Make Money" and "How to Build and Preserve Executive Wealth." Details of his criminal activities are well hidden although he is known to have been involved in numerous shady financial dealings. However, his present position as chief of covert U.S. hitmen should blow things open shortly and makes his involvement in war crimes at the highest levels of the U.S. imperialist ruling pyramid a moot point anyway.

**10. Harold Brown—Secretary of Defense, 1977-1981**

Protégé of "Dr. Strangelove" (Edward Teller) put in charge of heading up the U.S. government's Livermore Laboratories where it is said that "he originated more of the ideas that have gone into nuclear weapons development since the original concept was put forward by Edward Teller." Known popularly in nuclear circles as an untiring advocate of "more bang for the buck." Also one of Robert McNamara's original "whiz kids." Brown was appointed Secretary of the Air Force in 1965. He pushed for and directly engineered the murder by saturation bombing of hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese, introducing napalm, Agent Orange, etc., on a massive scale, and has been praised as "the architect and executor of the defoliation and bombing technology" in Vietnam. As Secretary of Defense under Carter, he plugged for the introduction of the cruise missile and made the statement that as far as WW3 was concerned, "It is not necessary (for the U.S.) to await the firing of the first shot or the prior arrival of hostile forces..." Just last year he announced the retargeting of most U.S. nuclear missiles to pinpoint Soviet governmental and military targets instead of mainly pointing them at cities. Humanitarian reason? No—to make it more practical to fight a nuclear war. He unveiled the U.S. rulers' new strategy for waging "limited" nuclear war—brazenly calling for stepping up U.S. capabilities for launching a successful "first strike" against the Soviets.

**11. Robert Strange (yes, his real middle name) McNamara—Secretary of Defense, 1961-1968**

Principal architect of the Vietnam War who presided over the massive

troop buildups of the mid-sixties (from 2,000 "advisors" in 1961 to 15,000 "advisors" in 1963 to over 500,000 troops in 1967, by this time admitted to be "combat troops") and huge increases in military spending. Replaced the Eisenhower doctrine of "massive retaliation" with the "flexible response" strategy designed to use conventional forces to handle "brush fire wars" like the one in Vietnam and other less messy U.S. imperialist intrigue. In 1964 he approved the final CIA plans for the coup in Brazil which overthrew the Goulart government and installed Humberto Castelo Branco as a more "reliable" U.S.-backed dictator, alerting U.S. paratroopers based in Panama to intervene if necessary. McNamara also figured in the CIA coup in the Dominican Republic in 1963 which overthrew the government of Juan Bosch. In 1965 he then ordered the invasion of the island. McNamara, of course, was also the chief coordinator of the massive escalation of the Vietnam War that same year. He proposed a plan for the "McNamara line" which was to be a massive complex of electronic sensors, mines, barbed wire and bases between North and South Vietnam. After Senator Wayne Morse dubbed Vietnam "McNamara's War", McNamara responded by declaring "I think it's a very important war and I am pleased to be identified with it." By 1967, however, he was not so pleased, resigning for a quieter position engineering U.S. plunder as President of the World Bank.

**12. Elliot Richardson—Secretary of Defense, January, 1973-April, 1973**

Held more cabinet positions in one administration than any man in American history. Became Secretary of HEW largely as repayment by Nixon for his vigorous and vocal support of the invasion of Cambodia. Shuffled from Secretary of HEW to Secretary of Defense to Attorney General in the space of one year (1973) as a temporary stand-in for more notable criminals like Laird, John Mitchell, etc. who were resigning like crazy as a result of the war and Watergate. Thus, his criminal record in office has been described by one bourgeois source as "rather bare of concrete and citable accomplishments." □

directed U.S. invasion of the Dominican Republic in 1965. As Navy representative on the Joint Chiefs of Staff, instrumental in convincing Johnson in 1967 that heavier bombing of Vietnam was the way to go. Instituted construction in 1969 of a new fleet of nuclear subs. As Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff under Nixon, he directed the U.S. invasion of Cambodia in 1970 (as well as the stationing of six naval vessels off the coast of Trinidad to ensure the crushing of an uprising against the U.S.'s puppet dictator there) and the bombing of Laos in 1971. Personally orchestrated the mining of Hanoi and Haiphong harbors in 1972. Given personal responsibility for the Christmas bombing of the two cities in December that year. Also, a Senate Armed Services Committee investigation that year revealed Moorer had ad-

ditionally been giving U.S. commanders permission in 1971, '72 for "unauthorized" secret air raids against North Vietnam that even Nixon claimed he didn't know about. Filched secret national security documents to show cronies at the Pentagon, but cleared of charges of military spying. Resigned and retired in 1974.

**8. General Brent Scowcroft—National Security Advisor, 1973-1977**

Member of long-range planning division of the Pentagon between 1964-1967 during the Vietnam War. Trained to "serve totally and unswervingly the person to whom he was assigned"—i.e., Henry Kissinger. Widely known as "Kissinger's errand boy within the White House" and as "a good paper shuffler" for more noted war criminals.

tions, John Scali of ABC News reported on October 7th that a new crackdown was already underway, and that at least 2,000 leftists and other opposition elements had been rounded up since the shooting.

**Libyan Connection Toned Down**

In the early hours after the incident, the U.S. television networks and leading U.S. political personalities such as Henry Kissinger were speculating broadly on the likelihood that the

*Continued on page 12*

**DETROIT**

debate with customers and RW distributors over whether it was necessary for the oppressed peoples of the world to rely on one imperialist in order to defeat another. A car caravan of Palestinians and Lebanese students rolled through the back streets honking their horns, throwing fists in the air and exchanging shouts with people on the sidewalks. Throughout the south end, Palestinians were wearing their distinctive head scarves in greater numbers than usual.

Of course there were some here who grieved for their fallen hero of imperialism, but overwhelmingly not only were tears not being shed, but thoughts of the possibilities for revolution by the people of the Middle East, especially the Palestinians, were definitely being strengthened. □



*Celebration in the streets of Beirut, Lebanon when Sadat's death was announced.*

# Cody

Continued from page 5

rhetoric about love, service and community but in the dynamics of power and the distribution of resources." He says, "Peculiar as Cody may be, the attributes of his office and not his personality make for absolutist rule and related abuses," and he goes on to add that Cody makes an exceptionally good subject for study because of his "raw exercises of power." Thus, for many different forces Cody became the embodiment of "what was wrong" with the church. But as we shall see, in the current game of political chess, those who have attacked Cody are not knights of progress, nor do they stand to win the game that more powerful bishops are playing in the service of kings. (Pawns take note.)

## Cracks in the Church

Cody's dictatorial rule began to take a heavy toll on the Chicago Archdiocese. The complaints flooded into the Vatican but Cody had covered his bets there by bribing key individuals with lavish "gifts" worth thousands of dollars. The most disastrous consequences were seen among the Catholic Church's troops on the front lines, the priests. Between 1968-80 34% of the archdiocese's priests resigned. This is part of a nationwide trend, but in Chicago the situation is particularly acute. In the 1950s the seminary produced about 40 to 50 candidates a year for ordination, but this year only seven are expected to enter the priesthood.

In the late '60s and early '70s, tremendous disaffection from the Catholic Church occurred. Regular mass attendance dropped, the priests and nuns left in droves. It is now estimated that by the year 2000 the number of priests will be about 17,000, which is approximately the same as in 1925 when the Catholic population was one-third of what it is today. Catholicism, with about 50 million members in the U.S. is still the largest religious denomination in the U.S., but it is estimated that perhaps 15 million of these are nominal Catholics only.

For many, Pope Paul VI's 1968 encyclical which upheld the ban on birth control was the clincher. In the U.S. this is one of the biggest single factors which has led to a decline in church practice. The ban on contraception, along with other medieval positions on sexuality such as priestly celibacy, the lack of divorce rights and the treatment of women as slaves has led to tremendous unrest and defection from the church. On the question of ordination of women there are growing reports of colonies of women and men who have gone "underground" so that women who want to be priests can celebrate mass in secret. During the 1970s Catholicism was the only denomination to actually drop in numbers, although the decrease was small, 1% of the total.

On the part of the American Catholic Church hierarchy, most top level officials did little to stem the defection from the ranks. The name of Cardinal Cody, who simply laid down the law while continuing to run the diocese like his personal kingdom, is typical of the reaction. Traditionally the Vatican has rewarded its cardinals by endorsing the system of autonomous "kingdoms" where the cardinal's autocratic rule is the law. All this has resulted in a monstrous, decentralized bureaucracy which has had a detrimental effect on the church's ability to sound the call to rally behind God and country. This system of autonomous kingdoms has also had a disastrous effect on the finances of central authority of the church, the Vatican. Despite hundreds of millions of members worldwide the Vatican's yearly budget has run in the red for the last three years. Last year it operated on a \$25 million deficit, and there is talk of a special fund drive to raise money.

This situation is a sign of the enormous power that has accrued to the cardinals and the Vatican's lack of control over them. And once again, we find Cardinal Cody is a prime embodiment of the financial wheeler-dealer. In the

past, the Vatican has not demanded nor enforced financial accountability, and people like Cody have milked this situation to the max.

In 1979 the Chicago Archdiocese reported its total assets (excluding church property such as schools and convents) at \$167.8 million. The value of its investment portfolio rose to 123.3 million and revenues from parishes amounted to \$160 million. But Chicago Call to Action, a liberal Catholic coalition labeled the annual financial report, "an incomplete, misleading and bewildering presentation of selected facts and figures which do not add up and do not make sense." In 1980 the same group urged parishes to withhold diocesan payments until a detailed archdiocesan budget was developed.

As the recent *Sun-Times* investigation has pointed out, because there is such poor accountability it is difficult to know whether funds are being misused or not. But, in at least one case, Cody's exotic speculation was exposed. In his position as treasurer of the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops, Cody was excellently placed to engage in financial machinations. His most notable exploit was to invest several million dollars in Penn Central Railroad commercial paper a few days before the corporation went bankrupt, which is believed to have resulted in a kickback for Cody.

All this has led to much mistrust among parish priests in turning over their money to the archdiocese. In his book *The Making of the Popes 1978*, Father Andrew Greeley charges that priests from money-making parishes are setting aside as much as \$300,000 in personal accounts for fear that if the funds fell into Cody's hands they would be squandered. Greeley also maintains that there are \$60 million of parish funds on deposit with the Chancery Office for which no public accounting exists.

These problems are widespread. In recent years bishops in such prominent dioceses as Boston, Newark, New Orleans and Santa Rosa, California have discovered that they have inherited enormous debts from their predecessors. One bishop found the attorney general of the state waiting for his arrival, prepared to foreclose on diocesan property.

Besides these instances which have not been investigated, over the last decade seven major scandals involving funds have hit Catholic institutions, mainly religious orders. The most recent of these is the 1979 Pulitzer prize-winning Gannett News Service series into the squandering of a substantial proportion of \$20 million in charitable donations raised by the Pauline Fathers. This money was to go to the Shrine of Our Lady of Czestochowa in Doylestown, Pennsylvania. Gannett reported that instead of going to the shrine "millions in contributions were diverted to tax-avoiding business schemes" and "the highest echelons of the Catholic Church in the U.S. spent five years trying to cover up the scandal." The picture that emerges is a financial drain on the Vatican that was once overlooked as "business as usual" but can no longer be tolerated to meet the demands ahead.

With its more than 600 million members worldwide the Catholic church has a political role to play for U.S. imperialism, ideologically and politically, in broadly unifying people against the Soviet imperialists. To the delight of the U.S. imperialists, Pope John Paul II has played this role to the hilt using his native Poland as his trump card worldwide. In his travels elsewhere in the world to countries dominated by U.S. imperialism such as the Philippines, Brazil, Mexico and Ireland the pope has become very skilled at cautioning against political activity that brings the church into conflict with the authorities.

In contrast to this fine performance, the U.S. cardinals have lagged badly in their appreciation of the political situation and the demands on the church. In fact, they have managed to bring the image of the "Ugly American" the self-centered, corporate clod, with no finesse in world affairs, into the Catholic Church. This was summed up in an article by Father Jesus Garcia, a one-time member of the Vatican's

Peace and Justice Commission. He said,

"Secular transnational corporations have certain traits in common: they are obsessed with profits and power, they standardize their administrative procedures and controls, and in general they are super-efficient. But they also have a bad record of manipulating and homogenizing ideologies and cultures—so as to produce and uniform and worldwide consumer society.

"For many observers the Catholic Church displays these identical traits... But is that the model compatible with the role of the church within and vis-a-viz the twentieth century consumer society? Should administrative and financial efficiency be one of the most visible marks of the church? Doesn't the church's essential mission of proclaiming the meaning of human existence in and through the risen Christ mean that it should question the established society, prophetically and critically.

"Unfortunately many observers would say that the chief characteristic of the U.S. Church is its smooth efficiency, not its prophetic proclamations or its desacralization of false gods."

The worldwide ramifications of this are important in regard to the ability of the Church to play its role. What Father Garcia is most concerned about are the "visible marks of the church"—that is, its image to the masses in this period; and sour-faced warlords like Cardinal Cody, concerned only with their own kingdoms are clearly not the kind of material necessary to inspire the masses with ideological and political justifications for why they should give their lives to preserve the rule of the dead over the living.

So the stage was set for the recent charges against Cody to be launched. The fact that some of the dirty linen is now being dragged out in public is an indication that the church itself has been unable to resolve this internal crisis of serious proportions.

## The Plot Thickens

Thus, there is plenty of evidence to suggest that the *Sun-Times*' investigation was not undertaken merely because a hard-nosed editor or a team of spunky reporters were determined to expose corruption in the church, but rather that the investigation is just one prong of an overall offensive, which, while concentrated against Cody, is aimed at making an example of him among the top levels of the Catholic Church. The attacks on Cody come from different quarters with different views on how to resolve the problems faced by the church. And while it can certainly be said that Cardinal Cody has few friends on earth, what emerges from the smoke of burning incense is that, exactly because he is so widely hated, he is a fitting target and has been allowed to become the focus of attack by the "princes of heaven" for very worldly reasons indeed.

The first investigation into the Chicago Archdiocese finances was started almost two years ago by Gannett News Service, a subsidiary of the influential Universal Press Syndicate (UPS). Father Andrew Greeley, former columnist for the *Sun-Times* and long-time critic of Cody, published a book last May which features a secondary character who is a dead ringer for the cardinal. In Greeley's best selling novel *The Cardinal Sins*, the Archbishop of Chicago "Dan O'Neill" is portrayed as a tyrannical boozehound with a woman on the side. He calls her his "cousin" (Cody's term for Helen Dolan Wilson). This exposé of power and sex in the top levels of the church is aimed at hitting at hypocrisy in order to lobby for a liberalization of the Catholic doctrine on matters related to sexuality. (Greeley, it must be pointed out is no radical, and when he is not engaged in attacking Cody, his current writings in the Catholic press have launched attacks against activist clergy such as Father Roy Bourgeois and the Ber-rigans.)

According to Greeley, Cody's behavior had gained such a scandalous reputation in Rome that even the leaden Vatican bureaucracy felt compelled to act. Three popes tried but failed to dislodge Cody. Fearful of tarnishing the holy image, the Vatican's efforts

were always made in the discreet form of offering Cody a position in Rome, but he merely refused. Cody supposedly turned down a personal emissary from Pope Paul VI flat; John Paul I supposedly died while holding Cody's replacement papers in his hand; and JPII initially asked Cody to take a post in Rome in late 1978 but later backed down. When the *Sun-Times* investigation appeared, one article dropped a big hint by saying that the legal charges would strengthen the Pope's hand against Cody.

The reaction to the charges shows the deep fissures in the Catholic Church. Cody's immediate response was to stonewall it in the best tradition of Richard Nixon. Through his lawyer, the cardinal replied that he is "answerable to Rome and to God." A torrent of opposition to this imperious statement was unleashed from newspaper columnists, religious figures and organizations. The National Coalition of American Nuns requested that the U.S. Attorney complete a thorough investigation into the cardinal's finances; Chicago Call to Action, a group of Catholic laity, priests and nuns formed several years ago to demand an open and thorough accounting of the archdiocese finances, followed suit. A spokesman for the Vatican remarked that the Vatican was angry that Cody had not informed him of the grand jury investigation. This was plainly a shot at Cody, since it is extremely unlikely that the U.S. government would undertake such an investigation against one of the U.S. cardinals and fail to consult the man with the big ring. Cody, left to hang on his own, has had some success in appealing for support among local Catholics, but even some of this is due to fear of reprisals.

The Feds were the last to get into the act, possibly based on the information gathered by *Sun-Times* reporters. Subpoenas were sent out eight months ago for the Chicago archdiocese financial records, particularly for two unaudited, "discretionary" accounts that Cody alone had control over. Cody is being investigated for violations of federal tax law since his position as Cardinal gives him the authority to dispose of the Church funds as he sees fit. This is actually rather convenient for the Vatican, since they do not have to dirty their hands directly in the sordid affair. It is also convenient that Cody is old and sick and scheduled to retire soon, so it is unlikely that the church will actually have to take any action in removing him. Thus, while there are some aspects of the Cody scandal that they are opposed to—those which tend to sully the church as a whole—it appears that they have much reason to let Cody hang, as a lesson to others.

Since the Cody affair has been placed on the agenda, the infighting has intensified considerably. This of course involves the question of succession for Cody. (Cody's successor would then enter the College of Cardinals which among other things is responsible for choosing a successor to JPII; and undoubtedly, the recent attempt on the pope's life has also raised the question of succession to the papacy rather sharply.) But beyond the question of succession the infighting over the Cody affair reveals the terms of the deep political struggle in the Church hierarchy.

Shortly after the *Sun-Times*' exposé, a new exposé hit the press—a spinoff of the Cody affair, chock full of intrigue. On September 29, the *Chicago Lawyer* magazine published a front page story called "The Plot to Get Cody." Father Andrew Greeley was charged with "masterminding" a plot from 1975-1978 to topple Cody with "the worst kind of public scandal." The plan according to this article was to get Archbishop of Cincinnati Joe Bernardini to replace Cody and then "rig" the next papal election for the selection of a "liberal" successor to then-ailing Paul VI. All this was not achieved because Paul VI died before all the elements of the conspiracy were in place.

The source of this exposure was Greeley's own tape recordings made during the writing of his book, *The Making of the Popes 1978*. How were they obtained? Greeley charges that they were stolen from him by the

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In the month since the murder of Carl Harp, a revolutionary prisoner at the Washington State Penitentiary in Walla Walla, the authorities have desperately been searching for a way out of the bind which the outrage over this murder has put them in. The murder of Carl was intended as a message to revolutionary prisoners—and to revolutionary-minded people in general—of the fate which awaits them if they dare to challenge the imperialists' rule in the uncompromising way Carl did. Now they find this message being defiantly thrown back in their face. Events are now building towards the inquest into Carl's death, scheduled for Wednesday, October 14, in Walla Walla.

That the authorities have been forced to hold an inquest at all is a strong indication of the heat that they are feeling. Nobody can remember an inquest ever being held after the murder of a prisoner at Walla Walla. The authorities, of necessity, plan the inquest itself as strictly a kangaroo court affair aimed at producing the whitewash they need. The Walla Walla County Coroner will pick the inquest jury, decide who is to testify (and who isn't), preside over the hearing and question the witnesses. Lawyers for Carl's widow will not be allowed to question the witnesses. This is because, the Coroner's Office told the *RW*, these lawyers might "badger witnesses."

But there are plenty of other things which may cause those planning this whitewash more than a little discomfort. In fact, it looks increasingly likely that the plans to wrap this murder in a neat package and dispose of it will explode in their faces. One prisoner wrote the War Crimes Tribunal Committee in Seattle: "Yes, Carl Harp was murdered. I believe his food was drugged, which rendered him unconscious, and then he was lynched and his wrists slashed. Carl Harp had no reason to kill himself, he had a lot of cases in court, and he wanted very much to see everything through to the very end. Carl was no quitter, and he was not going to give up until he got justice." This is, in fact, the most likely explanation of the circumstances leading up to Carl's murder, and it is an explanation which many prisoners and others familiar with the case have arrived at.

# Whitewash Stained in Carl Harp Murder

Meanwhile, many people—friends and relatives of prisoners, people active in the prisoner support movement, others who were influenced by Carl's consistent revolutionary stand—are making plans to travel to Walla Walla (a five-hour trip from Seattle) to make their presence felt at the inquest. All of this despite the fact that no newspaper either in Walla Walla or in Seattle has published the time or the place of the inquest! It's at 9 a.m. at the Walla Walla Courthouse.

A memorial to Carl, certain to attract a broad section of people influenced by Carl's revolutionary stand, is scheduled for October 24 in Seattle. Particularly important is the responsive chord which Carl's example struck among revolutionary-minded people around the world. A memorial will be held the same day in at least one Canadian city, Montreal. Already, Women Against Prisons in London has staged a demonstration outside the U.S. embassy there, and letters of protest to state officials have come in from as far away as the Netherlands and Australia. This international activity is the direct result of Carl's own internationalist understanding and his link, as an anarchist, with a whole network of similar forces and other revolutionaries who are active in exposing conditions in capitalism's prisons and supporting revolutionary activity in prison.

Over the past weeks the press in the area has worked to sow confusion and demoralization among forces who knew of Carl and did not swallow the "suicide" story concocted by the murderers. They've attempted to selectively use bits of information or just outright lies

to paint a picture of Carl's death as an "obvious suicide." Coupled with this has been the attempt to use Carl's convictions on murder and other charges to paint Carl as a vicious criminal, conveniently ignoring that much of the evidence used to obtain these convictions has been discredited and that hearings on appeals of the charges were coming up.

All the while, facts continue to come to light which reveal the lies and contradictions which make up the official claim that Carl's death was a "suicide." Particularly revealing are a whole series of "revisions" in the officials' story made in the first few days after Carl's murder. As was pointed out in *RW* No. 121, officials on the scene the night of the murder said Carl's body was found hanging from a clothes hook, with both his wrists, his throat and his groin slashed. It is obvious that someone bleeding from four cuts in major blood vessels is hardly likely to have the strength to then hang himself. Thus, in the days since the death the reports of cuts to the throat and groin have, without explanation, never made it into the official accounts. Further, the police originally stated that a search of Carl's tiny cell failed to turn up whatever was used to cut him. This fact could only lead to the conclusion that somebody removed the weapon(s) used to cut him from the cell, so then the story was also changed when police announced they "found" two razor blades later. A reporter for the *Walla Walla Union-Bulletin* who asked why the announcement of the "discovery" of the razor blades came days after Carl's death was told by Walla Walla police that the razor blades had been found shortly after the death and the report that they had not been found was a mix-up between detectives "investigating" the case. But, again, prison officials on the scene the night of the murder were also saying no weapon could be found. Now we are supposed to believe that a police detective "found" the razor blades and "forgot" to tell either other detectives or the prison officials on the scene.

Carl's body was reportedly found hanging in such a low position that, if he had been conscious, he would have to have held his feet up off the ground for three or four minutes. It is this fact, plus the official report that the prisoners near Carl's cell heard no noise, which has led to the conclusion that Carl was most likely drugged, and therefore slumped, before he was killed. It also makes the story that he killed himself even more unbelievable.

Then there is the supposed "suicide note"—the cornerstone of the authorities' claim of "suicide"—which the *RW* has learned was, like the mysterious razor blades, missing from the scene of the killing the night of the murder. The prison Associate Superintendent Larry Kinchelo told at least one person that they had "heard" that Carl had written a suicide note, but they could not find it while they were tromping about in his cell that night. If—as is claimed—nobody heard anything from Carl's cell, then how did the prison officials "hear" that there was a suicide note? And if there was a suicide note, then why couldn't they find it? Are we to believe that Carl wrote this "suicide note" and then hid it so well that it could not be found for hours? Where and how they even claim they found it hasn't been stated. Obviously the "loose threads" in the state's version of Carl's death are such that a little pulling and the entire patchwork of lies and deceit becomes unraveled.

All of these inventions have been repeated by prison officials both in Walla Walla and in the state capital, by the police and county officials and by

the press, showing how far the conspiracy to cover up this murder goes. But the hand of the prison officials is obvious in the planning and execution of this murder as well. First, it is known, as previously reported in the *RW*, that guards were offering rewards to prisoners in exchange for killing Carl. Also, the entire prison was in lockdown at the time of the murder, so that whoever went into Carl's locked cell to murder him had to be let in by a guard.

And in the days before the murder the prison authorities transferred a number of prisoners from near Carl's cell to other cells in order to set the stage for the murder. In one case, a prisoner was moved from a cell next to Carl's a few days before the murder and then returned to the same cell after Carl was killed. The prison administration is attempting to prevent those investigating the murder from seeing the records of the transfers of prisoners during the two days before Carl's murder, indicating that there were other shifts of prisoners that are yet to be revealed.

Hoping to keep their story from completely falling apart, police, prison and state officials—after a few days when the official "suicide" explanation was given wide publicity in the media—are now refusing any comment on the circumstances of the murder. They are relying on this, plus the fact that the entire prison remains on lockdown (making it difficult for prisoners to communicate with each other and the outside) to prevent further exposure of their lies. The prisoners are now being let out of their cells to attend classes or to go to jobs, but many are still confined to their cell constantly except for brief periods of exercise a few times a week, and all spend the vast majority of the day locked in these tiny cages. This will continue indefinitely, according to the administration, and many suspect it will become permanent. Meanwhile the media has merely reported the official announcement that the lockdown has "ended." Plans to reinstitute uniforms for prisoners and regulation haircuts, both of which were eliminated over 10 years ago at Walla Walla as a result of prisoner protests, are reportedly in the works. Opportunities for visits have also been severely cut, as have opportunities to make phone calls to the outside, increasing even further the strains on the families of prisoners.

Prisoners are being forcibly transferred to new cells. This rearrangement of the cells is being done under the disguise of "desegregating" the prison, but in reality is being aimed at breaking up any group that might prove to be a center of resistance. At the same time, the administration continues to covertly encourage the racist Aryan Brotherhood organization inside the prison. Harassment of prisoners by guards has been stepped up for the past several weeks, with record numbers of "tags" (charges of breaking prison rules) being written up. The result is an extremely tense and volatile situation with the likelihood of new outbreaks of rebellion increasing every day.

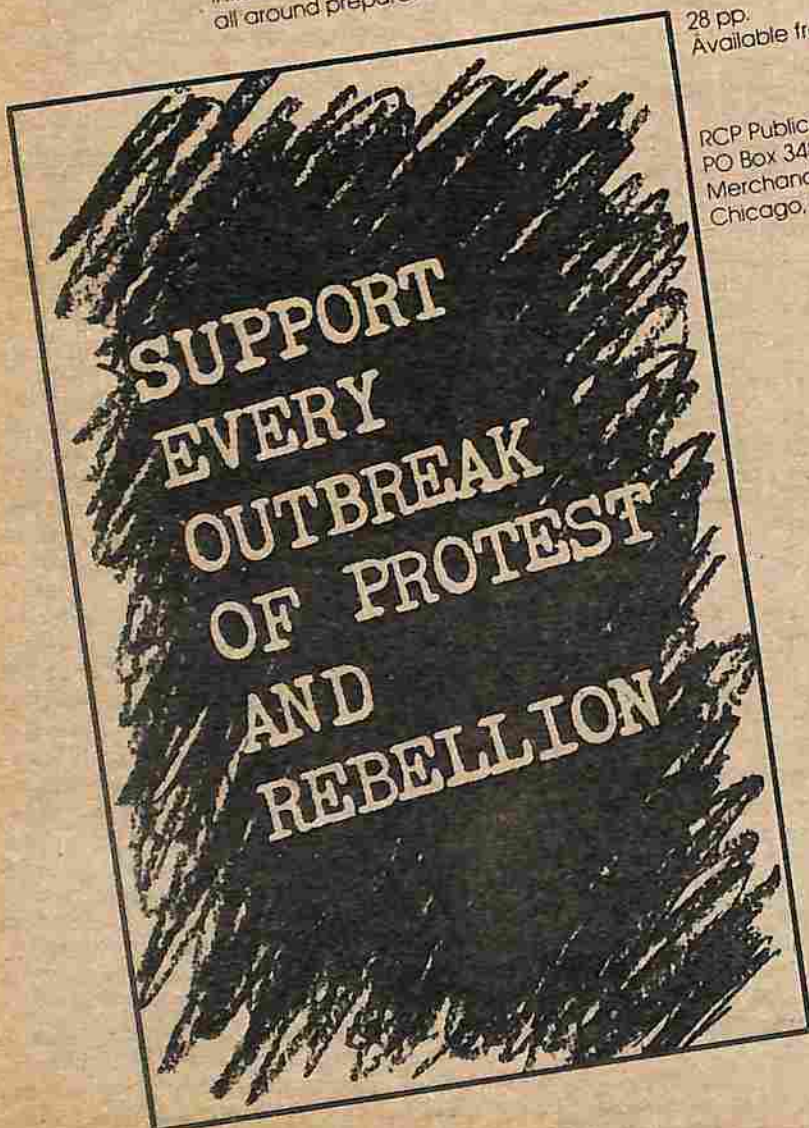
A friend of Carl's issued a press statement after his murder on behalf of the Solidarity Committee in Montreal which read in part, "Personally, I of course feel the despair of losing a wonderful friend and comrade—but just as strongly, I'm so happy to have known and worked with him. He showed the potential of a revolutionary spirit—energy that can overcome forces much larger than you." The revolutionary spirit of Carl Harp still lives, and it is haunting the rulers of this country in Walla Walla and much more broadly. Their nightmare is far from over. □

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## Cody

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managing editor of *Notre Dame Magazine*, Jim Winters. Thus emerges another important piece in the puzzle—the influential Notre Dame, with extensive ties to the U.S. imperialists and headed by Father Theodore Hesburgh, who has often been mentioned as a successor to Cody, (although this is now unlikely due to his age). Both Notre Dame on the one hand, and Greeley and Bernardin on the other, have supported the ouster of Cody but with different future aims in mind. And the revelations initiated by *Notre Dame Magazine* are clearly an attempt to block the possible ascension of Bernardin to Cody's position, discredit Greeley's lurid exposé, which they feel can only damage the church as a whole, and call attention to their own analysis of the problems in the Church, which are far more in line with the international situation and the role of the church in assisting U.S. imperialism in the coming crisis.

Both Greeley and Bernardin have identified the church's position on sexuality, particularly the ban on birth control, as the major stumbling block to the advancement and influence of the Catholic Church in America. Greeley in particular, given his greater flexibility as a columnist, sociologist and author, has argued publicly for this position for a number of years. Bernardin has also supported a liberalization of the church position on sexuality. At the 1974 Synod of Bishops he was the only candidate elected on the first ballot to the Synod Council which is considered a very advantageous stepping stone to the papacy. The following month he was elected as the president of the U.S. Catholic Conference of Bishops. He is one of the most "liberal" bishops in the U.S. and organized a series of public hearings to poll Catholic opinion on a five-year program for social action. At the world Synod of Bishops in late 1980 he presented a position paper called "The Need for a More Positive

## St. Louis Flag Burners Face Jail

**Flash.** As reported in the news all over St. Louis last Tuesday night, the Supreme Court refused to hear the case of Rich Bangert and Alan Kandel, two revolutionaries convicted of misdemeanor theft and desecration of government property. These charges stem from a demonstration in St. Louis, November 1979, supporting the embassy seizure in Iran. The fact that the two are charged with criminal charges and not the blatantly political charge of flag desecration is a rather thin cover for the fact that this is a

political attack on revolutionaries and the masses in general.

A press conference was called, Friday, Oct. 9, by a number of progressive organizations and individuals to denounce the harsh sentencing (one year and \$1000 each for flag burning and 6 months and \$1000 for Rich for theft) and expose the political nature of this attack. It's expected that within the week the flag burners will receive notice from the circuit court to begin serving their sentences. □

Theology of Sexuality." The central argument is that sexuality in human beings should not be linked exclusively to procreation—a position now considered heretical by the church.

But the views of Greeley and Bernardin are not quite in line with the medieval views of JPII on celibacy, birth control, divorce and women, which also, it must be remembered, correspond rather well to the line coming from the U.S. imperialists stressing obedience, self-sacrifice and so on and concentrated in the now familiar attacks on women such as the denial of abortion. Greeley and Bernardin, while useful for fingering Cody, are perhaps a bit behind the times, stuck in the "me generation" of the '70s, when what is required are more sweeping political concerns. Thus, the attempt of the leaders at Notre Dame to put them in their place.

Some at Notre Dame such as the Reverend Richard McBrien, head of the Theology Department, have echoed the criticism of the autocratic rule epitomized by Cody. But this is because they believe Cody's way of dealing with things to be ineffective, particularly in handling the growing dissent within the ranks, and more broadly in carrying out

the line of the Vatican in world affairs. University president and ideological architect, Theodore Hesburgh, (who recently welcomed Reagan to Notre Dame for an honorary degree over the protests of student and faculty) is one of the most influential people in American Catholicism and is well-schooled in imperialist politics. Hesburgh, a trustee of the Chase Manhattan Bank and the Rockefeller Foundation, has been involved with such "innovative" programs as the Rockefeller program of the "Green Revolution," designed specifically to stave off land seizures by the peasantry by promising them a "super seed" which would supposedly cause them to reap a "Green Revolution." Of course, it is well known who is reaping the "green" in the oppressed countries and it's not measured in seeds!

While certainly neither Cody, Greeley or Hesburgh would disagree on the need to defend imperialism, Hesburgh has a much more sophisticated approach to this, draped in "spirituality" and knowledge of world affairs.

In the style of JPII's recent papal encyclical, Hesburgh carries on active political debate against the radical priests and nuns in Latin America and

attempts to dispute and discredit Marxism. Hesburgh, whose college boasts among its graduates such notables as José Napoleón Duarte of El Salvador, said in a recent interview: "The impact of the missionaries is greater than ever. I understand their anguish and that they cry out for quick answers, but the answers to a country like El Salvador are long-range and terribly nuanced, and tied up with global realities of the East-West, North-South conflicts." And in his 1979 book, *The Hesburgh Papers*, the last chapter is devoted to "Problems and Opportunities on an Interdependent Planet," in which he calls for devising "a set of tentative conditions that would make the multinational corporation an engine of development, an agent of social justice." This sort of stuff, which also echoes the line coming out of the Vatican these days, is the stuff that counter-revolutions are made of. It does however make it clear what is behind the desire of such authorities to "shake-up" the water-tight kingdom of Cardinal Cody. It's not that they don't like reaction, they just like to do it better, with God on their side. □

## Sadat

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assassination was, directly or indirectly, part of a "Libyan plot" to overthrow the Sadat regime and perhaps set the stage for some military initiative. But by the next day, this speculation was being sharply toned down in the press, and Haig told a press conference on October 7th simply that "We have no evidence of Libyan involvement."

The Egyptian regime is also avoiding any charges that the blood of Sadat is on the hands of "the madman in Tripoli," Libyan leader Col. Qaddafi. One reason for discouraging talk of the "Libyan connection" may be that if Egypt were actually to contend Qaddafi plotted the assassination of Sadat, they would either have to back this up by declaring war on Libya or appear very foolish, impotent and weak. Now, an Egypt-Libya war is not out of the question by any means; according to the U.S., Vice President Mubarak just last week was in Washington to discuss ways and means of overthrowing Qaddafi's regime, an objective high on the wish list of both countries. But with the internal situation in Egypt in a state of severe crisis and the severe risks involved in any frontal attack on Libya, both the U.S. and Egypt undoubtedly agree that this is a lousy idea for the time being. The *Wall St. Journal* pointed out one obvious drawback: "...Such a war would raise the distinct danger of dragging in the combatants' superpower benefactors—the Soviet Union in the case of Libya, the U.S. in Egypt's behalf.

"Egypt would have to have additional American equipment (C-130s to transport troops and material) to go to war with Libya, and that means the Soviets will have time to prepare, too," one U.S. official said."

The U.S. also appears to be downplaying early speculation that the assassination was plotted by a front

headed by Saadedin Shazli, a former Egyptian chief-of-staff of the armed forces who broke with Sadat in 1978 over the Camp David Accords with Israel and is now headquartered in Tripoli.

All in all, it is apparent that the last thing the new Mubarak government intends to do is whip up the people of Egypt to wage a holy war of vengeance. Indeed, though U.S. commentators had predicted an "orgy of national grief" when news of the "beloved Sadat's" death was received by his loyal people, reports from Cairo the next day emphasized that the situation was "normal"—except even more so. There was no public evidence of uncontrollable anguish, and the government had banned all public mourning at any rate.

### No Mourning in Egypt

Of course, the first requirement for the new leadership is to present the appearance of placid internal stability and avoid any chance that masses of "mourners" on the streets may turn into a new wave of anti-regime riots. But Walter Cronkite, on special assignment for CBS News in Cairo, did not fail to point out the contrast between the business as usual image supposedly prevailing in Egypt and the massive outpouring of public emotion over the death of Sadat's predecessor, Gamal Abdel Nasser, who is popularly recalled in Egypt and throughout the Arab world as one of the founders of Arab nationalism.

The announcement that neither President Reagan nor Vice President George Bush will attend Sadat's funeral also probably contains a strong political component. The official reason given is that the security situation in Egypt makes it too risky for either Reagan or Bush to attend. Certainly, the top chieftains of U.S. imperialism have plenty of reason to fear stepping foot on the soil of what is supposed to be a key reliable bulwark and ally in the Middle East. But the decision also has the effect of

downgrading the importance of Sadat and of emphasizing his "dispensability." Further, the fact that three former presidents who dealt with Sadat—Carter, Ford and Nixon—will all be going (along with Secretary of State Haig) tends to associate Sadat more with "the past," with an era of U.S. foreign policy that has since been superseded.

It was subsequently announced that not even the U.S. congressional leadership will be attending the funeral—again for "security reasons." And the Mubarak government revealed that—for "security reasons"—the funeral itself was going to be scaled down. There is no reason to discount the security fears of either the U.S. or Egyptian governments: but it is becoming rather blatantly obvious that Mubarak believes the best thing for his own regime's security is to begin diplomatically disassociating himself from the name and legacy of Sadat. And despite U.S. imperialism's eulogies and memorials to Sadat, the "towering figure on the world stage," there is every reason to believe that they agree. Why else would there be all the publicity given in the U.S. press to the lack of mourning in Egypt and all the goading of Mubarak to be "not only an administrator" but "an innovator"—"like Sadat himself," of course, a creative flunkey.

Despite his recent decline in value, Sadat played a crucial role for U.S. imperialist Middle East policy in the 1970s. His willingness to crawl was his most beautiful feature to the U.S., a willingness to break with other Arab regimes and collaborate openly and without shame or camouflage with the U.S. and Israel. He was rewarded richly for this service. Vast U.S. resources were poured into his regime; Egypt topped many U.S. economic aid lists worldwide; it was number 2 in military aid.

Following the inconclusive results of the 1973 war with Israel, Sadat in 1974

expelled the large Soviet presence in Egypt and restored diplomatic relations with the United States. Sadat determined to gamble everything on U.S. imperialist patronage and to use this relationship to regain the Egyptian territory occupied by Israel during the 1967 war. Sadat counted on the regaining of the occupied territories and the promise of "peace" and massive U.S. economic and military aid to win political support for his moves within Egypt, and as he sold out Palestinian rights, he insisted on the inclusion of provisions for talks on "Palestinian autonomy" in the Camp David Accords to buttress his claim that alliance with the U.S. and negotiations with Israel were in the interests of the Arab world as a whole.

The U.S. was determined not only to consolidate Egypt, together with Israel, into a solid and cohesive pro-U.S. axis on the basis of Camp David, but to demonstrate to the bourgeois Arab regimes generally that alliance with the U.S. paid far more handsome dividends than did hooking up with the Soviet Union—indeed, that hooking up with the Soviets was dangerous as hell. Both the U.S. and Sadat calculated that the initial storm of outrage—at least from the hypocritical Arab bourgeoisies—would subside in time, and on the basis of imperialist orchestrated "results" that Egypt would emerge once again as the leader of the Arab world reconstituted into the U.S. bloc, that the Palestinian question could be "solved" through a combination of barter with bourgeois leaders and a repressive sham autonomy solution that would be supported by the reactionary Arab governments, and that the Soviet Union could be largely, if not entirely, frozen out. At least these were the "maximum" U.S. goals. Many of these objectives remain, in a rough sense, important aims of U.S. imperialist policy. But the conditions under which policy is being carried out have changed dramatically, and the era

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# From Nuclear Power to Nuclear Bombs

Rushing wildly into escalating war preparations which project the construction of 14,000 new nuclear warheads within the next 8 to 10 years, the U.S. ruling class has at last let slip the carefully maintained facade which supposedly separated the production of nuclear weapons from the expanding nuclear power industry. Recently declassified congressional testimony, together with other more recent statements by Dept. of Energy officials, now make it clear that the government has firmly embarked on a massive program geared to obtaining the large quantities of plutonium needed for these new weapons by extracting it from the spent fuel rods of nuclear power plants. Commenting in one of the closed hearings, Senator John Warner from Virginia put it as bluntly as possible: "The Reagan administration's commitment to reprocessing is refreshing. Serious international implications have resulted from past failures to reprocess spent nuclear fuel from commercial power plants. This new policy, once in force, will materially improve our energy security, as well as our national security."

Historically, for both foreign and domestic reasons, the U.S. rulers have gone to great pains to maintain the illusion that there is no connection at all between nuclear power and nuclear weapons. But in reality the two have never been more than a hair's breadth apart, dependent on the same technology, the same government research and the same government-regulated uranium ore production. And the most basic fact of nuclear life remains that efficient nuclear weapons are made from the artificially produced element plutonium, while *all* nuclear reactors—no matter what their intended purpose—produce plutonium. And now, the last pretenses of separation between nuclear power and nuclear weapons are starting to vanish.

The current policy shift began in fact in the middle of the Carter administration, with the final dropping of the defense doctrine of Mutual Assured Destruction in favor of preparations to actually conduct a sustained nuclear exchange. Integral to the implementation of the "war-fighting doctrine" is the creation of a whole new generation of nuclear warheads. These include the W76 warhead for the new submarine-based Trident missile, the W78 warhead for the new multi-warhead Minuteman III ICBM, an adaptation of the W78 for the MX missile, the W84 warhead for the Cruise missiles to be based in England, the W85 warhead for airburst use in the new Pershing II missiles to be stationed in W. Germany, the W86 earth penetrator warhead for the Pershing II (reduced blast/dirtier fallout), the B61, 62, 63 and 64 bombs (a new generation of airdrop bombs for the B-52 and B-1 bombers), the W70 Lance missile and W79 8-inch artillery warheads which can be converted in the field to enhanced radiation ("neutron bomb") usage, the W81 air fleet defense warhead for the Navy's SM-2 missile, and the W82 increased range 155-millimeter artillery shell.

This mammoth nuclear arms retooling was estimated at the time to entail the construction of at least 1,000 new warheads, and at once the bourgeois press began to raise the cry of a "plutonium shortage."

The special properties of plutonium put it squarely in the middle of the nuclear weapons/nuclear power picture. As a radioactive decay product of uranium, plutonium occurs in nature in only the tiniest traces. Useable quantities of the metal are obtained only as a by-product of nuclear reactors. One isotope of uranium, U-238, absorbs a neutron to become U-239, which itself spontaneously decays into Plutonium-239 (Pu-239). Heavier isotopes of plutonium are then created by the ab-

sorption of more neutrons from the nuclear reactor. Plutonium itself is quite deadly, which has long made it a focus of those protesting the spread of nuclear power. The normal mixture of plutonium isotopes produced in a reactor is highly radioactive. The smallest speck of plutonium oxide inhaled induces lung cancer. And the half life of Pu-239 is over 24,000 years—which means it takes over 24,000 years for just half of it to decay normally—posing a very long-term contamination problem in the event of a nuclear accident.

Plutonium can itself be used as a nuclear reactor fuel. The high intensity of neutrons given off by a plutonium reactor allows its core to be surrounded by uranium to produce more plutonium. This process (the so-called "breeder reactor") actually creates more plutonium than it consumes, leading the nuclear power lobbyists to brag that they have the only power source that creates more fuel than it consumes (a typical lie, since a constant supply of new uranium is always needed). But where plutonium really shines for the imperialists is when it comes to making atomic bombs. While it takes a minimum of 15 kilograms of pure U-235 to create a nuclear explosion, with sophisticated engineering as little as two kilograms of Pu-239 can be made to explode. As one congressional committee witness put it, "It takes less plutonium to go boom."

In order to produce plutonium for nuclear weapons, 30 years ago the government built a group of special nuclear reactors at Savannah River, South Carolina, just for this purpose. The idea behind a separate facility, complete with its own reprocessing plant to extract the plutonium from the irradiated uranium, was to visibly separate weapons production from commercial power generation. As an added flourish, the Savannah River reactors simply discharged their heat into the environment without generating any electricity at all.

This doctrine of separating weapons production from nuclear power generation goes back to the early '50s and was from the beginning designed to serve the interests of U.S. imperialism. Domestically, it was used to defuse opposition to nuclear power plants. In the international arena, the U.S. had the twin objectives of maintaining a nuclear weapons monopoly for itself and of forcing all other nations to purchase their nuclear power technology from the U.S. Beginning with the Eisenhower "Atoms for Peace" program, U.S. policy was aimed at forcing other countries to use the U.S.-developed Light Water Reactor (LWR), fueled by enriched uranium, as opposed to either the Canadian CANDL reactor using natural uranium or the breeder reactors employed later in Western Europe, the Soviet Union and Japan. In the name of "stopping the proliferation of nuclear weapons" (in reality, keeping the monopoly for the big powers), the U.S. completely opposed both plutonium reactors and any form of reprocessing the spent fuel rods.

Although this policy was collapsing internationally when Carter came into office under the pressure of international competition and the loss of the U.S. technology monopoly, Carter made a big show out of stopping the Clinch River experimental breeder reactor at Oak Ridge, Tennessee, and blocking the construction of a commercial reprocessing plant at Barnwell, South Carolina. But it was the spiraling demand for weapons plutonium that finally delivered the death blow to the whole separation scheme.

At first the Carter administration attempted a series of behind-the-scenes maneuvers to boost plutonium production while maintaining the facade of separation between weapons and commercial power. Obsolete nuclear wea-

pons were cannibalized for their plutonium content. It is also likely that some of the output of the Idaho fuel reprocessing plant, used to reprocess spent fuel from the Navy's nuclear-powered ships, found its way into weapons. Then the Carter administration came up with the idea of "blending." The government runs another nuclear reactor at Richland, Washington which produces "fuel-grade" plutonium for use in satellites and experimental reactors. Since the "fuel-grade" plutonium contains too many heavier isotopes of plutonium to use in weapons, it was considered a non-military facility and its heat is used to generate electricity going into the Northwest power grid. But it turned out that the "fuel-grade" plutonium from Richland could be blended with "super-grade" plutonium from Savannah River to yield a serviceable weapons-grade product. And finally, in a little publicized swap, the U.S. shipped enriched uranium to the United Kingdom (which is heavily into reprocessing commercial fuel) and received weapons-grade plutonium in return. By the end of the Carter administration, officials were openly calling for the re-activating of several mothballed reactors and converting the Richland installation into direct production of weapons-grade plutonium.

The election of Reagan was used by the bourgeoisie to assert an arms race "mandate" strong enough to justify a formal break with the doctrine of separation—but even then it was spelled out only behind closed doors for fear of public reaction. The Dept. of Energy (which absorbed the old Atomic Energy Commission) is responsible for the total production of the critical nuclear weapon materials such as plutonium and tritium (used in hydrogen bombs and the neutron bomb). Under the cover of "shaking up" the Dept. of Energy, the Reagan administration proceeded immediately to further organize it in preparation for war, and nearly half the entire budget of the Dept. of Energy is now earmarked for nuclear weapons production.

In hearings before the House Armed Services Committee this spring, Energy Secretary Edwards spelled out the new war program of his department: "I think that we will dismantle the regulatory aspect of the Dept. of Energy (i.e., safety regulations on the nuclear power industry—RW). We want to strengthen defense. We hope to strengthen the nuclear program. We have a lot of catching up to do in this area. We want to fill

the strategic petroleum reserves." One immediate change that was made was to abolish the old departmental structure under which there was an undersecretary of defense programs and an undersecretary for energy programs. Defending the new structure which combines the offices, Edwards told the committee, "While on the surface there is a distinction between the department's defense and energy programs which might seem to justify two undersecretaries, the division is far from complete."

Little time has been lost in putting the new policies into practice. In secret testimony recently declassified, Dr. Charles Gilbert, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Energy for Nuclear Materials, admitted that the conversion of the Richland reactor to weapons-grade plutonium had begun and blending was going on. Thus the production of nuclear weapons is right now feeding 3.9 billion kilowatt hours of electricity a year into the State of Washington Public Power Supply System.

But the crown jewel of the bourgeoisie's new combined weapons and power program is the Laser Isotope Separation (LIS) process developed by the secret Lawrence Livermore Laboratory of the Dept. of Energy. The DOE is now gearing up to have a \$200 million LIS production plant in operation by 1987. Reportedly, the LIS system can turn out pure Pu-239 for weapons production. However, the LIS system presupposes the availability of a large quantity of mixed-isotope plutonium—exactly the kind produced by commercial power reactors. It is estimated that today there exists a minimum of 70 metric tons of plutonium sitting inside spent nuclear rods stored underwater at dozens of nuclear power plants around the country. Since the Richland reactor is now being converted over to weapons-grade plutonium, and the Savannah River reactors already produce only weapons-grade plutonium, this vast commercial reactor byproduct becomes the *only* source of "dirty" plutonium for the government's massive LIS program.

Speaking in closed sessions to the House Armed Services Committee earlier this year, Dr. Gilbert had this little exchange with Congressman Badham from California:

*Gilbert:* The waste we have now—it is often called waste—is really the fuel rods. They are uranium to start with. But after they have been irradiated they do contain some plutonium. If you look over all we have in the United States, they contain about 70 tons of plutonium now. They also contain a large amount of fission products which are a variety of elements distributed throughout the periodic table, many of them very radioactive. So it has those constituents in it.

*Badham:* Well, if we store what some people choose to call this, waste, in irretrievable places, then we are really wasting useable isotopes and sources of plutonium, are we not?

Waste not, want not—eh, Congressman? □



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# Taiwan

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sperity and write a new and glorious page in the history of the Chinese nation."

## Imitating Slavery

However, coming to a formal political accommodation with the KMT and bringing them into the fold would be a major boost to the revisionists. Taiwan's 1980 gross national product (GNP) figure of about \$40 billion amounts to about 1/6th of China's current GNP figure. The revisionists hope to have access to Taiwan's capital as well as technological and managerial expertise. Of course, Taiwan's export-oriented economy is dominated and distorted by U.S. as well as Japanese imperialism, plagued by inflation and foreign debt, and based on the blood and sweat of the working people. But then, such a system is precisely what the revisionists consider as the "great goal" of "prosperous China."

Although economic gains would be considerable, figuring even more significantly in Deng's calculations is the political coup he hopes to achieve by being identified as the "reunifier" of China. The revisionists want to capitalize on the nationalist sentiments for a "strong and united China," especially among the intellectuals and the influential overseas Chinese, in order to offset the problems they are having recently with their image due to serious economic and political difficulties. A successful reunification would also be used by the revisionists as a jab at Mao to say that Deng accomplished something Mao was never able to do. There will be no argument with such a contention—Mao indeed never capitulated to the KMT or U.S. imperialism.

Besides the unwillingness of the KMT, the revisionist rulers have another obstacle in their plans in the U.S. rulers, who are not too anxious to see formal reunification come about. Only a few months after the U.S. gave diplomatic recognition to China in 1979 (then in the process dropping formal ties with Taiwan) the U.S. Congress passed the Taiwan Relations Act (TRA) which recognized formal ties with the Taiwan government and required the U.S. to continue to supply the KMT with "defensive" weapons. Even as restrictions for arms sales to China were being lifted earlier this year during Haig's trip, Reagan continued to voice his intentions to carry out the TRA, prompting angry responses and even threats from Peking of "reversals" in U.S.-Sino relations.

While trying to keep a lid on excessive bickering between Peking and Taiwan that might endanger overall American interests in East Asia, the U.S. would like to keep Taiwan as an independent entity to be used as leverage to keep the Deng regime in line and extract even more concessions. There are also some real concerns about the future stability of the Deng regime. There are questions of its stability not only against revolutionary forces, but rival bourgeois "kingdoms" and, ultimately, in relation to a possible shift toward the Soviets. The considerable military might in the hands of the KMT, a long-time U.S. lackey, serves as a safety valve in case of sudden changes in the political situation in the Mainland.

There are, however, disagreements within the U.S. ruling class over exactly how to handle the balance between the Deng and KMT regimes. Some emphasize China's importance to the U.S. bloc, especially in pinning a big chunk of the Soviet forces on the Sino-Soviet border, and therefore warn against moves that might destabilize the Deng regime; others point to the fundamental weakness and unreliability of the Deng regime and the need therefore to prop up Taiwan.

Maneuvers by both forces are coming to the surface as a decision nears on the proposed sale of FX (export only) fighter aircraft to Taiwan. The publicity given to the death of Chen Wen-cheng, a Taiwan-born and U.S.-based professor who died last July at the

hands of the KMT police, and the subsequent congressional hearings on KMT spying in the U.S. were obviously detrimental to the KMT efforts to secure the sale of the fighters. From the other side, there has been a flurry of stories in the U.S. media recently about Deng's "crackdown" on "dissident intellectuals." One article in the *Washington Post* about a dissident document smuggled out of a labor camp was titled "Prisoner's Story of China's Gulag," a not-too-subtle reminder that China is still much more akin to "totalitarian" Russia than "democratic" U.S., and the possibility exists that China would do an about face on its current pro-West policy.

In this light, China's proposal for reunification can also be seen as an effort to effect the U.S. relations with Taiwan, in particular the decision on the sale of the FX planes. By publicizing its offer of "peaceful reunification," the revisionist regime hopes to undercut the avowed justification for the sale—the need for Taiwan to upgrade its defenses.

Although Taiwan points to such efforts by the revisionists as examples of Peking attempting to "dictate" U.S. policy, such is hardly the case. The tail, after all, does not wag the dog. Since the 1976 coup, the revisionists have only become increasingly craven in their capitulation to the U.S. imperialists. The pamphlet from China's revolutionary underground recently received by the RCP (See *RW* No. 120) describes well Deng's pitiful and desperate situation as a U.S. pawn: "... The counter-revolutionary, gangster-led clique is facing an extremely unfavorable situation and there exists a constant possibility that he will be overthrown. It's because of such a situation that he must plead with the U.S. to show some compassion and prop him up, so that he will not be toppled and leave the U.S. with one less running dog on the leash." □

# Haitians

Continued from page 7

people. In 1957 they helped to put Duvalier in power. Duvalier made a lot of killing, assassination, a lot of bad things in this country. But recently in 1980 we see a lot of Haitians fleeing poverty, economic oppression, ideological oppression because they are fleeing the country. But they have the cure in their heart to stand up and struggle in this country and permit the class of laborers, the working class to seize power and make a new man, a new life—not for all the people, (not) those bourgeois—but for those who are working, they must be rewarded because they are the forces who put history up.

I speak to you. You don't know me. I don't know you either. But there is a close relationship between you and me, a close relationship because you are working in the factories; you are working in the streets; you are working everywhere; even though you are poorest, because what you do is not for you but is for other people who never in their life work like you. For this reason I want to make a comparison used by a late comrade, who passed away in Haiti who said: Our people is like a pot on the fire. You cook the rice and beans but when the meal is ready they say to you—don't come to the table because you are too dirty. For this reason, all proletarians, American, Puerto Rican, Cuban, all revolutionary people must stand up and declare, people everywhere, that Marxism-Leninism is the only way, is the last way for all the people in the world to be free, really free. Not for a part but for all people. All people means all working people.

I can't forget also the comrade Mao Tsetung, the greatest revolutionary man our humanity has ever known. He said one time, the problems of the people are like a big mountain. The mountain is very high. Some people said it is impossible to get this mountain away because it's too high. But everyday we take our tools with our children and you dig, dig, dig. And really one day, all of the working class and all oppressed people in the world everywhere they

can say only what the comrade Marx said, "Proletarians of the world unite."

In 1915 there were a lot of American marines who were in Haiti, not to make peace, not to get everything done in this country but to oppress the people and kill them and not to give them any opportunity to understand what was going on at that time. There were a lot of marines. They committed a lot of crimes, horrible crimes. They came with dogs, the German-shepherd dogs, and tried to hunt a lot of people who were in the bush fighting against this occupation. They made a concentration camp in Haiti, in the north side of the country, where a lot of Haitian peasants, innocent people, have been killed, tortured. After that, after the revolt was crushed and everything was wiped out they went to the countryside and asked the peasants to go to Cuba and some to the Dominican Republic to cut cane. There were a lot of crimes. There was a lot of misery. Haitians were suffering, suffering a lot from the marines. The American marines were working people. They came in the country. They beat up everyone they could or they wanted because they knew that they were the masters of the country. The Haitian petty bourgeois also made a deal with the marines to get some jobs, to get some food because you know how they are—inconsistent.

After that the marines, under the pressure of a lot of people, they left Haiti. They left Haiti but they kept an army, an army who some people say is a Haitian army. But it is not a Haitian army. It's an American army in Haiti to protect, to defend the big interests, big American interests in this country. For this reason there are a lot of soldiers or officers who went to Panama and to West Point to be trained—not trained to help the people, not trained to get everything done economically and politically in this country. No. Everything is done to protect and to secure American interests in this country.

In 1957 there was a man, a physician. His name was Duvalier. He took the power but he had some problem with the other side of the bourgeois. For this reason he called American soldiers to come to Haiti to train the most powerful, the most cruel army, the Ton Ton Macoutes. The Ton Ton Macoutes can do everything to kill people, to steal land, to make the country upside down. The problem is, where did the Ton Ton Macoutes come from? The semi-proletarian people. They have no land, they have no money. They are very poor. They are all in this army to kill people in order to survive. Duvalier tried to keep power and indeed he took the power. After his death, his son was his successor. But, they can change the man but they can't change the system. The system is good for a minority, for some of the people. But a lot of people, the working people, the peasantry—90% of the people of Haiti are peasants, they are suffering. There are a lot of problems, problems of food, problems of work, problems of everything. You can't understand that if you don't live in this country. Not that they are Black people, some people say it's because they are Black. No, (it's) because they can't understand what is going on, because they have no knowledge, no scientific knowledge of what's going on.

Duvalier got power. They made a lot of bad things in this country. After that Duvalier gave the power, transmitted the power to his son. Duvalier is the worst watch dog of U.S. imperialism in this country. For twenty-five years the Duvalier system, the capitalist system backed by the United States is still in its old glory in Haiti. Duvalier never had any respect for anybody. They broke down everything, the constitution, the deputies, the statesmen, everyone has been down. He is the only man who is governing the country. I think in 1957 there were a lot of problems in Haiti. The masses of people were against not only a man but the system, the capitalist and feudal system, the semi-colonial system, in this country. The bourgeoisie saw at the time if they continued to give some possibility to the masses of people they can't lead them all. For this reason they chose Duvalier. For 25 years Duvalier made a good job not only for the Haitian bourgeois but also for

U.S. imperialism. More than 40,000 people during these 25 years have been killed. A lot of people, at the time I am speaking to you, are injured, tortured and murdered. There is a man from the democratic forces in Haiti; this man is now in jail, his wife is in jail, his children are in jail, because they formed a political party. Now you can understand why Duvalier has done this and why Duvalier has done that. He did that because a lot of companies came to Haiti, continue to come to Haiti because you can give a man \$2.00 a day for 12 hours labor. They can't buy any food. They can't buy anything to survive. Not long ago, I mean yesterday, the governors of Miami went to Haiti and asked President Duvalier to stop the refugees from coming into Florida. What did they say? "I am going to send you 18 businessmen to help you resolve this problem." Why? Because the labor is cheap, very cheap, the cheapest all over the world. Sometimes the American people can't understand the refugees. Sometimes they ask me, "Why do they continue to come?" They come because it is a colony. They come here to the United States, nowhere else, because a long time ago the United States imperialism picked up a lot of wealth, a lot of riches, a lot of possibilities put in this country. Sometimes you can't understand how the United States is powerful. They are powerful because they have under their oppression, under their leadership—I can't say leadership—under their system of exploitation, a lot of the little countries around the world. You can't be in a lot of countries if you don't assassinate people, if you don't kill people, if you don't make a lot of bad things. For this reason is why they come and continue to come. But there is a point, a very, very important point. They are suffering from America but now they can't understand that that's the problem. Sometimes some people go to President Reagan and say, "Oh Reagan, give me freedom. Free Haiti, please, because I don't like the communists taking over in this country." They pray. They cry. Sometimes they go somewhere, Venezuela, Mexico, they ask them—they don't only ask them, they beg like a man in the street who has nothing in his hand, nothing in his stomach. But now we, the proletariat who study everything, Mao Tsetung Thought, we want to go, not to Reagan, not to the big man. We are going to the people in the street to try to explain to them, to make them understand U.S. imperialism is your enemy. If you don't believe me, some day you will recognize that by yourself; because if you pray, if you cry, if you do anything before Reagan and before the bourgeois watch dogs in this world, they can't answer your questions. Because your answer is to fight—not fighting to take out a man and put in another man. But to take it out. To fight for socialism, fight for the cultural revolution like our comrade Mao did. For this reason we are going to fight everyday. The way is very difficult. I know that. I try but I will overcome. Not some god can give me the possibility to overcome. But we will overcome because we are on the right side of history. History is ours. For this reason we want to create public opinion and try sooner or later to seize power. Thank you. □

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# Sadat

Continued from page 12

in which Sadat was able to flourish—like Sadat himself—is definitely “past tense.” The accelerating closeness of war with the Soviet Union has transformed the U.S. imperialists’ long range goal of lining up the Arab regimes into a pro-U.S. military and political alliance into an urgent near term necessity. But the U.S.’ two main allies in the Middle East—Egypt and Israel—both are the objects of the intense hatred of the Arab masses, and every other Arab government, including the paragon of “moderation” Saudi Arabia, goes to extraordinary lengths to avoid being associated with either. Sadat’s low influence with Arab regimes has sown no forward momentum. Matters became really critical when the internal situation in Egypt in recent months showed unmistakable signs of rapid deterioration.

## Sadat Deteriorates Before Death

Habingers of an impending internal crisis began to surface as long ago as 1977, when massive riots engulfed every town in Egypt in reaction to the announcement of steep increases in the prices of basic food stuffs. In 1978, the Camp David Accords in Egypt provoked widespread defections within the Egyptian bourgeoisie, which includes pro-Soviet and nationalist factions, and deep opposition among large sections of the masses. In 1979, the Iranian revolution provided a fresh impetus for many and varied strains of insurgency within Egypt. In March, 1980, large and violent demonstrations took place to protest the arrival of the Shah of Iran in Egypt. The Sadat regime was forced to step up its ongoing program of arrests and repressive activities against a wide range of political forces.

In February, 1981, 100 prominent bourgeois Egyptian political figures announced the formation of a “National Coalition” and issued a manifesto asserting that the Sadat regime’s policies “had neither brought prosperity to Egypt, nor reduced military spending, nor strengthened the country’s political and economic independence, but had isolated Egypt from the Arab and Islamic worlds without contributing to the achievement of a comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict.” The manifesto called for “reconciliation between Egypt and the Arab world.”

In March, 1981, in a highly suspicious “accident,” the Egyptian Defense Minister and the bulk of the senior general staff were wiped out in a helicopter crash in Egypt’s western deserts. The government denied that there was any indication of sabotage, but the incident was not viewed as indicative of harmonious stability within

the government.

Meanwhile, the stormy events in the Middle East throughout 1981 increased Sadat’s political isolation still further. His reputation, such as it was, suffered an irreparable blow when Israeli jets knocked out the Iraqi nuclear facility just days after Sadat had glad-handed Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin during a “summit” meeting in Cairo. And the Israeli bombing of the civilian quarters of Beirut, an atrocity which incurred a tremendous outpouring of rage in the Middle East, occurred just before Sadat and Begin met to sign the agreement for withdrawal of Israeli troops from their remaining positions in the Sinai, which is scheduled for April of 1982.

During Sadat’s August visit to the U.S., he pressed the Reagan administration to throw its support publicly behind bringing the PLO into the Camp David negotiations on Palestinian autonomy. Sadat had been sending out exploratory feelers to certain sections of the PLO since January, in an attempt to breathe some life into the corpse of the Camp David autonomy talks and some credibility into his own role as a “champion of the Palestinian cause.” But Sadat’s public appeal to Reagan—a thinly disguised plea for political rescue—was rejected.

Following Sadat’s U.S. visit, *8 Days* speculated that the Reagan administration was not “committed to rescuing Sadat himself, if that becomes necessary... should Sadat be overwhelmed by a political crisis, the Americans would strengthen the hand of known pro-U.S. figures such as Defense Minister Mohammed Ghazala... if the Sadat regime’s credibility goes into rapid decline, the American strategists would want rapid change.”

During the recent internal upheavals in Egypt, U.S. press coverage of Sadat’s political crackdown was noticeable for its unsympathetic and critical tone, and for accompanying speculation about whether or not Sadat was “going the way of the Shah.” And if hatred of Sadat had paralyzed Egypt’s mobility in the Arab world and fueled a growing mood of popular revolt in Egypt, and if only his removal from the scene could open the way for the Egyptian ruling class to head off impending disaster—well, then, his assassination on October 6th just might be viewed by U.S. strategists as breaking open a new deck of cards. The *Wall St. Journal* remarks, after suitable eulogies to the “great statesman,” that “for the first time since the 1978 Camp David peace accords split Egypt from Jordan, Iraq, and Saudi Arabia, there is a chance for rapprochement, something the U.S. would like to see.” Alexander Haig made a similar point at his October 7th press conference, stating that efforts by Mubarak to restore ties with other Arab regimes should not be seen as moves away from Egypt’s commitment to the Camp David Accords or as a “threat to

Israel’s security” which would justify Israeli refusal to withdraw from the Sinai. The Egyptian ambassador to the UN, perhaps inadvertently, highlighted one of the major conditions which led to Sadat’s downfall when, in response to a question from ABC’s Sam Donaldson regarding Egypt’s “sincerity” in seeking a permanent peace with Israel, he whined, “please, how can you say that? We have done everything—we have been so faithful that today in Cairo, the Israeli flag flies and the flags of 20 Arab governments do not fly.”

It is relevant to note that Haig and other administration officials, in defending the proposed sale of AWACS to Saudi Arabia, have argued that such counter proposals by congressional critics as maintaining joint U.S. ownership, etc., are unacceptable because it is essential that the Saudis preserve an image of independence and sovereignty. For the same reason, it is argued that the large Saudi contributions to the PLO and other guerrilla groups and so-called “radical” Arab regimes should not be naively seen as evidence of Saudi hostility to U.S. policy, but as an essential means of preserving broad Saudi (and U.S.) influence and of protecting the security of the Saudi regime itself.

## Egypt’s Isolation

The major aims of the U.S. imperialists’ “strategic consensus” policy in the region have not changed. As the “agreement for strategic cooperation” announced following the Reagan-Begin discussions last month illustrates, Israel still occupies first place in the U.S. order of battle in the Middle East. In fact, in the coming period, the U.S. is likely to stake even more on Israel at the center of things, with less emphasis on an “Egypt-Israel” axis and more on trying to forge a broader front of Arab regimes capable of joint military and political action under U.S. leadership.

The path to this is mine-littered indeed. It involves pressing Israel into certain concessions and trying to avoid forcing Saudi Arabia or others to take what they consider a political fatal step, for now at least: openly embracing and collaborating with Israel. This is the step that Sadat—under U.S. guidance—took, and the U.S. was able to realize some gains for awhile; but it cost Egypt its previously generally recognized position as leader of the Arab world, finally failed to lead to any solution of the Arab-Israeli conflict suitable to the U.S. or anybody else, and eventually undermined and destroyed Sadat’s ability to rule and the support of the Egyptian ruling class for his policies.

In the end, Sadat’s unbounded zeal as a U.S. lackey destroyed his effectiveness even in that role. It is likely that his final service, in death, will be as a fall guy and scapegoat for the new Egyptian regime. While it is necessary right now, in diplomatic statements, for Mubarak to pledge adherence to the “legacy of Sadat,” the first steps toward restoring Egypt’s standing with its Arab neighbors will likely be accompanied by growing criticism of Sadat’s “errors,” and perhaps in a while, even his “crimes.” It will remain for the U.S. to see to it that Israel does not seize upon this as a pretext to welsh on the Sinai deal. The *Wall St. Journal* pointedly observed that “refusal by Israel to complete the withdrawal would severely undermine Mr. Mubarak’s political standing in Egypt.” Thus, say U.S. officials, the Reagan administration must somehow insure that Israel goes ahead with the Sinai withdrawal even at the risk of provoking a crisis in relations.

Sadat’s blustering and “bold” egomaniac style was quite necessary for U.S. imperialism in wrenching Egypt from the Soviets and into alliance with Israel. It even served the broader Egyptian ruling circles, who could not only rely on but “hide behind” Sadat’s personality—accomplishing what they wanted while letting him take the heat. Now the needs of all these reactionaries has shifted somewhat and a dumping was due. The U.S. seemed prepared to accept the new set of risks of Egypt without Sadat.

## U.S. Role

This does not, of course, mean that the U.S. imperialists themselves

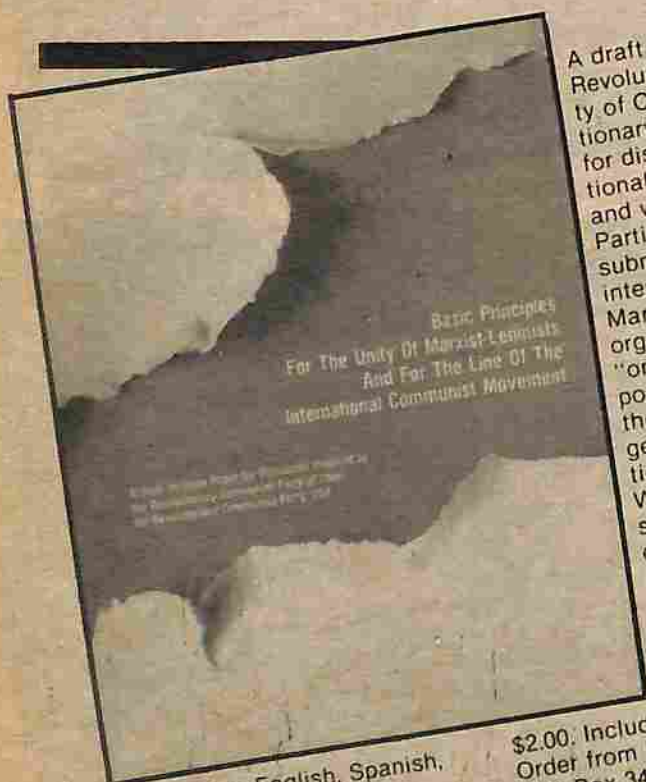
necessarily plotted the rather crude turkey-shoot of October 6th, in which several of their own officers and numerous foreign dignitaries were injured or killed and several other key Egyptian leaders narrowly escaped death. But Henry Kissinger, in the first rabid outpourings of commentary and analysis after the assassination, made an interesting point while raving about “probable Libyan involvement” in the plot. He made clear that, whether or not Qaddafi actually ordered the hit, he had created a “climate” of violence and anti-Sadat sentiment, insuring that sooner or later, such an attempt would be made and would succeed.

The U.S. is well acquainted, we might note, with the technique of creating a “climate” in which certain things “just happen to happen.” Indeed, the U.S. imperialists’ orchestrated campaign against the Qaddafi regime itself is an example. Even the U.S.’ own pawns and front-men have often been the target—including some of the most loyal, like Park Chung Hee of South Korea and Ngo Dinh Diem of South Vietnam. In a situation in Egypt in which large sections of the bourgeoisie and the army were already ready to dump Sadat, even the slightest hint from the U.S. that it “would not interfere” or would manage to bear up under the burden of grief might have been as good as a formal contract for “executive action.”

We do not pretend to know. The real point is that whether the U.S. imperialists thought it just as well that Sadat be plowed under or not, in either case it is clear that events in the Middle East are now spinning so rapidly that the U.S. policy, far from exhibiting a mastery of the situation, is increasingly becoming a series of lurching and temporary measures aimed at staving off disaster (including revolution) long enough to patch together the most effective battlewagon for war with its Soviet imperialist nemesis. The U.S.’ stake in Egypt is immense. The fact that all the military and economic aid poured in has not reversed Egypt’s downward slide or stemmed infighting there, is further testimony to the underlying crisis and growing weakness of the whole imperialist system. If the Reagan administration believes that the chances for the Mubarak regime’s survival are enhanced by the departure of Sadat, this can only be a relative assessment of alternate scenarios each fraught with grave risks for U.S. imperialism.

While the U.S. media was reporting on the “non-mourning” for Sadat, mass activity of another kind filtered through. During a violent demonstration in the southern Egyptian city of Asyug, several policemen were killed and scores injured in a battle with insurgents. ABC reported that the Mubarak regime considered this “an isolated incident.” Uh huh. U.S. Senator Henry Jackson suggested that Israeli troops could be assigned to fight in Egypt to defend Mubarak against “any military challenge, whether internal or external.” It is difficult to imagine a move better calculated to seal the doom of the regime than bringing in Israeli troops to “quell an insurgency.” But of course, the only alternative is to bring in U.S. troops, as Jackson pointed out, and since the U.S. lacks adequate bases in the region, he said, this course presents its own difficulties and its own risks. It is doubtful whether Jackson’s preposterous proposal should be taken as a serious indication of advanced thinking within the U.S. imperialist ranks; but who knows? What such talk certainly underscores is the very thin margin for maneuver available to the U.S. imperialists, their inability either to control events or to “stabilize” the present situation. Their “array of options” is rapidly telescoping into a single imperative, the most dangerous of all: a general imperialist war in which the U.S. is directly on the front lines all over the world.

There is no way of knowing who was directly behind the October 6th attack. It is doubtful if it ever will be known: the “consummate statesman” Sadat had maneuvered with such delicate skill that by now it is difficult to name a power or political force with any serious interest in the Middle East who could absolutely be ruled out as a candidate. □



A draft document from the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile and the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA for discussion in the international communist movement and within their respective Parties. The document was submitted to the autumn 1980 international conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations, which held that, “on the whole, the text is a positive contribution toward the elaboration of a correct general line for the international communist movement. With this perspective, the text should be circulated and discussed not only in the ranks of those organizations who have signed this communique, but throughout the ranks of the international communist movement.”

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from the New Constitution