



REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

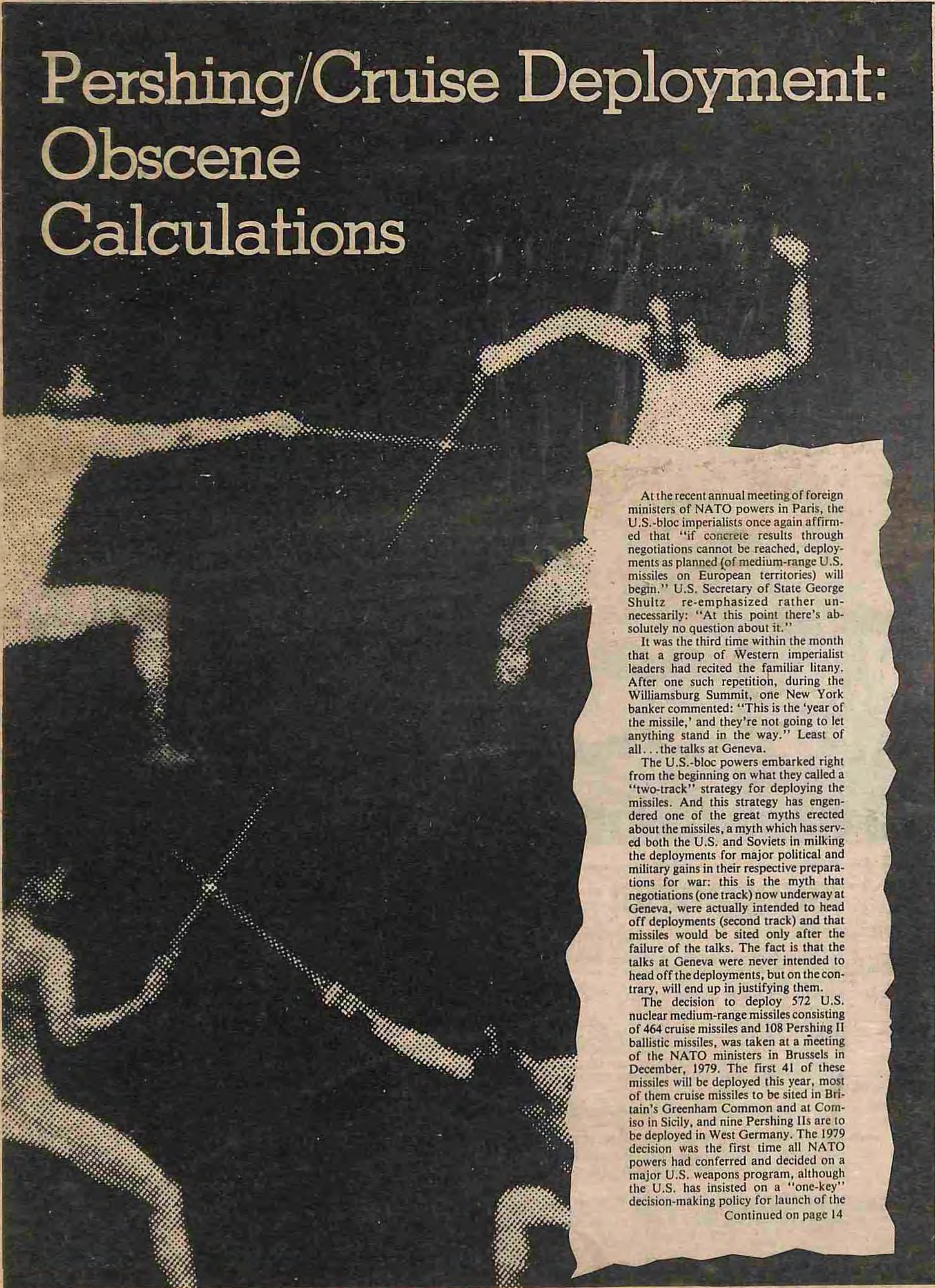
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Pershing/Cruise Deployment: Obscene Calculations



At the recent annual meeting of foreign ministers of NATO powers in Paris, the U.S.-bloc imperialists once again affirmed that "if concrete results through negotiations cannot be reached, deployments as planned (of medium-range U.S. missiles on European territories) will begin." U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz re-emphasized rather unnecessarily: "At this point there's absolutely no question about it."

It was the third time within the month that a group of Western imperialist leaders had recited the familiar litany. After one such repetition, during the Williamsburg Summit, one New York banker commented: "This is the 'year of the missile,' and they're not going to let anything stand in the way." Least of all... the talks at Geneva.

The U.S.-bloc powers embarked right from the beginning on what they called a "two-track" strategy for deploying the missiles. And this strategy has engendered one of the great myths erected about the missiles, a myth which has served both the U.S. and Soviets in milking the deployments for major political and military gains in their respective preparations for war: this is the myth that negotiations (one track) now underway at Geneva, were actually intended to head off deployments (second track) and that missiles would be sited only after the failure of the talks. The fact is that the talks at Geneva were never intended to head off the deployments, but on the contrary, will end up in justifying them.

The decision to deploy 572 U.S. nuclear medium-range missiles consisting of 464 cruise missiles and 108 Pershing II ballistic missiles, was taken at a meeting of the NATO ministers in Brussels in December, 1979. The first 41 of these missiles will be deployed this year, most of them cruise missiles to be sited in Britain's Greenham Common and at Comiso in Sicily, and nine Pershing IIs are to be deployed in West Germany. The 1979 decision was the first time all NATO powers had conferred and decided on a major U.S. weapons program, although the U.S. has insisted on a "one-key" decision-making policy for launch of the

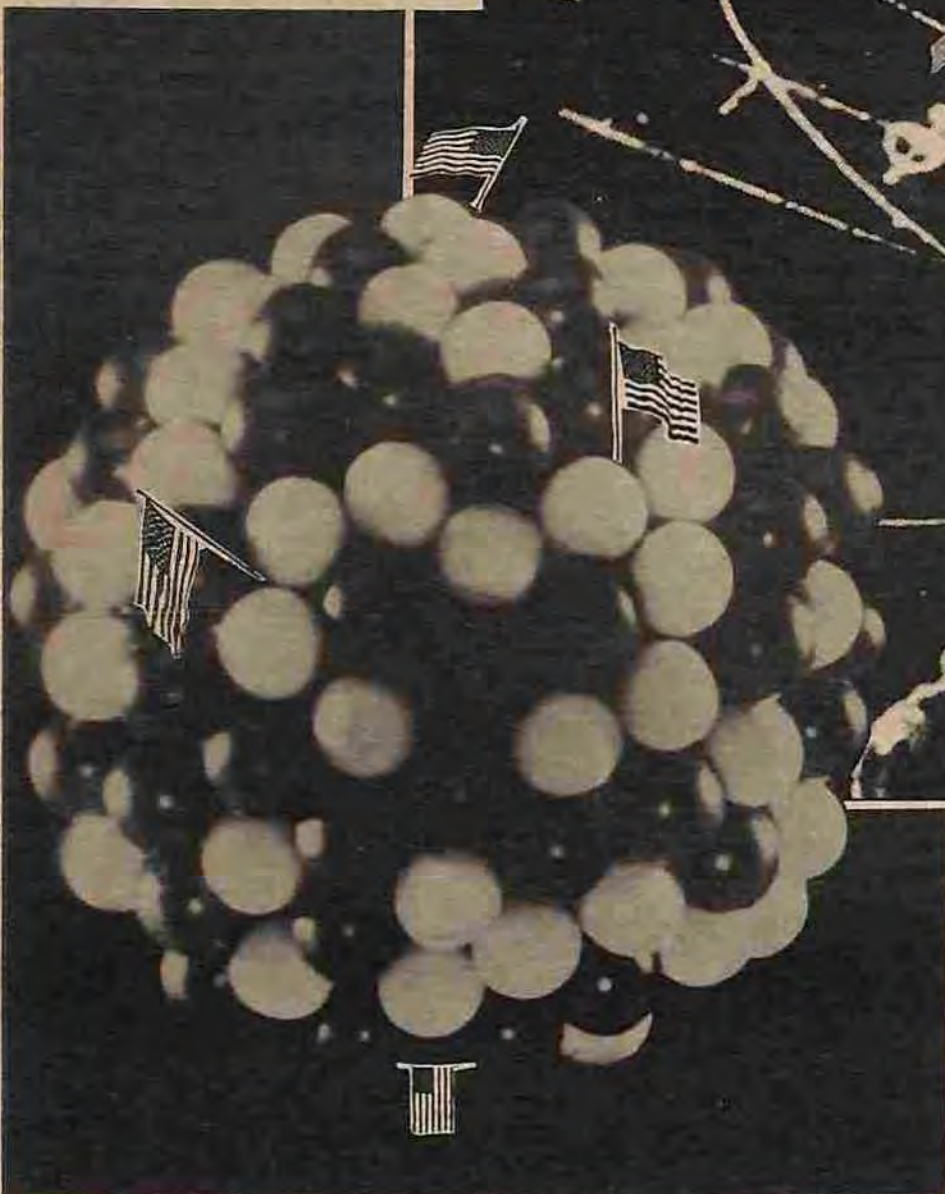
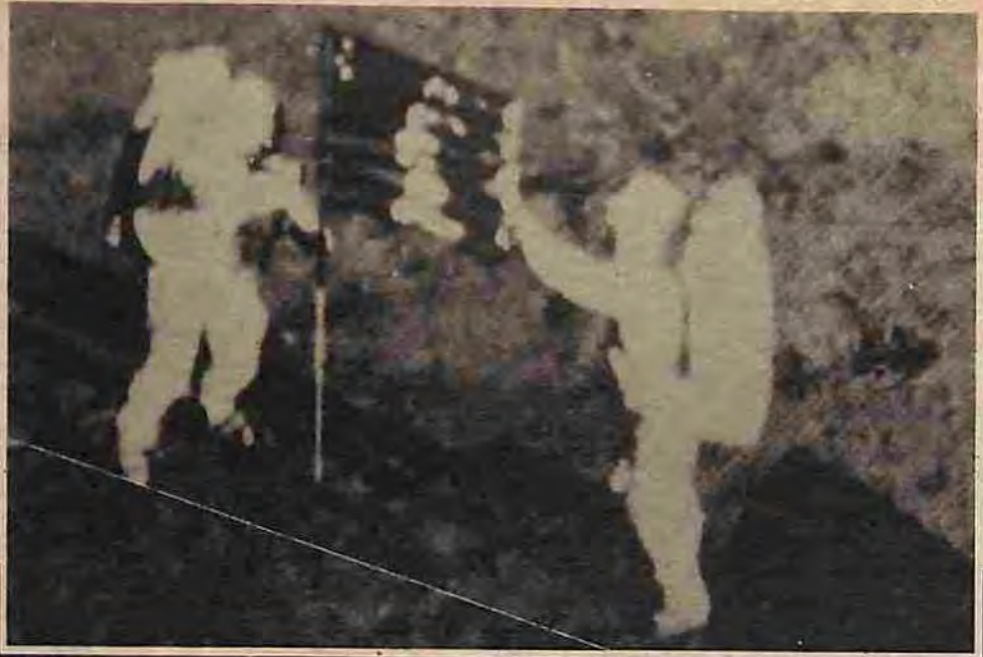
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A Case of Division...

and Redivision

A recent to-do in the international competition to split the atom into subatomic particles has been marked by another sort of international competition and looming redivision. The discovery of a new subatomic particle, the Z-zero, by scientists at the giant accelerator at CERN (the French acronym for European Organization for Nuclear Research, a consortium of 13 West European countries) near the Swiss city of Geneva, set off a bit of a tirade in the U.S.A.

A central hypothesis of current high energy physics is that there are four basic forces of nature — electromagnetism, gravity, "strong" and "weak" nuclear forces — and each is carried by specific particles. Thus, theory had predicted that the nuclear weak force, which is responsible for a variety of nuclear reactions, is transmitted by massive packets of energy called intermediate vector bosons that come with a positive, negative or zero electrical charge. Last January, CERN found two of the bosons, the W+ and W-, and now they have found the third — the Z-zero. In 1979, another accelerator in West Germany found evidence of the



"gluon," a carrier of the nuclear "strong" force.

But lest anyone lose sight of the "real world" in the profundity of particle physics, the *New York Times*, with its June 6th editorial titled "Europe 3, U.S. Not Even Z-zero," firmly puts the whole thing in the proper imperialist perspective. The discovery of the bosons may be "good news," but the problem is that it happened on European soil, not American. "The bad news is," the *Times* editorializes, "that Europeans have taken the lead in the race to discover the

ultimate building blocks of matter." The U.S. had been expected to begin serious contention for the big prize of catching the elusive bosons when construction was started in 1979 on a \$500 million accelerator named Isabel at Brookhaven National Laboratory on Long Island, New York. But design and planning problems produced delays, and now the underground tunnel for Isabel stands empty, with future federal funding in doubt. Recriminations flew. Ronald Reagan's science advisor George

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U.S. Still Riding Two Tracks

Death and Duplicity in El Salvador

When Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs Thomas O. Enders was recently removed from his post, there were lots of outcries in Washington, D.C. and elsewhere. Enders had been identified with the "two-track" policy — continued and intensified military action while, at the same time, maneuvering to try and bring about some form of negotiations with some elements of El Salvador's opposition — that has been the theme of the U.S.'s search for "stability" in El Salvador. But with Enders out, some Congressmen, journalists, academics et al., were fretting over the possibility that the "two-track" tack might have become passé. It's not that it has been such a big success, it's just that the alternatives were fraught with greater danger — perhaps even leading to the dreaded *quagmire* — and the responsible officials and unofficials were all anxious to see that the administration didn't do anything *rash*... especially since it might not work. Just imagine their relief at the events of the last week. On the one hand, U.S.-made ALM tanks, 1-37 Colorado Dragonfly planes, Huey helicopter gun ships and heavy artillery were pounding the Chinchontepic volcano area in a new offensive led by U.S. "advisors," while other U.S.-trained battalions were doing the same, on a smaller scale, in Guazapan Morazán. On the other hand, U.S. Special Envoy Richard Stone was wrapping up his first whirlwind diplomatic shuttle through the region stumping for U.S.-style "peace." As per its imperial necessity, death and duplicity are still the U.S.'s two tracks in El Salvador.

Military Track

In keeping with the overall theme, the U.S.'s new military offensive is itself two-tracked. First, 4500 to 6000 Salvadoran troops stormed through the provinces of Vicente and Usulután, backed up by the latest bombing and strafing techniques and equipment that the U.S. has to offer. After sweeping through the provinces, the military will leave in place a sufficiently large and deadly force to put everyone up against the wall, say "you are either with us or against us" as one U.S. official put it, and deal with the respondents accordingly. All this will

pave the way for the second track — "pacification." Modeled after the Civil Operations and Revolutionary Development Support (CORDS) program in Vietnam, where it facilitated the murder of over 40,000 Vietnamese civilian "suspects" under its Phoenix subsidiary, the effort in El Salvador is called the National Plan. Benevolent officials of the U.S. Agency for International Development (a well-known CIA affiliate) will supervise Salvadoran work teams as they happily engage in "civic action" under the watchful eye of the security forces. Through the loving kindness of large doses of "purely economic aid" from the U.S., the work teams will rebuild and reopen 105 bombed-out schools (thereby improving the accounting and control of Salvadoran youth), rebuild and modernize hundreds of bombed-out and primitive roads (thereby facilitating the movement and deployment of tanks and heavy artillery), and provide a sufficient number of health clinics to make sure that the security forces, work teams, et al., will be able to continue carrying out their assigned mission. This National Plan is certainly convincing proof that the U.S. is not just into military might but, as U.S. officials keep reminding us, has plenty of use for economic "aid" as well.

Of course, one shouldn't downplay the importance of the military track. Indeed, the U.S.'s deteriorating situation in El Salvador — and Central America overall — is preventing U.S. officials from downplaying it, much as they might like to. In addition to the increasing amount of weapons and matériel being sent to El Salvador, and the more open and direct role being played by the U.S.'s 55 officially acknowledged military advisors (not to mention the new "humanitarian" military medical personnel, officers assigned to the U.S. embassy, military intelligence personnel and untold numbers of others), there has also been a big leap in the direct U.S. military presence in Honduras. This includes 120 Green Berets training new batches of Salvadoran troops, another 110 advisors training Honduran soldiers, 60 Air Force personnel operating a new U.S. spy-radar station that blankets most of the region and six high-ranking officers that make up the U.S. Military Group which oversees and directs the entire Honduran operation. In addition, the U.S.'s leading generalissi-

mo in Honduras, Gustavo Alvarez Martinez, is requesting another \$400 million for bombs and bullets from U.S. coffers, and the U.S. Army Chief of Staff told reporters that the Pentagon was considering building six new air fields in Honduras.

But while all this is quite necessary, there is still a pervasive, and rising, fear in the U.S. that it could really get out of hand. The vision of U.S. forces getting bogged down in Central America is a nightmare of the highest order to U.S. rulers, what with other global necessities facing them. So, at the present time, the military track is designed to intensify the pressure on El Salvador's opposition coalition Democratic Revolutionary Front/Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FDR/FMLN) in hopes of splitting up the coalition's leadership, isolating the pro-Soviet forces from the more pro-Western and quasi-nationalist forces, and bringing as many of the non-revisionist leaders as possible back into the neo-colonial apparatus, where several of them have previously served. As this scheme has proved more and more difficult to pull off, the U.S. has intensified the military heat on the opposition and especially on its social base and supporters — as in the "pacification" program — with each new act of U.S. aggression designed to up the ante for those who choose to remain in the revisionist-supported coalition.

Diplomatic Track

But such finely honed counterinsurgency techniques as carpet bombing, "pacification" and death squad rampages also require a well-trained operative carrying out the delicate maneuverings that the U.S. needs. The diplomatic track must also be brought into play, and what could be a more perfect complement to the U.S.'s military moves than the recent ten-country, twelve-day tour of Special Envoy Richard Stone. Stone has been perfectly primed for the U.S.'s death squad diplomacy from his previous incarnations as a U.S. Senator from Florida (home of his oligarchical friends among the exiled Cubans and Nicaraguans) and a subsequent lobbyist for Guatemala and Taiwan. Thus, he didn't miss a cue in his travels. Highlights included presenting Honduras to the Nicaraguans as a "true democracy" and a real role model for the kind of "legitimate American state" (as Ronald Reagan has put it) that Nicaragua should become, declaring that Guatemala's General Rios Montt was "a man of great personal integrity" (which, given the source, was certainly fitting praise), and

that his 24-hour visit to Guatemala was "the most productive."

None of this is in contradiction with negotiations — in fact, such activity goes hand-in-hand with U.S. efforts to conduct any such talks on the most favorable terms possible. Nevertheless, in the midst of Stone's trip the FDR/FMLN made a new offer of "unconditional dialogue" to the U.S. and its puppets, and publicly invited Stone to meet with them for a "direct dialogue" that they hoped would lead to the aforementioned "unconditional dialogue." This effort was apparently not limited to a public call through the Latin American press. Even before Stone returned to Washington, Congressman Clarence Long, the chairman of the House Subcommittee on Foreign Operations Appropriations (who also has the first "pacification" school in El Salvador named after him), announced that he was trying to get Stone to meet with FDR representatives in Washington, D.C. Long specifically mentioned Guillermo Ungo, a Social Democrat, and Rubén Zamora, a former Christian Democrat, who both served in previous Salvadoran puppet governments, as having requested the meeting, and the Congressman "threatened" to cut off military aid to El Salvador unless Stone agreed to meet with them. So far, administration officials have been publicly "refusing to deny" that such a meeting will take place.

What a nice set-up! Certain FDR leaders have friends in high places in the U.S., and it just may result in a real honest-to-goodness *official* talk with an *official* U.S. diplomat (as opposed to the numerous unofficial get-togethers that have been going on for the past four years). Certain other FDR leaders with friends in other high places (namely the USSR) will surely applaud all this as furthering their own opportunities to maneuver for a piece of the Salvadoran action. Or, if this scenario doesn't come off, there are many more negotiating maneuvers possible. For example, the "mediation" efforts of the so-called Contradora group — the foreign ministers of four U.S. client states in the region: Mexico, Venezuela, Colombia and Panama. The Contradora initiative in Central America has so far been praised by the U.S. Democratic Party, the FDR/FMLN leadership, the Sandinistas, the Second (Socialist) International, Cuba, the Soviet Ambassador to Mexico, Jeane Kirkpatrick, and most recently, Richard Stone himself!

Obviously, moves towards either or both of these possible negotiating scenarios — or any other such proposals — will not exactly bring "stability" to the region, given the interests of the various imperialists and their followers that are very much involved here. But they do further point out the reactionary jockeying around negotiations that is currently taking place in El Salvador. □

A Case of Division...and Redivision

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Keyworth put the blame for such failures on infighting among physicists over funding: "Our world leadership in high energy physics has been dissipated. In the years American citizens squandered on a pork barrel squabble, the Europeans moved boldly ahead." The physicists, in other words, lacked the team-U.S. spirit.

But the U.S. is clearly not sitting by idly watching while the Europeans mount a serious and galling challenge to its claim to fame in physics — a decades long dominance in the field of building big atom smashers and big bombs, requiring massive capital outlay and advanced technology. A panel of leading U.S. physicists met last week to consider recommendations to the government on several proposals for bigger and more powerful atom smashers, including finishing the one at Brookhaven and a plan for a gigantic "Desertron" with a

circumference of 100 miles. In directing its remarks to this panel, the *Times* carries the sports metaphor to its conclusion: "The 3-zero loss in the boson race cries out for earnest revenge. The physics team needs to try harder, and coach Keyworth should reward any sensible new strategy with management's full support." And "the management" is not going to tolerate second place: "... American accelerators should be designed to win or not be built at all."

One ironic twist to this whole affair is that the reality that matter is infinitely divisible, that matter has infinite diversity as does its concrete division, may offer the U.S. imperialists an opportunity to save face, while they stubbornly cling to and promote the metaphysical view of finding the "basic" particle and the "ultimate building blocks." The elite gentlemen of the *Times* find it disturbing that at a recent meeting of physicists to consider the problem of restoring

American leadership, the "nagging question was again raised of whether the 'basic' particles are themselves composed of subunits." (One gets the feeling that they could go on infinitely smashing particles and asking the same question, as long as they exist.) But they themselves have expressed the worry that they do not have forever and they complain that their own imperialist crisis may make it difficult to complete the "Desertron" smasher until the 1990s, and godknows what will happen in the meantime.

One has that nagging feeling that very little being said by these guys has anything to do with advancing basic scientific research. All this talk of sports and world dominance is beginning to sound like the Olympics! There is one consolation for the U.S. imperialists. At least Western Europe is in the same league — the U.S. war bloc. A Harvard scientist even played a major role in designing and carrying out the ex-

periments at CERN, and a group of some 300 scientists that found a "gluon" at the German accelerator came from the U.S., Western Europe and China. They can thank their lucky quarks and neutrinos that it wasn't the Soviets that beat them to the punch! But for godssake, they are the leader of the bloc; and furthermore, winning the World Series and coming out number one means they not only have to beat the other league, they've got to come out on top of the other teams in their own league too. (The lessons of the last one where the U.S. upstaged Britain and France are still fresh.) And despite all the high flown (if metaphysical) talk about "discovering the ultimate building blocks of matter" the U.S. imperialists' interest in leading the research in subatomic physics and the prestige attached to it have always been linked to leading in the building of bigger and better nuclear weapons.

All this brings us to a question. How many imperialist relations can fit on the head of a subatomic particle? The answer: an infinite number until imperialism itself is overthrown. □

The Story of David Tom

Two resolutions stand before the seventh congress of the World Psychiatric Association when it meets in July in Vienna: one by the National Psychiatric Association of the United States proposing that the Soviet psychiatric association be censured; the other by the British psychiatric association, proposing expulsion. In response the Soviet association recently withdrew from the World Psychiatric Association.

For the past ten years, the official U.S. psychiatric community has been exposing the abuses of its counterpart in the Soviet Union, since nothing is immune to current global strife, and certainly not psychiatry. It is said that the Soviet shrinks are simply the tools of the state in the perpetuation of the tyrannical Soviet regime and oppressive social relations. Questionable practices are cited, such as "treatment by medication, rather than talk," though the chief salvos have been launched against what a recent feature on the subject in the *New York Times Magazine* calls the "particularly cruel treatment" of political prisoners.

More or less conscious opposition to the Soviet system is undoubtedly viewed by the revisionists as a form of insanity. But good god — look who's talking! On this side of the wall, in the event that straight-out murder of political prisoners is deemed inappropriate, there are places like Menard prison, where psychiatric weapons are finely honed and readily used. And moreover, to be the beneficiary of the skills of the American psychiatric profession, one needn't even be the subject of political hounding. What follows is the case history of David Tom, a Chinese immigrant worker, who last month was awarded \$400,000 by a jury after it came to light that he had been confined to Illinois mental hospitals since 1952 for the "mental illness" of not speaking the English language.

How David Tom got classified as crazy in the first place is itself an exposure of conditions of life facing non-English-speaking immigrants in the U.S. David Tom grew up in the small Chinese village of Kaitong, in the Canton Province of China, where he worked in a cookie factory. In 1949, at age 20, he and his brother emigrated to the U.S. to join their father living in San Francisco, purchasing identity papers to pass through immigration (hence the name David Tom). After a year and a half David moved to Chicago where he worked as a busboy in a number of restaurants. At one such restaurant it was found he had tuberculosis, and as was common for many foreign-born (the U.S. government, then as now, blaming the spread of TB on immigrants), he was rounded up and warehoused in a tuberculosis sanitarium until he either got better or died. Given the circumstances it is highly unlikely that anyone took the time to explain to David Tom in Chinese the reason why he was being forcibly confined at Oak Forest Hospital, Illinois.

There is no doubt David Tom suffered cultural shock. Suddenly he was placed in prison-like conditions where no one spoke Chinese. In all likelihood he was forcibly administered drugs. Nurses undressed him against his will to give tests and bathe him.

David Tom spent only 18 days at the TB sanitarium. Authorities would later write that he "threatened some nurses, exposed himself and wandered around the grounds in the nude." Whether this was a mild nervous breakdown, as his defense attorneys maintain, or simply an act of defiance, may never be known. But for the psychiatrists, the actions of this Chinese youth were clear indications that he was crazy, and were reason enough to commit him to Chicago State Mental Hospital (now Chicago-Reed), from which there is usually no escape. David's behavior at the TB sanitarium was the first real manifestation of schizophrenia,

the state argued in court 31 years later, which usually exhibits itself for the first time from the late teens to the mid-30s. David became a permanent inmate at Illinois state psychiatric "hospitals" and for the next 27 years no one even tried to communicate with him in Chinese.

"Confused, disoriented, and had impaired memory" state David Tom's admitting papers at Chicago State Hospital. Dr. Klapman soon followed this with an initial "progress report": "Patient speaks so little English and understands even less that a mental examination would appear impossible Apparently there was a psychotic reaction at the former institution, and though this is far from certain, Examiner would offer the classification of psychotic reaction, type undetermined." Ah yes, the marvels of U.S. psychiatry. Without even attempting to translate this young worker's comments, they've already determined he suffers from psychosis and an "impaired memory"!

David Tom was placed in the chronic wards at Chicago State, where as a rule and not the exception "patient care" consisted of the use of restraints, strait-jackets, solitary confinement, plus hydrotherapy (where they strapped mental patients into hot or cold water bathtubs for hours at a time). Rape, including by staff members, was a common occurrence. Overcrowding was so severe that at times beds were in the aisles and in the day-rooms. There was absolutely no intellectual stimulation. From the late 1950s on, most patients were heavily drugged to keep them in a vegetable-like state of existence during waking hours.

The records of David's early years at Chicago State are incomplete but they do indicate that during his first 18 months he tried to escape on several occasions, making at least five attempts in five years. "Me not crazy, this nut house," David would say in broken English after he was caught. For punishment he spent much of his first years in isolation rooms.

U.S. psychiatry, or so it is claimed, emphasizes "talks" over "medication." And indeed, in the course of three decades, David Tom had scores of such "talks." Of course, none of these were held in Chinese, so David never understood what was being said. But apparently the psychiatrists who examined him were so proficient at this much-touted U.S. method of counseling that the "language barrier" (as they described it) was no problem. Hospital records document the psychiatrists' opinions that David Tom was at first psychotic, then one kind of schizophrenic, then another; one time he was mildly mentally retarded, another time severely; then back to chronic schizophrenia. Perhaps the report that says it best commented that one indication of David Tom's mind disorder was that he was "speaking in sing-song tones." Now this *does* cut to the heart of the matter: David Tom was considered crazy because he spoke Chinese!

A sampling of these mental hospital records over several decades gives some flavor to the nature of the "talks" between David Tom and his psychiatrists:

- * June 29, 1952: "Speech is circumstantial and usually without goal."
- * Oct. 3, 1953: "The patient was very irrational, talkative and hyperactive . . . well oriented in place and identity, otherwise completely uncooperative."
- * Aug. 9, 1955: "He is very dull and to most questions replies with: 'Huh?' Evidently severely mentally defective with psychotic component not very well marked and he may, therefore, be considered for transfer to Dixon" (an Illinois facility for severely mentally retarded individuals).
- * Oct. 5, 1971: "His speech appears to be incoherent and irrelevant. When questions were asked to this patient, he replied in an incoherent unintelligible

manner."

- * 1974: "Sloppy in dress, can't communicate verbally with staff because of language barriers, but can follow instructions. . . . His treatment plan was read to him but he failed to comprehend or appreciate it."

All this led to an obvious question asked by David Tom's defense lawyers at the trial in May 1983: how can you know someone is mentally ill unless you know what they are thinking and what their history is through communicating with them? First of all, argued the mental authorities, David Tom probably knew more English than he was letting on. But secondly, there are lots of ways to take someone's history. You don't have to do it by speaking to someone in their own language, it can also be taken by observing. In David Tom's case he didn't get better after 15 or 20 years, therefore it was observed that there was something mentally wrong with him.

This kind of intimate doctor-patient "talk" was only a part of David Tom's "treatment," however. There were also various rewards and punishments for good or bad behavior. David Tom, it seems, had a rather annoying habit of periodically wandering off his unit. These unauthorized absences showed lack of discipline and proper respect for the rules, so David was placed in restraints — "for his own good," explained the state at the trial. This meant that for hours on end David Tom was tied down to a bed with his ankles and wrists strapped. According to his lawyer, David Tom was in restraints "a lot in the 1970s, at least 30 times." However, the unauthorized absences continued. Finally, after who knows how many years, a social worker decided to follow David Tom to see where he was going when he left his unit. It was determined that he went to another area of the hospital where there was another Chinese-speaking patient he could talk to!

But in reality, the bottom line of the "treatment" of David Tom's "mental disorders" was major doses of psychotropic drugs. Mellaril, cogentin, tofranil, thorazine and prolixin were all administered to him, sometimes singly, other times in combination. Numerous hospital reports go like this: ". . . appears to be hallucinating during the case review. . . ." Further proof of mental problems and

even more reason why additional "chemotherapy" was needed! One doctor wrote in May 1978 that David should be kept off "all medication because there is no evidence that the medication is helpful to him." This doctor was later transferred and David was not taken off "medication."

By 1977 David Tom had never been examined by anyone who spoke his own language. Finally he got a social worker who was concerned enough to call a doctor who spoke Chinese, although in the Mandarin dialect, which is very different from Cantonese. The doctor could not verbally communicate but reported that "David's ability to communicate in written form of his (Chinese) language was highly advanced. The style in which David made letters of his language was of a very complex nature and showed that he had undergone considerable training in the past." Although this doctor recommended intellectual stimulation and said the problem stemmed from "an inability to communicate with others," David was still diagnosed as mentally retarded by other psychiatrists.

In 1978 another doctor got involved who wrote on the chart: "I get the impression that there is some sort of legal problem in committing a man for so many years who has never been examined in his own language." To get around this, ward workers at Manteno Mental Hospital took David to a Chinese restaurant in the town of Manteno in November 1978, where they sat him down with a Chinese cook and for the first time recorded where he was from, what his real Chinese name was and where he had gone to school. As the case threatened to become more widely publicized, the staff at Manteno stated in a memorandum dated December 1978: "Long-term goal possible — deportation back to China if he still has a living family."

The case did finally come to light. There was a change in the law and mental health patients were appointed legal guardians if they didn't have immediate family members. David Tom's public guardian initiated a civil rights lawsuit on David's behalf, resulting in the recent jury trial.

Yes, this case came to light — speaking volumes on the role of the guardians of mental health in a "free society." □

William Morales Captured, Tortured in Mexico

William Morales, alleged member of the FALN — Armed Forces of National Liberation — was captured on May 26 in Puebla, Mexico, 65 miles southeast of Mexico City. Morales and his two companions were apprehended while placing a call in a long-distance telephone center by the Mexican branch of the international police agency Interpol, called the Policía Judicial Federal. In the shootout that ensued Morales was taken into custody, one of his companions was killed, and one escaped. Morales was then driven to a house where, without warning, police brutally opened fire, murdering a woman occupant, Patricia Judith Virrio, and wounding a 13-year-old boy. The following day, as Morales was being transferred to Mexico City, a group of unidentified persons attempted to free him by opening fire on the police car. One cop was killed and another wounded in the gunfire.

Morales had been sought by the FBI since his 1979 conviction on weapons and explosives charges for which he was sentenced to 29-to-89 years in prison. Morales, who had lost both his hands in an explosion, was being fitted for prosthesis in New York's Bellevue Hospital a month after his sentencing when he made an escape that still has authorities baffled. So it was with a note of pride that the capture of "the terrorist" was announced from New York to Mexico.

From the moment Morales arrived at the Interpol office, he was given a lesson in the ABC's of democracy as practiced by the U.S. against the oppressed people of the globe — and especially against revolutionaries. Morales was stripped, soaked with water and tortured with electrical shocks after electrodes were hooked

up to his testicles and other parts of his body. He was interrogated in the presence of New York FBI agent Toro and a New York City policeman. The Mexican cops, angered by Morales' refusal to cooperate, took him outside in the hallway and beat him. When he told the Americans to make them stop, their sardonic reply was, "We aren't the ones beating you." The beatings continued over several days, during which time Morales was forced under duress to sign an extradition waiver, a statement denying any mistreatment, and a third paper which he does not know the contents of.

Such is the history of U.S. democracy as practiced against the people of its colony, Puerto Rico — that "free associated state," in imperialist parlance. The reality for the Puerto Rican people is that anyone who does not wish to be "associated" with the U.S., who raises the demand for Puerto Rican independence, is "free" to be jailed, murdered and tortured. The 1981 jail sentences of 55-years-to-life meted out to 11 alleged FALN members, including on the highly political "seditious conspiracy" charge, and the 1979 murder of Puerto Rican Socialist League leader Angel Cristóbal Rodríguez in his Florida jail cell, are but two recent examples.

Soon after Morales' capture, the U.S. embassy requested his "preventive arrest" while extradition proceedings are in motion. Morales and his attorneys intend to fight these proceedings. Although a 60-day detention order blocking his extradition was ordered on May 31 by Mexican Criminal Court Judge Roberto Gomez Arguello, the Mexican government may prepare his extradition sooner on the demand of the U.S. government. □

Liuzzo/Bergman Cases

Two Rulings: One Purpose

Recently, the federal district court in Michigan handed down rulings in two nationally publicized cases — those of Viola Liuzzo and Walter Bergman. The verdicts in these two separate cases were announced within the space of one week. They both involved the role of the FBI and its undercover agents in the Civil Rights movement of the early and mid-'60s, and they both unfolded around the activities of one notorious informant — Gary Thomas Rowe. In the Liuzzo case, heard in front of a judge in Ann Arbor (in such civil suits, trial by jury is disallowed), the Liuzzo family suit was denied; while in the Bergman case the judge upheld the plaintiff's claim that the government was liable for injuries he sustained in May of 1961. Coming on the heels of the Liuzzo ruling, the Bergman decision was a "left hook" of a one-two punch routine. What explains the different resolutions of these two cases and links both of them is the federal government's need for the unfettered use of undercover informants in the future.

Liuzzo Case

The Liuzzo case was initiated by Mrs. Liuzzo's family. It came to trial after nearly seven years of legal maneuvering. Their suit was based on the claim that undercover informant Gary Rowe — "paid and controlled by the FBI" — murdered Viola Liuzzo or aided in her murder. They held the FBI responsible for negligence by assigning Rowe to ride with the Klan the night of the march from Selma to Montgomery. The Liuzzo attorneys argued that the federal government and FBI was therefore responsible for her death. The family sought both to clear her name of the slander heaped on her and to receive \$2 million in damages for personal injury and wrongful death.

Viola Liuzzo was a 39-year-old white suburban housewife from the Detroit area. In the spring of 1965, she left her family and went to assist in the Selma-to-Montgomery march. She was viciously gunned down the night after the march as she was driving marchers back from Montgomery to Selma. Her murderers, four klukkars from the Bessemer, Alabama klavern, were apprehended very quickly due to the assistance of Gary Thomas Rowe. Rowe was riding in the car that night. He had been on the FBI payroll for a number of years and had participated in numerous attacks on civil rights organizers. It was Rowe who was both involved in and informed on the savage beatings that Walter Bergman received four years earlier. Over the course of such eager service he was a trusted member of the area Klan and an invaluable tool of the FBI. In a move that obviously blew his cover — because the pressure was on to come up with the perpetrators in this crime — Rowe fingered Collie LeRoy Wilkins, Eugene Thomas

and W.O. Eaton as the murderers. At the same time the FBI was boasting of its speedy apprehension of the criminals it was unleashing vicious slanders about Mrs. Liuzzo. After the murder, J. Edgar Hoover personally contrived and floated memos filled with personal slander against Mrs. Liuzzo. In a murder trial that took place the three klukkars were acquitted. Later they were tried on federal charges of violating Mrs. Liuzzo's civil rights. They were convicted and sentenced to ten years in prison. Rowe was not prosecuted, but in fact hailed as a hero at the time.

In 1975, ten years later, in the midst of some sharp infighting in the ranks of the bourgeoisie associated with Watergate and the Nixon resignation, new information on the scope of Rowe's role came to the surface. A Senate investigating committee looking for some dirt on the role of the FBI began to delve into abuses committed by that agency. In the course of testimony given by Rowe a more complete picture of his activities emerged. At that time he admitted to a long history of gory service to his "handlers" from the FBI — including the beatings administered to the freedom riders in 1961 and the Liuzzo killing. On the heels of these revelations both the Liuzzos and Bergman initiated their respective suits against the government.

Even before the Liuzzo case came to trial, the stakes to the government were revealed through the course of some intense pre-trial maneuvering. The Liuzzo lawyers requested access to certain documents that were part of a specially commissioned government task force report. This task force, which was initiated after Rowe's testimony, was assigned to investigate his activities while on the FBI payroll. The trial judge, Charles Joiner, ruled that the report was relevant and it was a proper request by the Liuzzo attorneys. The government — quite aware of what hung in the balance — refused to deliver the report. They argued that issuing the report to the Liuzzo attorneys would jeopardize other as yet unnamed informants. Joiner ruled that the government had to accede to this demand or be liable to contempt charges. The Justice Dept. eventually released a heavily edited and censored report. But even with major sections deleted, the scope of involvement by FBI informants in violent incidents was far greater than what had been revealed before.

Much of the testimony in the two-week trial in Ann Arbor unfolded around the incidents that took place the night Mrs. Liuzzo was murdered and Rowe's exact role within them. It was an important element of the Liuzzo suit to prove that in fact Rowe was the triggerman. Among the witnesses called by the Liuzzo attorneys were the surviving klukkars who had been in the car that night. Thomas testified in person while Wilkins gave his deposition on videotape. According to these two — who had their own ax to grind with Rowe, but whose version was upheld over Rowe's in a lie detector test administered by ABC News in 1978 — Rowe both instigated the chase and fired the shots that killed Mrs. Liuzzo. According to Thomas (who has since "got religion"), the klukkars had been out and about all day doing surveillance on the march and looking to make trouble. While cruising homes that night they pulled up to a stop light where Mrs. Liuz-

zo and one marcher — a young Black man — were en route back to Montgomery. The sight of a white woman and a Black man was more than these gunslingers could handle, and, according to Thomas, when Rowe spotted the car he said, "Looks like we've got the cream of the crop here" (referring to a white woman and a Black man). Rowe ordered Thomas to follow the car. After a chase down Highway 80 that reached speeds of close to 100 miles per hour the Klansmen were eventually able to pull alongside Mrs. Liuzzo's car and they opened up with a barrage of pistol fire. Several of the shots struck Mrs. Liuzzo and the car veered off the side of Highway 80. She died immediately. Thomas testified that he heard Rowe roll down the back window and fire several shots at the other car. And while he did not see Rowe do this he did hear Rowe remark, "Well, I got them. Damn good shooting." The next day in a taped deposition Wilkins, who was in the back seat with Rowe, testified that he saw the informant — using Thomas's gun — fire the shots into the Liuzzo car.

Rowe did not appear in court personally. And he has never been tried for this murder. In 1978 he was indicted by an Alabama grand jury, but on appeal a federal court ruled that since he was a paid operative of the FBI he had immunity from prosecution. He is currently living in Atlanta under a new identity provided him by his handlers at the FBI. He testified via a 5-hour videotape deposition. He disputed his two former cronies' testimonies and proclaimed that he only pretended to fire at Liuzzo and that it was actually Wilkins who killed her.

In the face of this evidence the government attorneys argued that the FBI was unaware that Rowe participated in specific acts of violence and furthermore they repeatedly warned him not to take part in such activities. Beyond that, the Justice Dept. attorneys contended that the FBI was not negligent in assigning Rowe to ride with the Klansmen that evening, because they had no idea a murder would be committed.

"Missionary Work"

Rowe's taped testimony provided some insights into the *real* relations that exist between these FBI "handlers" and their undercover informants. According to Rowe, the FBI agents agreed to his participation in the local klavern "missionary work." "Missionary work" was the term the klukkars used to describe their violent attacks on civil rights activists. When asked what special instructions he received from his "handlers" about such participation, Rowe answered, "They simply said, 'Be careful and don't get hurt.'" In fact, Rowe admitted that for his proselytizing efforts in the Anniston, Alabama bus station in May 1961, where Walter Bergman was nearly beaten to death, he received a special FBI bonus payment of \$125! This was from FBI superiors, who of course "knew nothing" of his participation in violent activities. And this took place a full four years before Viola Liuzzo was shot down.

By the conclusion of the trial in early April, the Liuzzos and their attorneys felt fairly confident. They had even prepared a victory statement to be read to the press after the ruling was delivered. But at the end of May Judge Joiner issued his declaration. In a ruling that was markedly brief and sketchy, Joiner declared against the Liuzzos. He said, "There was no evidence to show that the FBI was involved in a joint venture with Rowe or a conspiracy against Mrs. Liuzzo. The evidence



Gary Rowe testifying before a Senate committee in 1975.

fails to show Rowe was in concert with those who did the killing, and there's nothing to indicate that the FBI directing agent had anything in mind but the acquisition of valuable information about a subversive organization." He went on to uphold Rowe's version that Wilkins had fired the shots that killed Mrs. Liuzzo.

With all the exposure of the scope of Rowe's activity, a heavy-handed and important message was being underscored here. The government has used and will continue to use people of the Rowe variety, not so much to spy on groups like the Klan, but to organize and direct their activity. Also underscored — implicit, though really the main point here — is the use of such slime against revolutionary organizations and others.

Bergman Case

Less than a week after the decision in the Liuzzo case, a federal district judge in Kalamazoo ruled on a suit brought to trial by 83-year-old Walter Bergman of Grand Rapids, Michigan. Bergman was a participant in the Freedom Rides of the early '60s. Four years before the Liuzzo murder, on May 14, 1961, Bergman and several others were on a Greyhound bus that pulled into the terminal in Anniston, Alabama. Going up against the usual customs of the day, the whites on the bus were seated in the back and the Blacks were riding up front. When they pulled into the Anniston station, a mob of reactionaries boarded the bus and relentlessly beat the freedom riders. Bergman was severely injured. In the crowd were several uniformed Anniston police officers who did nothing to intervene. Among the crowd as well, participating actively and enthusiastically, was none other than Gary Thomas Rowe. The bus went on to stop in Birmingham, Alabama. An arrangement had been worked out ahead of time there between the Klan and police chief Bull Connors that the Klan was to have a free hand at the freedom riders for 15 minutes before any of Birmingham's finest would show up on the scene. This plan was no surprise to the FBI, whom Rowe had contacted ten days earlier with its details. He informed them of both the plan to attack the civil rights organizers as well as of the deal worked out between the local police and Klan. It was in the course of that day that Bergman suffered injuries that later led to a stroke which left him paralyzed for life. Bergman, in

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A Memo From the Office of "Strategic Cooperation"

On June 14, Secretary of "Defense" Caspar Weinberger made public a U.S. desire to resume its "memorandum of understanding" for strategic cooperation with Israel. Amidst growing U.S. government charges directed towards the Soviet Union and its role in Middle East affairs, Weinberger said that "the revival or restitution of that memorandum could take place at virtually any time, depending on the wishes of the Israeli government."

The memorandum Weinberger refers to was an agreement reached by the U.S. and Israel in November of 1981, providing for close cooperation in all military affairs, including research and development of military equipment and systems, joint naval and air exercises, and better coordination between the U.S. and Israel in their export of arms to mutual clients.

The memorandum was canceled in December of 1981 as Israel moved to annex the Golan Heights, Syrian territory Israel had first seized in 1967. The U.S. complained that Israel had undertaken this act without "prior consultation"; at the time, Israel's actions did marginally embarrass Washington in its attempts to enlist other Arab states to join with Israel in a projected anti-Soviet "strategic consensus."

The canceling of the memo at that time was, of course, a primarily symbolic act. Indeed, the question most raised by Weinberger's call to resurrect the memorandum is simply, *when did the strategic cooperation ever cease?* (Certainly not in the invasion of Lebanon!) For that matter, such cooperation, in regional and global matters, had been long established before any such memorandum, as a look at its provisions makes abundantly clear.

For example, one of the 1981 memo's concerns reportedly was to improve coordination between the U.S. and Israel in their arms sales to other countries, especially in Latin America and Africa. As Israeli minister without portfolio Yaakov Meridor put it in 1981, "We shall say to the Americans, don't compete with us in Taiwan, don't compete with us in South Africa, don't compete with us in the Caribbean area or in other areas in which we sell weapons directly. Let us do it. Sell the ammunition and equipment using an accredited representative. Israel will be your accredited representative."

Of course, the use of Israel as "accredited representative" was a hallmark of the Carter administration in its much ballyhooed halting of arms exports to certain "human rights violators" during the late '70s. As the Reagan administration began resuming direct arms exports to these regimes, the memo was to provide guidelines to mediate lest any competitive friction arise. Of course, since 1981, U.S. and Israeli arms sales (replete with advisors, etc.) have burgeoned to most such places, including El Salvador and Honduras; the lack of an official memorandum seems to have been no

problem here. Of course, the U.S. has made periodic calculated efforts to distance itself from Israel over the past year. Take, for example, the highly publicized and thoroughly inconsequential "confrontations" last fall between lower-level U.S. and Israeli officers outside Beirut. None of which changes the fact that the Israeli occupation of large chunks of Lebanon has coincided with a massive build-up by the U.S. This goes far beyond the number of U.S. marines involved in the international "peace-keeping" force. As the *London*

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Revisionism and the "Credibility Gap" in Lebanon

Last week's *RW* carried an account of the mutiny within Fatah, Yasir Arafat's "home base" within the PLO, and the largest by far of the PLO organizations. The words and actions of several of the other PLO groupings in response to the mutiny bears looking at, as well. On the one hand, the most virulently pro-Syrian, anti-Arafat group, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine — General Command, openly declared its support for the mutiny. After fighting between Arafat loyalists and the mutineers broke out in the Bekaa on June 5, Ahmed Jibril's group moved in 150 reinforcements, supplied with heavy armaments, in support of the mutiny, according to the June 7 *Le Monde*. Reports are also circulating that gunmen from

Abu Nidal's group, an organization expelled from the PLO some time ago and heavily associated with Syrian intelligence, have also "joined." The actions of the two main pro-Soviet groups within the PLO, on the other hand, have been more circumspect. The "Marxist-Leninist" Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP), headed by Nayef Hawatmeh, and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), headed by George Habash, finally made a joint statement on June 2, calling for democratic reform, "on the basis of national unity," and stating that "the acceleration of reform within the cadre, institutions, and organs of the PLO, and in the ranks of the Palestinian forces, indicates the end of the role played by bureaucratic and bourgeoisified military, administrative, and diplomatic sections." (*Le Monde*, June 4) While this statement suggests that

Hawatmeh and Habash are certainly angling to get in on the action, indications are that they — consistent with Soviet interests — are pushing for some "adjustments" in PLO policy but no radical departures. A revealing statement of political purpose was made a week earlier by Hawatmeh, indicating the terms of political jockeying such an "adjustment" would serve. Hawatmeh has based the major part of his political career on mediating between Syrian and PLO interests, and on identifying the political arrangements within this "alliance" on terms most in keeping with Soviet policy, so his statements are worth monitoring. In his statement, made May 24, Hawatmeh had declared that the Middle East was entering "the last pre-war weeks," and called on Syria to "impose a total economic boycott of Lebanon" that would force the Lebanese bourgeoisie to

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The one year anniversary of "Operation Peace in Galilee" — the U.S.-backed Israeli invasion into Lebanon last summer — found expression in an upsurge of Palestinian protest and street fighting in the Israeli-occupied West Bank, and in growing worry and acrimonious in-fighting within the Israeli ruling circles.

A prime objective of the Israeli invasion was, after all, to deal a mortal blow to the PLO and thus "soften up" the West Bank and Gaza territories — seized from the Arabs in 1967 — for accelerated Israeli "settlement." This settlement policy has involved outright confiscation of about 55% of Palestinian land, combined with brutal repression, vigilante terrorism, and economic strangulation directed against the roughly 700,000 Palestinians living in the West Bank and Gaza. But far from proving an irresistible juggernaut, the settlement policy has become a prime focus of popular Palestinian resistance.

A recently "leaked" Israeli intelligence report attests to the continued resistance particularly among the youth. The report, covering the period of April 1982 to March 31, 1983, shows that armed attacks increased in number to 110, a 69 percent increase over the previous year. The number of "street disturbances" jumped from 2,467 to 4,417 — a 79 percent rise. (These figures refer only to Palestinian actions, not taking into account vigilante attacks from reactionary Israeli settlers.)

The report admits that such activity has intensified within the past year, showing that there were 902 separate disturbances in the West Bank during March alone, and points to a growing use of grenades and Molotov cocktails being thrown at Israeli vehicles. At the same time, some of the repressive measures used by Israel are documented — the growing use of 24-hour curfews imposed on entire Palestinian camps and communities, and the closing of 35 Palestinian schools over the last year. The report contends that, after all, much of the trouble is coming from the "teenage group."

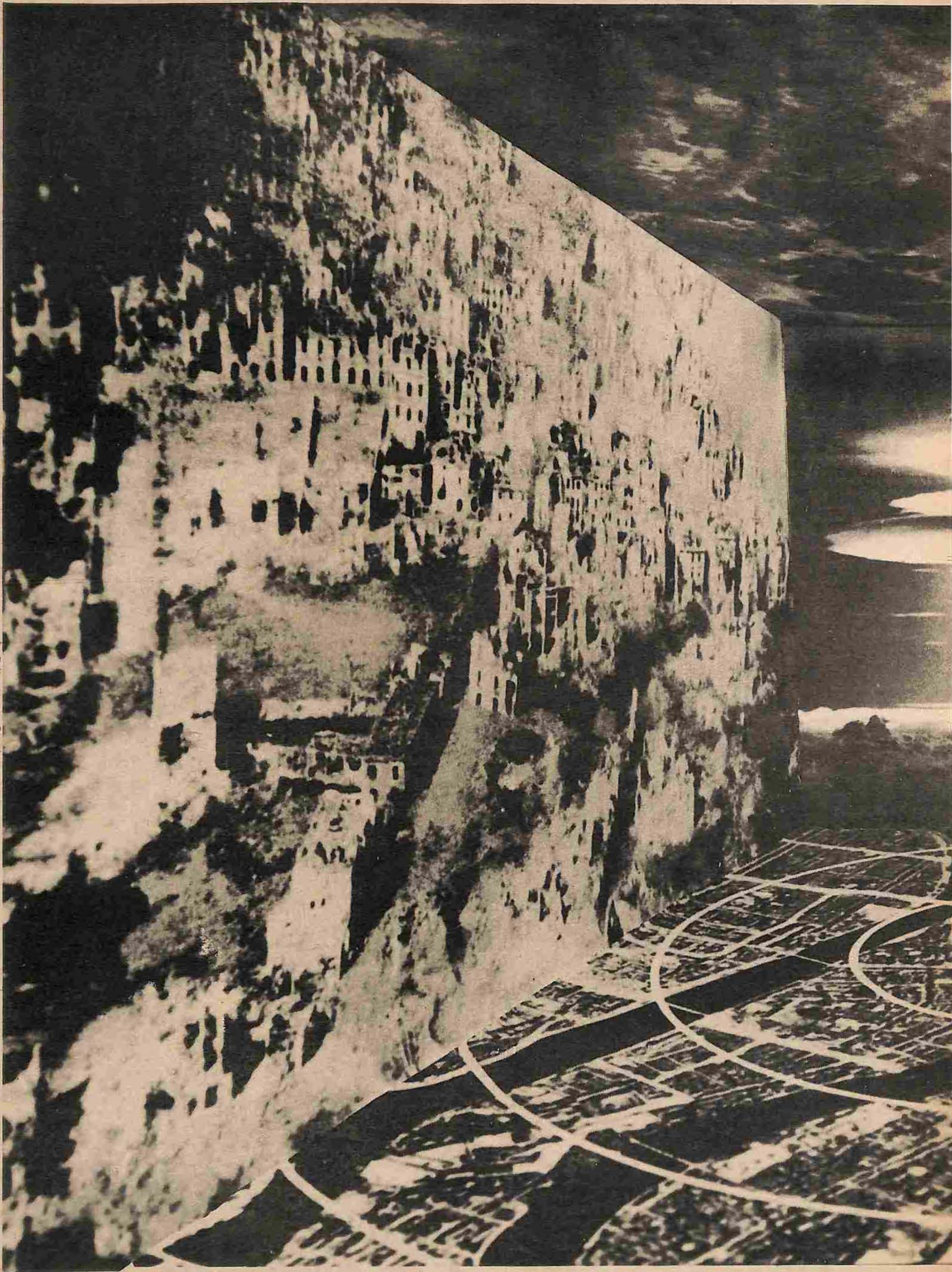
The leaking of the report was accompanied by an analysis by Ze'ev Schiff, considered to be Israel's leading military "commentator." Writing in *Ha'aretz*, a newspaper closely linked to the Israeli government, Schiff basically admits that the government's efforts to undermine West Bank morale by going after the PLO has been a failure. "The events in Judea, Samaria (Zionist biblical terms



Israelis Count Trouble on the West Bank

for the West Bank — *RW*) and Gaza are being sustained by the reality in the area itself." Observing that only two Israelis were killed in the West Bank during the year, with another 174 injured (in contrast, 11 Palestinians were killed, 90 injured — as allowed by official statistics), Schiff writes, "Militarily this war has so far been cheap. But it is very hard to tell what future trends will be."

A World Without Imperialism—





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THE NOT-SO "EXTRAORDINARY SUMMIT" AT ADDIS ABABA

On June 8 the 19th Summit Meeting of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) finally opened — the first successful OAU since the 18th summit in 1981. Two other attempts to convene this summit in August and November of 1982 failed, principally due to the intensifying contention between, and maneuverings of, the U.S.- and Soviet-led war blocs and their respective African allies. The opening speeches of this summit hailed it as a "great victory" over the enemies of "African unity" and for the African people. In truth, this meeting, like its two failed predecessors, underlined the contention and disunity that characterizes the whole world today, including Africa and the OAU. And, the very fact that it has been convened in Addis Ababa and that Ethiopian dictator Mengistu has been named the OAU chairman (not to mention the fact that the permanent headquarters of the OAU remained in Addis Ababa), even as Mengistu is waging a brutal war against, and dropping napalm on, the Eritrean and Tigrean people, is a stunning indictment of the OAU and what it stands for today. (It is revealing to note, in contrast to the list of issues around which the OAU has been and remains sharply divided, not a word has been raised in the OAU about this war with the excuse that it is strictly the "internal affair" of a member country of the OAU.) In fact, no sooner had Mengistu been elected chairman than he announced that he had launched a massive new military assault against the Eritrean people — Operation Multifaceted Red Star.

This third attempt to convene the OAU summit has been widely referred to as the "last chance" for the OAU if it is to continue to exist. And, in a sense it was true — if this attempt had failed it might very well have spelled the end of the organization. Many different forces, both in the Western press and among various African commentators, have noted that the OAU is already essentially "two organizations," divided into supposedly conservative and progressive camps. The dividing line for these camps is, in the main, political alignment — the more pro-U.S. bloc forces making up the conservatives while the "progressives" are composed of mainly pro-Soviet countries. However, since the camps are also divided along lines depending on positions taken on various issues, such as the admittance of the Polisario into the OAU, there has also been some crossover between the two camps — especially with countries like Zimbabwe and Tanzania who, although primarily aligned with the

U.S., have for one reason or another come into contradiction with the U.S. over various issues and have been labeled a part of the "progressive" camp.

Billed as an "extraordinary summit," this meeting drew delegations from every member country, including 26 heads of state — which, according to *Africa News* made it the best attended summit since the signing of the founding charter twenty years ago. The OAU has been able to meet this time around for a number of reasons. Neither the U.S. and the Soviet imperialists nor the African neocolonial rulers were prepared to let it split apart — for the time being anyway. The political situation inside the OAU is very fluid and, for that reason, it is a crucible of contention both in terms of the contradictions and alliances between the various neocolonial African countries themselves and in terms of the jockeying of the U.S. and the Soviet imperialists and their efforts to fish in each other's blocs as they line them up for war. To a certain degree this has tempered the view of both the U.S. and the Soviets around splitting up the OAU right now. For the neocolonial African countries, the continued existence of the OAU is a major political question and one around which they have some contradictions with the U.S. and Soviet imperialists — bourgeois contradictions but contradictions nonetheless. The fact that the OAU has been unable to meet for the last ten months has been quite an embarrassment for these countries. Not only do they see the OAU as a vehicle for dealing with the contradictions among themselves, but, in their view, it also gives them a little leverage in the relations with the various imperialist powers. And more, the existence of the OAU also plays a role in the contradictions between these African ruling classes and the masses of people they rule over. This is true both in terms of providing these ruling classes with an aura of legal authority and, for many of them, in terms of maintaining their political credibility as a force "independent of the imperialists." The prospect of the OAU splitting up was indeed quite a crisis for these regimes.

While the imperialists, particularly the U.S. imperialists, played a lower profile role than during the previous two attempted meetings, they were just as much involved in the setting of terms which allowed this meeting to be convened as they were in preventing the two previous attempts. As we reported in *RW* 174 and 184, the U.S., often through direct pressure and bribery, lined up a bloc of

neocolonial African countries (who also had their own interests in mind) which then boycotted and walked out of the meetings in order to prevent the quorum necessary to open the meeting up. For the U.S. the key issue involved in the OAU was, and is, how best to line up its bloc for war. In this context the terms on which the U.S. would allow the OAU to meet have been clearly hammered out over the last ten months. And, as the third attempt to meet began to unfold, it was also clear that the U.S. was going to hold as hard a line as possible on these terms. The Soviets, also primarily concerned with the OAU in terms of lining up its bloc for war, and not currently having the upper hand in the organization, were forced into a sort of temporary compromise.

Actually, this third attempt came very close to mimicking the previous two attempts and was only pulled out of the fire through a series of last minute compromises in the days before the summit opened. Weeks before the delegates gathered for this meeting, Tunisia, one of the pro-U.S. neocolonies that boycotted the last two meetings, called for a postponement of this meeting since none of the issues that broke up the previous attempts had been anywhere near resolved. The opening session of this meeting was in fact postponed by two days as a specially formed negotiating team and three days of pre-summit meetings worked to cajole, pressure and negotiate enough countries together to reach a quorum and allow the meeting to open. The 19 pro-U.S. "boycotter" nations, led by Guinea and united around supporting Morocco against the Polisario in the struggle over who controls the Western Sahara, all showed up for the summit but refused to leave their hotel rooms and even attend the pre-summit negotiations because representatives of the Polisario were also allowed to attend. On Tuesday, June 7, Eden Kodjo, the outgoing Secretary General of the OAU announced that the summit would open up with or without a quorum on the following day. Apparently the situation was so touch-and-go that Daniel Arap Moi of Kenya, the chairman of the OAU for the last two years, had prepared two different

speeches for the opening session — his normal opening speech and another speech in which he was prepared to hand over the chairmanship of the organization to the secretary general in lieu of another chairman being appointed.

RW readers will remember that there were three main issues around which the two prior attempts to meet fell apart, and which focused up the contention between the U.S. and Soviet-led blocs and between the various African countries themselves — Chad, the Polisario and Western Sahara, and the issue of the chairmanship of the OAU going to Libyan leader Muammar Qaddafi. So, what great move of diplomatic ingenuity led to the "resolution" of these questions in order to allow the OAU to finally meet? Actually, it was all quite plain and simple and a compromise of an extremely temporary and volatile nature.

Temporary and Explosive Compromise

Chad was by far the easiest question to deal with. In November of 1982 the attempted meeting fell apart when both the pro-U.S. Habré regime, and the exiled Goukkouni Oueddei regime backed by Libya and other countries aligned with the Soviets, attempted to claim Chad's OAU seat. This time around, Habré's forces claimed the seat with no visible opposition. Oueddei also showed up for this summit but was held under house arrest-type conditions in a village in Addis Ababa. Communicating by telephone with the outside world, Oueddei vowed to retake Chad in the near future.

The Western Sahara and the Polisario were next. At the last minute the Polisario "voluntarily and temporarily" agreed to stay away from the summit while simultaneously declaring that it would defeat the U.S.-backed Moroccan regime on the battlefield. Although the Polisario stated that it was withdrawing from the summit in the interests of African unity, the "voluntary" aspect of this withdrawal seems to be up for questioning. Different forces within the Polisario are backed by different African countries, with the Algerian- and Libyan-supported factions being the main two. Recently, Algeria has been making overtures to Morocco and

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One Purpose

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1977, brought suit against the government on learning from Rowe's testimony that the FBI had been informed of the plans, and his suit claimed that the government failed to protect him.

The particulars in this case and the stakes involved were somewhat different than in the Liuzzo case. The issue, as defined by the court, was whether or not the government (through the FBI) had responsibility to protect citizens in interstate travel while the government claimed

that the FBI's duty was merely to investigate rather than to protect. The terms of this dispute were much less damaging or potentially dangerous to the government. The suit was more broadly aimed at the FBI and not specifically at the role of undercover informants. After only a few days testimony, the case took a decisive turn. The presiding judge, Enslin, ordered the government to turn over documents which Bergman's attorneys said would prove beyond a doubt that the FBI had knowledge ahead of time of the Klan's intended ambush in Anniston. The government attorneys balked. They claimed that such public treatment of these documents would reveal the names

of secret FBI informants and jeopardize their safety. Enslin ruled that the "plaintiff's right to build his case around the documents is greater than the government's need to hold the records . . . because the plaintiff has presented serious evidence that shows the need to release these documents." Enslin ruled that the documents would be released "in chamber," that is, only to the attorneys, and that the attorneys could not discuss the information with their client, Bergman. Government attorneys still refused, recognizing the consequences and potential damage. In response, Enslin banned the Justice Dept. attorneys from presenting a further defense on behalf of the FBI — in effect accepting Bergman's case as fact, but moreover, playing right along with FBI desires to dramatically restrict the scope of what was revealed in court and what was not.

In another interesting turn of events, the judge threatened to hold the Justice Dept. in contempt of court. This threat was issued in connection with the statement that appeared in the *Kalamazoo Gazette* from an unnamed Justice Dept. official. This official stated that the government never intended to turn the records the judge demanded over to Bergman's attorneys. When the judge demanded that the government attorney track this remark down to Washington, the Justice Dept. disavowed all knowledge of such a comment. But obviously, the Justice Dept. had already decided where they would draw the line, refusing to endanger the operation of yet unnamed informants. And the cost of losing a case where they would be held responsible for failing to protect a citizen's right to safe interstate travel would be far less expensive than further exposure of their undercover operations. And this had to do both with agents involved in the freedom riders' case but even more so with the kind of precedent it would set for countless other undercover operatives whose services would be deemed vital in

the future.

The upshot of the case was a June 1st ruling in favor of Bergman. In an 83-page decision, Enslin said, "the FBI had specific information from a number of sources concerning the nature of the conspiracy between the Klan and the police. The sole fact in the dispute, if indeed there is any dispute, involved the action or inaction of certain FBI agents, the Bureau itself, and the Justice Dept. . . . Instead of exercising due care to ensure that the freedom riders in the interstate transport system traveled by them were protected, the FBI did absolutely nothing to prevent or minimize the effects of the conspiracy between the Klan and the police."

For one thing, all this reduces the question to that of the "equal protection to the laws and the right to travel interstate," as the judge remarks elsewhere in the ruling. But moreover, the conclusion the judge draws is that the real problem involved was not Rowe's activity; the problem was that the FBI did not act on the valuable information their undercover operatives provided them.

How the Bergman case can be summed up as a "great victory" or any victory is beyond us. Nevertheless, we are informed in a headline in the current *Guardian* newspaper that off the Michigan decisions, the "FBI Wins One, Loses One." Bergman himself, in several statements to the press, declared, "This is a great victory for the American people — it proves that the FBI had a duty to protect citizens and not stoolies . . ." How it proved this is also beyond us.

In fact, the Bergman decision has had the effect of balancing off some of the anger generated by the Liuzzo case. But the content is being missed for the form. Rather than a "win one, lose one" kind of thing, these two rulings — though in different ways — have upheld the use of undercover informants in the '60s and protected the ability to use them without restrictions when these operatives' role will be more vital in the future. □

Addis Ababa

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offering to help settle the Western Sahara issue. Accordingly, Algeria was reported to have put some pressure on the Polisario in the days leading up to the summit. And, Algeria's pressure was supplemented by additional pressure from unnamed African countries who reportedly felt that an "Arab issue" should not be allowed to disrupt an "African" organization. That certainly is some kind of unity being forged there! It should also be noted here that pressure on the Polisario to "voluntarily" withdraw may very well have received an extra boost from the Soviet side of the street — especially since the Soviets recently signed a deal with Morocco (described in the magazine *New Times* as the "deal of the century") for the construction of a mining complex which would yield an annual 10 million tons of phosphate ore.

The Qaddafi issue was a bit stickier. Apparently a number of OAU members felt that Qaddafi would not bother to show up and attempt to take his place as chairman, especially since he had hosted the two failed attempts and politically seemed to have "lost interest" in the OAU leadership post since last November. However, Qaddafi most definitely showed up — with an entourage of 150, a large part of which were bodyguards armed with AK-47 assault rifles, three jet planes, and a number of other vehicles. Qaddafi immediately began campaigning for the chairmanship.

This issue was settled by politically icing Qaddafi and his bid for the chairman's post at an informal meeting prior to the summit. Here at last was an issue on which most of the OAU forces could reach an agreement. For many of the African rulers, Qaddafi and his bourgeois aspirations and ambitions in Africa and the Middle East, his goal of pulling together a pan-Islamic federation, and his numerous and varied direct and indirect attempts to intervene in other countries, were a painful and threatening thorn in the side. (In the months preceding the summit, the foundation for icing Qaddafi was being carefully laid as he was constantly accused of being behind literally every problem in central and

western Africa, from an alleged attempted military coup in Upper Volta to a recent teachers' strike in the Ivory Coast.) The U.S., for obvious reasons, did not relish the idea of Qaddafi becoming the "international spokesman for Africa," both because of his political alignment with the Soviets and his own ambitions. The Soviets, on the other hand, would have definitely settled for Qaddafi becoming chairman — although they too are a little uncomfortable with his ambitions. Most likely the Soviets summed up that this, plus the unnecessary contradictions that would have jumped off with other African countries had Qaddafi become chairman, made it an issue they were willing to bargain on. It should also be pointed out here that, in a sense, Qaddafi *not becoming* chairman of the OAU might actually be more beneficial to both Qaddafi himself and the Soviets. For one thing, it politically puts some distance between him and the OAU, and enhances his image as a more "radical" alternative in Africa and the Middle East. For another, it actually frees him up from many of the restraints that would have accompanied the job of OAU chairman — including his direct and indirect involvement in other African countries.

Qaddafi was unanimously defeated in his bid for the chairmanship prior to the opening of the summit. He quickly left Ethiopia after his defeat and embarked on a tour of the Middle East. In lieu of Qaddafi, a compromise chairman was unanimously elected — the Ethiopian dictator Mengistu. First off, Mengistu is free from a lot of the other contradictions with his fellow African rulers that characterized Qaddafi. And, because of his Soviet-bloc political alignment, he was obviously acceptable to the Soviets. The U.S. agreement on Mengistu probably had to do with a number of different factors. For one thing, the pro-U.S. forces didn't have a whole lot of room to maneuver on this question unless they wanted to politically risk still another failed attempt to meet. And, given the withdrawal of the Polisario and the seating of the Habré regime, the assignment of Mengistu to chair the OAU was a little easier to swallow. It should also be noted here that the position of chairman is mainly a symbolic position and is mainly valued as an international political platform. And finally, although Mengistu is tightly linked up with the Soviets today,

the U.S. has by no means given up on attempting to pry Ethiopia out of the Soviet bloc. (Also, while the pro-Soviet forces got the chairmanship for a year, after which it will go to the pro-U.S. Sékou Touré of Guinea, the pro-U.S. forces remain in control of the Secretary General's post — the post responsible for the day-to-day operations of the OAU. Peter Onu of Nigeria was appointed Secretary General for a year after 20 different attempts to vote failed to agree on any single candidate.)

Reflective of the contention underlying these "great compromises," the 19th summit could not, and did not, deal with any substantive issue. The standard denunciation of the South African apartheid regime and a call for a Namibia settlement were once again issued. A budget for the organization, which has been operating on a large deficit since last August, was also agreed upon. And finally, the one "major accomplishment" of the 19th summit was the passage of a resolution on the Western Sahara. Actually, this wasn't really much of an accomplishment at all, since it did nothing to alter the current situation in the Western Sahara. In fact, with a few changes, this resolution, hammered out by Morocco and Algeria beforehand, was pretty much the same as the Western Sahara resolution passed by the 1981 OAU summit. The resolution called for talks within the next six months to facilitate the holding of a referendum among the people of the Western Sahara to decide whether Morocco or the Polisario should rule. The new terms of the resolution are the same terms that Morocco and the Polisario have been disagreeing over for years — the disposition of the 100,000 Moroccan troops stationed in the Western Sahara, and a stipulation that only those currently living in the area or refugees living in neighboring countries can participate in the referendum. Overall, these new terms are highly favorable for Morocco. The elections are to be held within the existing Moroccan administrative set-up. The Moroccan troops are to be kept in their barracks but not removed from the area. And, the OAU estimate of 230,000 eligible voters in the Western Sahara more closely approximates the Moroccan figure of 130,000 than the Polisario's estimate of 1.5 million. The OAU committee set up to oversee the initial talks is also very pro-Moroccan and pro-U.S. —

including, among others, Guinea and Sudan. While the Polisario hailed the resolution as a "victory of reason" because it was the first official OAU document that named the Polisario as a legitimate force in the Western Sahara, the Moroccans expressed "reservations" about holding talks with a group that Morocco doesn't even recognize. In sum, although the OAU resolution has come out leaning strongly toward Morocco, still, it leaves the actual situation in the Western Sahara pretty much the same as it has been.

The convening of the long-awaited 19th summit of the OAU has hardly been a vindication of "African unity." Nor does it contradict the fact that it is contention between the U.S. and the Soviets (and their blocs) that characterizes the OAU today. In fact, even as the closing speeches hailed the revived "African unity," the reality of disunity, of imperialist domination and contention, hung heavy over the continent. In his first press conference, Mengistu spent hours attacking the U.S. and upholding the "socialist way" for Africa. As an illustration of his commitment to Soviet-style internationalism he later announced the launching of Operation Multifaceted Red Star against the Eritrean people. It was also reported that Libya had helped Goukkouni Oueddei to set up his own government in northern Chad and was now supporting his threat to launch a full-scale civil war. While all this was happening, Felix Houphouët-Boigny of the Ivory Coast, a "senior statesman" in Africa, returned from his visit to Washington and called on his fellow African rulers to support the U.S. initiatives in Africa, and called on the U.S. to step up its efforts against Libya and Qaddafi.

The current state of the OAU has nothing to do with some supposed ability or lack of ability of the various African countries to "get themselves together." Rather, it is a living exposure and an outgrowth of the crisis that shapes the world today. That the 19th summit managed to finally convene is as much a product of this crisis as the two previous failed attempts. The 19th summit was opened up on the basis of a temporary compromise — a compromise built on inter-imperialist rivalry and laying the basis for further and intensified contention, a compromise that began to crumble as soon as it was formed. □

Darnell Summers in the 1960s — In the midst of the high tide of the Black liberation struggle in 1968, Darnell, a Black GI, is brought back from Vietnam and framed for the killing of a Michigan State Police red squad cop who had been sent to Inkster, Michigan (a largely Black suburb of Detroit) to suppress the community's outrage over the attempted closing of the Malcolm X Cultural Center, of which Darnell was a leader and founder. The frame-up failed when the key prosecution witness, Milford Scott, declared his testimony was totally false and scripted by the police.

Darnell Summers in the 1980s — Well known in West Germany as a revolutionary musician, as a supporter of the revolutionary GI newspaper *Fight Back*, and for his other revolutionary political activity among the U.S. troops, immigrants from Turkey and the youth movement in Germany — Darnell comes to the attention of U.S. and German authorities. "Mysteriously," "new evidence" appears in the 13-year-old case. It is the same old discredited testimony, this time given by a second witness, Gale Simmons, (who was arrested, herself charged with the killing, and then granted immunity in return for her testimony against Darnell). German authorities break speed records and rule books to extradite Darnell to Detroit in July 1982. No sooner is he back than the second witness also recants, saying her testimony is false and distorted by police. But no matter. The police produce that same first witness again (who is now serving a 60-to-90-year term on a separate, unrelated charge, but has a parole hearing in 1983). He repeats the same lying testimony one more time and the railroad is on! Darnell Summers is now to stand trial for murder in the first degree, scheduled to begin on November 1, 1983, on the sole testimony of an admitted liar who 13 years earlier had renounced the same story! How much blood will the state try to extract from Darnell Summers?

On May 31, the prosecution in the case of the State of Michigan vs. Darnell Summers filed a reply to the defense's application for leave to appeal the lower court's denials of seven pre-trial motions. As readers will recall, Darnell's defense team had filed a number of motions earlier this year exposing the case as a high-level government attempt to frame up a revolutionary on bogus criminal charges (see *RW* 204). Judge Sullivan denied all of the defense motions, and on May 4 the defense filed its application to appeal seven of the denials to the State Court of Appeals before the November 1 trial date.

As we have come to expect from the prosecution in this case, they refused to



FREE DARNELL SUMMERS

address any of the issues raised in the defense brief. For example, in the section where they argue that Judge Sullivan was correct to deny the motion to dismiss due to lack of speedy trial, they talk quite a bit about "fundamental concepts of justice" and the like. However, they don't explain why it is legally permissible to bring Darnell to trial 14 years after the case was initially dismissed on the basis of the exact same so-called evidence as in 1969 — evidence that their "eyewitnesses" have already repudiated in court. Nor do they attempt to justify continuing to prosecute Darnell when the case against Gale Simmons, who was also charged with the murder, was dismissed due to lack of speedy trial!

But they do say some noteworthy things in calling on the appeals court to not only uphold the denials, but in fact to not even hear these appeals until after they have finished with their railroad. In responding to the defense motion to dismiss the charge because the government has stated in court that it is not prepared to vouch for the credibility of Milford Scott, the sole witness whose lies attempted to link Darnell to the death of Gonsler, the prosecution says that they only have to list Scott's name and not vouch for his credibility. Indeed they say that for them to vouch for his credibility "would reduce a criminal trial to a game where only the defendant would win." It is understandable that they are reluctant to vouch for the testimony of Scott, given

the number of lies he's told in this case (seventeen at last count). But if they aren't willing to vouch for the credibility of their star witness, why is Darnell facing a murder charge based solely on that witness' testimony?

In justifying the government's refusal to reveal the identity of a confidential informant, who Milford Scott told in 1968 that he (Milford), and not Darnell, killed Gonsler, the prosecution stoops to even new lows. After quoting Judge Sullivan's regurgitation of unsubstantiated police stories about threats on witnesses who are cooperating with the police, they cite another case where the identity of a witness was withheld from the defense. This case was one where the defendants had been tried and convicted of murdering a witness in an earlier criminal case, and the appeals courts agreed that the identity of a witness in a subsequent case should not be revealed. Now they've gone from claiming that threats were made, to comparing Darnell to people who've been convicted of murdering witnesses! This becomes even more outrageous when considered together with the fact that two important defense witnesses, Carl James and Turhan Lewis, who were, like Darnell, leaders in the Malcolm X Cultural Center, both died in the early 1970s under suspicious circumstances.

In explaining the government's refusal to produce surveillance materials, they produce another real gem. They say that "the present criminal trial is not a plat-

form presented to him (Darnell) from which he may seek to further his self-proclaimed role as a leader and spokesperson of revolutionary struggles." You would almost think that Darnell had asked them to resurrect this railroad against him. Of course this case has been used as a "platform" from which to challenge many with Darnell's revolutionary internationalist stand, but that's a problem for their class. Finally, on the refusal to provide the defense with transcripts at state expense: In addition to their explanation that Darnell has a support committee that is presently paying for two attorneys, they add that Darnell told the court that he was self-employed in Germany. Did they forget that they arrested him and ripped him away from his band? Going further, they conclude this section by alleging that Darnell is trying "to punish the state for deciding to prosecute him by costing the state money." Let's see... they've extradited Darnell twice on this charge, he's facing his second trial on it, he was separated from his band and family, this battle has already cost him and his supporters many thousands of dollars. Who's trying to punish whom?

For further information, contact the Coalition to Free Darnell Summers, 2832 East Grand Blvd., Room 324, Detroit, MI 48141, or call (313) 871-4616. □

A Memo

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Times put it a while back, "Beirut has over the past eight months been transformed into what is in effect a NATO base.... The waters off Beirut have become, quite literally, a (U.S.) Sixth Fleet anchorage."

And so on. Conflicts such as have arisen between the U.S. and Israel have almost entirely been on the terms of *how* to best effect their routine of master and dog whereby it is worked out that when the master says "sit," the dog bites, and the master tries to look blameless. And such conflicts have almost invariably been blown way out of proportion so as to give the U.S. a periodic semblance of "distance" from their Israeli allies.

Regarding the memorandum of understanding itself, the Israel-Lebanon pact negotiated through Secretary of State Shultz in May apparently already revived much of it. According to the *Economist* magazine, the pact contains secret clauses providing "American guarantees to revive elements of the 1981 Israeli-American 'strategic understanding,' lift the embargo on 75 F-16 fighter bombers, release technology and financing for the development of Israel's Lavi fighter, and help mend relations with Egypt."

Given this, then, what does Weinberger's public call to "revive" an apparently quite active memorandum mean? It is primarily a signal, a portent of the measures the U.S. will unleash through Israel

to "resolve" the current imbroglio in Lebanon.

To put it mildly, the past few weeks have not been kind to the Israel-Lebanon "troop withdrawal" pact. While the Lebanese Parliament overwhelmingly ratified the agreement on June 14, this was a feeble effort indeed to proclaim a "national consensus." Even Lebanese Prime Minister Chafik al-Wazzan admitted to reporters after the Parliament session that this was still "not the final stage," and as fighting and bombardments have intensified throughout Lebanon, indeed it is not. In Syria, the government paper, denouncing the Parliament's move, called on the guerrillas of the Syrian-backed Lebanese National Resistance Movement to turn their guns against "those collaborating with Israel at all levels."

Of course, the Israel-Lebanon pact was no more a "peace plan" than it was a guarantee for Lebanese "territorial security and national sovereignty." It was a move to isolate the position of Syria and its Soviet patrons, and over the past period, the U.S. maneuvered in the hopes that other Arab governments, particularly the Saudis, would use sufficient leverage against Syria so as to force it to back off. This effort has largely failed thus far, and for the U.S. it is time to turn again to the Israeli biting dog, with the added threat that both master and dog may *openly* agree to bite this time. And this is the meaning behind Weinberger's statement. That the terms of U.S.-Israeli "strategic cooperation" have been

primarily directed towards the Soviets is of course right in step with the developing situation. Through demonstrating its

Gap

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decide where its true interest lies, with the Israelis or the Arabs." Further, saying that the credibility of Syria, the PLO, and Lebanese nationalist forces was at stake, Hawatmeh said, "The credibility of these forces demands that the Lebanese nationalist forces develop a broad national front and make a credible military group." No doubt, this too might help the "Lebanese bourgeoisie decide where its true interest lies."

While a preoccupation with helping the Lebanese bourgeoisie make up its mind is preposterous from the viewpoint of *revolutionary* strategy, it is hardly far-fetched from the viewpoint of Soviet social-imperialism, and of course is entirely consistent with the revisionist strategy of "historic compromise." While the Syrians, their position shored up through Soviet rearmament, issue dire threats against the Lebanese leaders, and indeed have just called for guerrilla war against the Lebanese government, the Soviets maintain a position as potential mediators between Syria and Lebanon. In late May, Chafik al-Wazzan, the beleaguered Lebanese Prime Minister, stated that the Soviet Union should help Lebanon

"willingness to revive the memo," the U.S. is primarily demonstrating its readiness to "globalize" the growing conflict.

"liberate itself from the Israeli occupation," and that the Soviet Union, like other states, had a responsibility in this area. President Amin Gemayel, while he has mainly relied on the Saudis (and of course, more generally, the U.S.) in an unsuccessful effort to get Syria to back off, has also maintained some openness to the Soviets, maintaining regular contacts with the Soviet Ambassador in Beirut, Alexander Soldatov.

It is worth remembering that the Soviet Union has never once, in all the realms of denunciations against the Sabra and Shatila massacres last September, pointed to the Phalange's own role. This despite the fact that it was, after all, Gemayel's own Phalange gunmen who, with active Israeli participation, murdered hundreds of Palestinians. In fact, within days of the massacres, Brezhnev had sent Gemayel a note of congratulations on his appointment as Lebanese president.

In this light, Hawatmeh's prescription for a "broad national front and a credible military group" can best be understood. It is a necessary component for leverage towards Gemayel & Co., and above all as a means to "credibly" contend for the banner of Lebanese national sovereignty (which raggedy as it is, the U.S. bloc nonetheless is shamelessly acting on) and to articulate a Lebanese "national interest" more in harmony with Syrian and Soviet designs. □

June 20 Anti-Nuke Actions

On and around June 20, nearly 40 actions of civil disobedience and a number of rallies and marches will take place in the U.S., Japan, and Europe in opposition to preparations for nuclear war. These actions, all part of the International Day of Nuclear Disarmament, were initiated by a call put out by the Livermore Action Group (LAG) from Livermore, California nearly one year ago. Coordinated by LAG and the New York-based Mobilization For Survival, the International Day protests have been joined by over 140 organizations international-

ly. LAG organizers call International Day one of the first major protests inside the U.S. of the deployment of the Cruise and Pershing II in Europe, scheduled for this winter. While the deployment of the Euro-missiles is not the only target of the protests, organizers see that as one of the most urgent escalations of war preparations requiring protests and mass action.

One article in the LAG newspaper put it, "Although only a part of the first strike recipe, the Cruise and Pershing II missiles represent a special, immediate threat. They are the first to be deployed." LAG has devoted considerable attention and effort to linking up with sections of the anti-nuclear movement in the other imperialist countries in the U.S. bloc — and sent two International Day organizers to Europe for several months. The June 20th protests promise to be significant events, themselves charged with political struggle between opposing lines and viewpoints.

Actions now part of International Day include: blockades at facilities in the U.S., Canada, and Europe that manufacture, store, or test Cruise missiles; blockades and demonstrations at nuclear submarine bases and submarine missile testing ranges; blockades of bomber manufacturers and military and Air Force bases where bombers are based; ac-

tions against the manufacture of the Pershing II and MX; blockades and protests at major centers of nuclear weapons research.

In Groton, Connecticut, for example, a demonstration is planned for Saturday, June 18, on the occasion of the commissioning of the *USS Florida*, a Trident-capable submarine. (Groton is the site of Electric Boat, manufacturers of the sub.) On the following Monday, there will be a blockade of the gates of the plant. And in California, there are now six actions planned for different parts of the state. Protest against the test launching of the MX at Vandenberg continues, and the Vandenberg Action Coalition (VAC) has declared their action part of International Day of Nuclear Disarmament. LAG is calling for a blockade of the Lawrence Livermore Laboratory, one of the two places in the U.S. where nuclear weapons are designed. □

Deployment

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missiles — the key to be in its hand of course. Countries which had never before had nuclear weapons on their soil were expressing willingness to accept at least token numbers of the new missiles, especially at West German insistence that it not bear the whole brunt of the deployment.

Christoph Bertram, the director of the very influential Institute for Strategic Studies, a British think tank, has complained that the original decision to deploy the missiles was presented all wrong, that it should have been weighted "less on the SS-20 threat than on the need to make NATO nuclear forces less vulnerable to the whole gamut of Soviet preemptive capabilities," and Bertram also refers later to "NATO's opportunistic stance of justifying its own program by the growth of the SS-20 arsenal."

Bertram is admitting a bit of truth here, and asking NATO in effect to be a little more honest. Though the Soviet deployment of SS-20 medium-range missiles in the late '70s was certainly a factor in NATO thinking, the Brussels conference was prompted by much broader considerations than Bertram himself is willing to admit. This period marked a major intensification in war preparations on the part of both blocs; though the U.S. now pins the blame for its buildup on Soviet moves during this time, the fact is that the U.S. imperialists (like the Soviets) had already been driven to step things up toward an all-out redivision of the world through war.

The new period, especially the fact of parity in strategic (long-range) weapons, focused attention on Europe and put strains on the NATO imperialist alliance. It was the West German Chancellor, Social-Democrat Helmut Schmidt, who first publicly called for an arms step-up in Europe in a now-famous speech in England, a speech which directly led to the Pershing/cruise decision. In this speech, Schmidt correctly pointed out that the *global* strategic balance "magnified" the importance of Europe and the "Eurostrategic balance." In other words, the NATO powers operated under the umbrella of U.S. nuclear forces, especially long-range forces, but what becomes of that umbrella when in fact the Soviets can match it with their own long-range nukes?

As part of this larger picture the Soviet SS-20s did play an important role in the increasingly toe-to-toe maneuvering between East and West in Europe. The SS-20s were far more accurate, and included more punch with their 3-warhead weaponry, than earlier medium-range Soviet missiles. Along with other new Soviet weapons systems, they were capable of hitting NATO military targets, specifically the "theater" nuclear weapons which NATO holds so dear in their planning for the next war. The Soviets clearly were attempting to create political and military-strategic havoc by deploying the new missiles.

But it also seems clear that Bertram is correct: NATO wanted not simply, not even mainly, to counter the new Soviet SS-20 missiles. For one thing there is the

fact that the Pershing II is not significantly more mobile than the Pershing I — that is, it is not any more capable of surviving an SS-20 attack than what NATO already has. Its advantage is that it can reach Soviet targets inside Soviet territory in five-to-eight minutes, and with its speed and accuracy constitutes a very effective element in a first-strike arsenal, which, regardless of the SS-20s, NATO wants and needs in Europe. (The cruise, on the other hand, is very small, extremely mobile and difficult to detect, and therefore is a survivable weapon).

Secondly, the new U.S. nukes are not targeted directly on the SS-20s in any case (and have not the range to hit them) but do step up the NATO capability to hit troop concentrations, command centers, and other targets. Objectives outside of Europe also come into the range of the new missiles, notably those to be sited at Comiso, Sicily which can reach Northern Africa and the Middle East.

Thirdly, it is not at all clear that new ground-based missiles were militarily necessary even if one accepts the rationale that is always given by the imperialists — that the U.S. needs everything the Soviets have (and vice-versa). Missiles with similar capabilities to the cruise and Pershing II could have been attached to aircraft or submarines, and in fact the option of sea-launched missiles was seriously considered by NATO planners before the 1979 decision.

It would seem that sea-launched missiles would have created less political problems for the imperialists since they would not have had to be sited on anyone's territory; why were they rejected? This raises a fourth and most essential aspect of the Brussels decision: the necessity to politically hammer together the Western bloc.

A member of the West German Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Peter Corterier, writes in the NATO Review of August, 1981:

"The question as to whether long-range theatre ballistic missiles and ground-launched cruise missiles are necessary to ensure this, or whether a sea-launched variant or the central systems of the United States would be suitable was discussed. On ground of visibility and risk-sharing, a decision was finally taken in favor of the ground-based systems. The concept of visibility is intended to demonstrate the partners' willingness to share risks in an alliance linking together sovereign states... it would be inappropriate for partners in the Alliance to be reluctant to share the hazards inherent in the deployment of weapons of greater range... a sea-launched system would have been conceivable but more costly. However the cost cannot be taken as the overriding yardstick... it was decided that sea-launched systems do not fulfill the criteria of visibility and risk-sharing."

Risk-Sharing

It has to be a little shocking that the imperialists can openly say such things! For when Corterier's comment is translated from imperialist newspeak, we see that

"visibility and risk-sharing" — that is the fact that the missiles will be on European land and thus will risk Soviet strikes — is precisely the reason they are to be deployed! Here we come upon some murderous calculations. The U.S. knows that its ICBMs are the backbone of NATO power and would be the chief target of any Soviet strike: the Americans want the Europeans to demonstrate some imperialist unity to the Soviets by "sharing the risk" of nuclear devastation upon their territories.

The Europeans on the other hand are willing to share this risk, knowing full well that when the missiles are used to hit Russian territory, the long-stated Soviet policy will be to retaliate against the U.S. This speaks to the greatest fear of the Europeans which is that the U.S. won't use its ICBMs and would try to confine the fighting to the European land mass. (Indeed, the comment of U.S. war-planner Colin Gray is undoubtedly accurate: "The United States, while endorsing the idea of there being close linkage between NATO's Central Front and the ICBMs on the high plains of the American homeland, wishes to develop and sustain at least the possibility that a war which begins in Europe would remain confined to Europe." — our emphasis — RW)

As Corterier puts the European position:

"Alliance policy must be designed to make any war in Europe inconceivable and to deter attack by maintaining a complete and interlocking spectrum of conventional and nuclear deterrence, both tactical and strategic, closely connected to the U.S. commitment to deterrence and defense in Europe."

In addition, as Corterier also points out, the new missiles "are too limited to create a danger of Euro-strategic nuclear exchange," that is, there aren't enough of the missiles for the U.S. to launch a devastating pre-emptive first-strike against the Soviets using only Euro-missiles, and thus the U.S. would be forced, even in launching a first-strike, to utilize its central (ICBM) systems.

All this well represents the bloody calculus of imperialist alliance, powers united by the common need and possibility of going up against the rival bloc, but within that, warily eyeing each other, and in fact maneuvering to try and exclude their own territory as much as possible from the destruction and social turmoil of war.

The Negotiations Scam

Both the military value, and perhaps more importantly, the political value to the U.S. bloc as a whole, makes the missile deployments crucial preparations for world war. The bloc also has proceeded on the "second track" (that of negotiations) in order to try and defuse public opposition to the weapons by pinning the onus for the new round of arms buildup on the Soviets. But the bottom line is that the missiles must and will be deployed, and accordingly U.S. "reductions proposals" have amounted to proposals that the U.S. construct missile sites, while the Soviets dismantle some, as RW readers know. At Geneva, the U.S.

has consistently and deliberately floated proposals it knows will be rejected.

As for the Soviets, they have played the Geneva talks in exactly the same manner. Their proposals have demanded the inclusion of French and British nuclear systems and U.S. nuclear-capable aircraft in their reductions calculations, as well as other points which they know damn well the West will not accept. The Soviets, in short, have not and clearly will not budge. Just as the NATO policy of "risk-sharing" deliberately feeds enormous numbers of peoples and territory into the nuclear fires, so the Soviets have vested interests of their own in the emplacement of these new U.S. missiles as a trade-off for advantages in their own pre-war maneuvering.

The advantages have so far been impressive. The missile question has helped the Soviets in their overall policy of attempting to weaken the Western war bloc and specifically NATO. That policy, put briefly, is to flaunt its military might, and geopolitical proximity, while offering "inducements" to Europeans to loosen the NATO tie and gradually strengthen various forms of economic and political cooperation with the Eastern bloc. The long range strategic aim of the Soviets is to "decouple" Western Europe from the United States and bring it under its own wing if possible; in the shorter term, as part of pre-war jockeying and maneuvering, the Soviets are doing their best to inflame structural contradictions within the Atlantic alliance, just as the U.S. is feverishly fishing in the troubled waters of the Warsaw Pact. The results of this policy can be judged partly by the comment of one NATO diplomat that 1982 was NATO's worst year — undoubtedly he had the missile question, as well as the Yamal pipeline affair and other economic problems in mind. And we can gauge the importance of this policy to the Soviets by the generally recognized fact that the Soviets held back on an invasion of Poland during the political crisis of that country partly because of the damaging impact this would have had upon its policy toward Western Europe.

This policy rests on the Soviet's posture as a "defensive" and even essentially "peaceful" power in the world. Although of course both sides play this game, the Soviets have overall been more successful at making plausible their "defensive" escalations in a massive and sustained arms buildup. They argue that they are under unremitting political, military and economic pressure from the West that makes it impossible for them to adopt any other course; that because they "support national liberation struggles" against U.S. imperialism and "have refused to back down," the U.S. is launching an all-out offensive against them. They are able to trade off the fact that U.S. imperialism is indeed still the dominant imperialist power and that its European allies — England, Germany, France, etc. — comprise a veritable Rogues Gallery of the traditional imperialist monsters down throughout history. And the fact that the Soviet Union was a socialist country, and still retains some of the rhetoric and trappings of socialism, still benefits it in explaining its every military move as merely a virtuously "defensive" response to imperialist aggression.

In fact, far from acting "defensively," the Soviets are angling to use the new NATO deployments as a blank check excuse for their next strategic steps — just as NATO has justified its Pershing/cruise deployments decision by pointing to the Soviet SS-20s.

This became quite concrete starting on May 3, when Yuri Andropov threatened that "if this (the U.S. deployments) came about, a chain reaction would be inevitable. The USSR, the GDR, and other Warsaw Treaty states would be forced to take countermeasures." It is now becoming apparent that these countermeasures will probably be the modernization of Soviet short-range missiles in Europe — a phasing out of its Frog, Scud, and Scaleboard missiles, replacing them with the more effective SS-21, 22, and 23 systems. A recent dispute in the West German Bundestag brought out a most interesting fact about this modernization — it has been planned since 1979! According to the *New York Times*:

"Christian Democratic Defense Minister Manfred Wörner challeng-

Continued on page 15

The "Disruptive Potential" Time Has in Mind

"We have room for but one language here, and that is the English language, for we intend to see that the crucible turns our people out as Americans and not as dwellers in a polyglot boarding house"—Theodore Roosevelt." So runs the invocation that begins an interesting editorial in the June 13 issue of *Time* magazine. Titled "Against a Confusion of Tongues", the essay begins: "In the store windows of Los Angeles, gathering place of the world's aspiring peoples, the signs today ought to read, 'English spoken here.'... In the new city of dreams, where gold can be earned if not found on the sidewalk, there are laborers and businessmen who have lived five, ten, 20 years in America without learning to speak English. English is not the common denominator for many of these Americans. Disturbingly, many of them insist it need not be..."

In what at first seems to be yet another standard attack on bilingualism and bilingual education, the *Time* essay drags out all the time-worn reactionary arguments à la the William Buckley's, the Max Rafferty's, and the S.I. Hayakawa's for why "total immersion" in English (commonly known as "sink or swim") is the only feasible way of educating what are dubbed Limited-English-Proficient schoolchildren. This of course is nothing new. For the past few years, even the few crummy bilingual programs in American schools have been under sharp attack and taking it soundly on the chin. Besides which, the whole concept of bilingual education in America has never meant equality of languages anyway — just "Learn English" in addition to whatever other "inferior" language you may happen to speak!

So why is *Time* moved to such vindictive diatribe in an atmosphere where even what passes for "bilingual education" has been cut and slashed, where government funds have steadily been channeled into English immersion programs, and where, as one educator put it, after years of controversy "advocates of bilingual education have been forced to live with political reality"? Well, it seems that the actual subject of *Time*'s essay is something a bit more comprehensive — something of which the "language problem" is but one important reflection. Indeed, the essay appears as just part of a much larger *Time* spread (the cover story is titl-

ed "Los Angeles—America's Uneasy New Melting Pot") which is riddled with concerned analysis of, and none-too-discreet cautioning against the effects of the huge influx of immigrants, both legal and "illegal," who are swelling American cities like LA, Miami and Houston to the seams. (As *Time* warns elsewhere in the issue, "...Of LA's 550,000 schoolchildren, 117,000 speak one of 104 languages better than they do English...")

The *Time* essay roots around for authorities and finds one in author Richard Rodriguez, who has the added advantage of a Spanish surname. Rodriguez, we learned, is notorious in educational circles as a rabid critic of bilingualism and just a plain lackey. *Time* says that, "In his autobiography, (*Hunger for Memory*), Rodriguez argues that the separation from his family that a Hispanic child feels on becoming fluent in English is necessary to develop a sense of belonging to American society... By Rodriguez's reasoning, the discomfort of giving up the language of the home is far less significant than the isolation of being able to speak the language of the larger world."

The larger world? One wonders: what world is *Time* in? There is, after all, more to the world than the English-speaking world, and certainly more to it than just the USA. Of course, the English language has followed worldwide economic and political domination first by England, then by the U.S., and in fact, these imperialisms have tried to impose English as the official "international" language (and in many countries, the required second language). But the irony, reflected in the vicious *Time* essay, is that the very workings of imperialism have driven many of those whose countries and cultures have been trampled upon into the belly of the beast itself where even their languages are perceived as, and in fact are, a real threat. Of course, what *Time* is worrying about here is the "larger world" within the U.S.'s own borders. But even here it must be said that this is a relative term. For instance, it is not all that uncommon for non-Latino immigrants who arrive in places like LA (where, as *Time* notes alarmingly, a third of the county's population is now Spanish-speaking) to take up and master as their main second language not

English, but Spanish!

As it moves along, the essay's tone becomes increasingly ominous, if not verging on the hysterical: "...a new bilingualism and biculturalism is being promulgated that would deliberately fragment the nation into separate, unassimilated groups... The new metaphor is not the melting pot but the salad bowl... The biculturalists seek to use public services, particularly schools, not to Americanize the young but to heighten their consciousness of belonging to another heritage." This movement, we are told, "derives its political force from the unprecedented raw numbers — 15 million or more — of a group linked to a single tongue, Spanish." The cat begins to creep out of the bag as *Time* dives headlong into a flurry of worrisome allusions to a subject that has, for a while now, been a topic of discussion among the U.S. rulers.

"The potential for separatism is greater in Los Angeles (than other cities)," *Time* tells us. The president of a retail store chain is quoted as remarking that, "This is the only area in the U.S. that over the next 50 years could have a polarization into two distinct cultures, of the kind that brought about the Quebec situation in Canada." Next up, a Cal State University professor who worries that, "Talk of secession may come when there are shrinking economic resources and rising expectations among have-not Hispanics." Another professor warns that "The separation question is with us already," and *Time* comments that "The most portentous evidence is in the classrooms." After all, this is an essay against bilingual education! And certainly, for the imperialists, the denial of language, both in the classroom and throughout society as a whole, has always been key to enforcing the dominant culture and suppressing struggles against national oppression.

The "language problem" — and with it, the "separation problem" — is being addressed in specific historical conditions. *Time*'s cries really do turn to shrieks of panic when the essay gets around to projecting all these problems into the future — a future, one senses the *Time* editors urging, that will be wracked by upheaval and social turmoil even without the immigrants. And with them?: "The dubious value of bi-

lingualism to students is only part of America's valid concern about how to absorb the Hispanic minority... The rise of a large group, detached from the main population by language and custom, could affect the social stability of the country... The disruptive potential of bilingualism and biculturalism is still worrisome: millions of voters cut off from the main sources of information, millions of potential draftees inculcated with dual ethnic loyalties, millions of would-be employees ill at ease in the language of their workmates... many Americans mistakenly feel that there is something racist, or oppressive, in expecting newcomers to share the nation's language and folkways." Well why in the hell doesn't *Time* just come straight out, Klan style, and write this last sentence like this: "Attention Loyal Americans! A pernicious Spanish-speaking enemy dwells in your midst..." They might as well have, since a section of the potential audience for such appeals need to be spoken to simply and with no trace of subtlety. But it is also interesting that the concern is implicitly expressed that at least some Americans wouldn't wish the "nation's... folkways" — you know, like Wayne Newton and a Big Mac — on anybody.

What stands out in all this is that the U.S. rulers are faced with an extremely serious problem. Unfortunately, the streets are not paved with gold. Cities like LA are somehow "adjust to the quirky, polyglot rhythms" (in *Time*'s words) of the burgeoning immigrant populations whose conditions of life here in the "land of plenty" have only magnified their explosive potential and raised the spectre of a bucking and rearing trojan horse — one which, unlike Francis The Talking Mule, is not particularly impressed with the King's English, or his politics.

The problem is that there are any number of down-right uncomfortable scenarios facing the editors of *Time* and company. They are finding it difficult to penetrate and inoculate the immigrant populations with the proper loyalties, and this might end up throwing an awful hitch into their plans for blind, unquestioning national unity in the coming years. The crux of the matter is that many of these immigrants whose position is such that they have nothing to lose are a section of the people who will be increasingly drawn toward, and will provide an important part of the social base for, proletarian revolution when things go up for grabs. It is therefore not surprising that the vicious and ugly cry "Speak English!" is suddenly being belted with renewed vigor. □

Deployment

Continued from page 14

ed an assertion by Egon Bahr, an arms expert from the opposition Social Democratic Party, that the Soviet Union was preparing new SS-22 missile sites in Eastern Europe as a retaliatory move...

"Let us not fall into the Soviet propaganda that this is the revenge for the Western armament," insisted Mr. Worner, speaking directly to the Social Democratic arms expert. "Mr. Bahr, I don't want a new legend to arise with your help."

The *Times* goes on to explain, "As the December deadline nears for the stationing of the first American Pershing II missiles in West Germany, Mr. Worner and other officials seem eager to prevent the Soviet Union from portraying its own long-planned modernization program as an angry response to the new American missiles. This, the officials say in private, would give the Soviet Union a public excuse for doing something it long ago decided to do."

This, undoubtedly, is true — and the West should know whereof they speak, since it has become quite adept at executing this very propaganda maneuver. (The possibility should also be considered that, by injecting the threat of new nuclear weapons in East Germany and

other Pact countries, the Soviets are engaging in a little "risk-sharing" of its own, a move to pull together the countries of its own bloc which, as is well known, have their own national contradictions with their bloc leader.)

But the Soviets cannot exclusively and indefinitely portray themselves as on the defensive. The Soviets are, after all imperialists, whose clients depend on their umbrella of power every bit as much as the U.S. clients rely on their godfather; and who hopes to win vacillating nations and political forces by projecting itself as a powerful alternative to the U.S. imperialists. Moreover, the Soviets have their own version of "peace through strength" in the European theater since, like good gangsters that they are, the revisionists paint themselves both as the "leader of the peace forces" and simultaneously wield the very bombs that will fall on Europe "should the fight for peace fail." Behind every expression of earnest desire for peace lurks a threat, while every dark threat implies a way out (as in: "just don't station the missiles and everything will be O.K.')

The sabre-rattling of the U.S. — which as in the Reagan "Star Wars Speech" has sometimes reached the point of the bizarre — must be understood in part as an attempt to force the Soviets to drop some of their "defensive" pretense and respond in kind.

And it must be said that Moscow has

certainly come out swinging lately. Late last year, for example, the Soviets slapped at the Japanese imperialists for helping constitute an "aggressive Washington-Beijing-Tokyo axis" and made several references to "the tragedy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki" as a fate which might be in store if Japanese leaders persisted in becoming "a floating battleship" for the U.S. This is at least as cold and brutal a tactic as anything the U.S. has tried — and that is saying something: recently, the Soviets have begun building more SS-20 silos in Asia, presumably intended for missiles targeted on Japan and China.

And since the Andropov statement in May, the Soviets have been even more laying it on the line. A recent article in the *CPUSA Peoples World* snarls:

"To expect the Soviet Union to back down in the face of a military threat is to ignore past history."

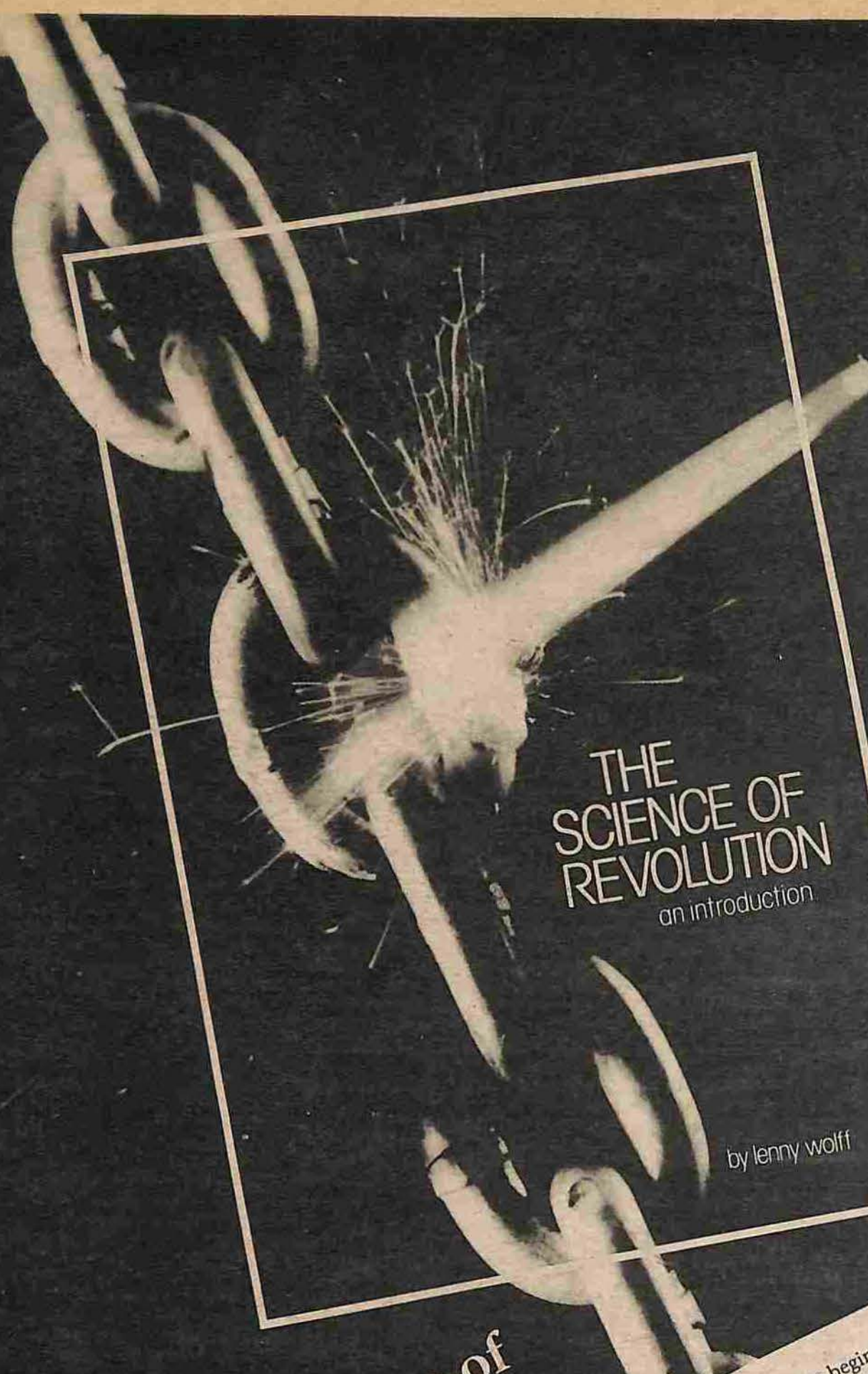
The article also quotes a "senior Soviet official" in the same vein:

"Let them not expect a last-minute

softening from us. I think we will become tougher, not softer, near the end of the year."

The issue of Euromissiles can be expected to continue for quite some time; the missiles will take more than a year to produce and deploy and meantime the imperialists of both blocs will work to extract maximum political capital from the question. Significantly, both sides share a common goal within the cynical "two-track" arrangement: to picture its enemy as the aggressor and the power which "destabilized" the balance of power in Europe. Both powers imply that through the arms reduction talks they can be influenced by the masses of the world, but the real history of the Euromissiles shows that neither has had any intention of being "influenced" and that the real nature of these beasts is that they cannot be influenced but only overthrown and imperialist war prevented by sweeping imperialism from the earth. □

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an introduction

by lenny wolff

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