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## 007 And The Birds Of Prey

Thursday, September 1, 1983 may be remembered as one of the all-time great days for hypocrisy. As news of the reported shooting down of a Korean airliner by a Soviet fighter plane filled the airwaves, U.S. government spokesmen and members of the Congress seemed to be vying with one another for adjectives to describe their act-alike opposites in the Soviet Union: "unbelievably barbaric," "cold-blooded murder," "inexplicable, repulsive, repulsive, highly offensive," "intolerable, inhuman, despicable, uncivilized," "a vision of ruthless brutality and contempt for the opinion of mankind," and furthermore, "as long as some countries believe in the law of the jungle there will be atrocities of this kind." Now, when it comes to recounting other such incidents in the world, like the time "tiny democratic" Israel shot down a Libyan passenger plane in 1973, then a different dictionary comes out of the congressional library. That was just *tough luck*. (And besides, according to ABC's Moscow bureau chief, then-Prime Minister of Israel Golda Meir came right out and said that they had done it: the Libyan plane didn't heed their warnings, so it was regrettable, but necessary.) Please, ladies and gentlemen, spare us your concern for lives lost and "innocent civilians," while you sit around calculating how many millions will be incinerated in the course of waging nuclear war, and are even now finding new ways every hour of parlaying this latest "tragedy" into further grist for the mill of your imperialist war preparations.

There was a rush to explain the "inexplicable" as though somebody felt they had some explaining to do. For starters, there was the "inexplicable" question of why the Korean passenger plane had strayed so far off course and happened to be flying over an extremely sensitive and strategic area of Soviet military concentration on Sakhalin Island, which holds three Soviet airstrips, a naval base and some 20,000 troops. Not to mention that the plane reportedly passed over what is acknowledged as one of the Soviets' most sensitive military installations, the submarine base at Petropavlovsk. News reports revealed that the 747 has an extremely sophisticated navigational system, and that it would be very unlikely for all of the things that "must have gone wrong" to have done so at the same time. And furthermore, it was noted as "ironic" that the FAA maps supplied to pilots clearly indicate that "any aircraft entering this territory may be fired on without warning." All of this

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# What Is Being Negotiated In El Salvador

For the past two and a half years, the question of "negotiations" in El Salvador has been a big deal. U.S. liberals have repeatedly called for them as the solution to the upheaval and turmoil wracking the U.S.'s neocolony, and the first step to achieving U.S. "stability" throughout Central America. The leadership of El Salvador's opposition coalition, the Democratic Revolutionary Front/Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FDR/FMLN), has stressed its benevolent concern over the "social cost" of any genuine struggle for national liberation and made the pursuit of formal "negotiations" the centerpiece of its tactical plan. Their mentors from the Soviet Union, Cuba, Western Europe, and the Contadora group have all pressed for this. And even the Reagan administration, which is usually targeted by all of the above for its "unwillingness" to negotiate, has long stated its desire for such "negotiations" and has been moving toward them in various ways. Now, at long last, the glorious moment has finally arrived! U.S. Special Envoy Richard Stone has formally met with four top FDR officials and the official Peace Commission of El Salvador's puppet government has formally met with two lower-ranking FDR officials. Why, this calls for a formal celebration — perhaps a recognized holiday, like "Negotiations Day." Hopefully, the background noise from the carpet-bombing, search-and-destroy missions and artillery shelling of the large rural areas considered hostile to the government won't spoil the party.

Of course, it is a little difficult to perceive the vast changes that have been wrought by the meetings at the negotiating table. U.S. "advisors" are still directing the El Salvador counterinsurgency operation, corralling all those peasants they can get to, informing them, "You're either with us or against us," and then carrying out the various forms of "pacification" depending on where they suspect the allegiance of the peasants rests. The death squads are still mutilating about a hundred people a month in the cities. In Honduras, along with the various U.S. military exercises, CIA operations and so forth, the U.S. is also still training 3,500 freshly-harvested Salvadoran troops, getting them ready

for their proper role as imperialist cannonfodder.

One change that goes right along with the negotiations is the recent stepped-up activity of the Salvadoran military. However, this seems to be a double-edged sword for them. For example, a U.S. "advisor" was recently quoted in the *New York Times* discussing the increased "aggressiveness" of his trainees. He cited such "encouraging signs" as the fact that Salvadoran "second lieutenants are starting to die" in the field and that there are many more "friendly fire fights" where two army units unwittingly try to blow each other away. Since the government troops used to hole up in the barracks to avoid going out into the field, the "advisor" was seriously making the point that this was an *improvement* over past practice. Further signs of improvement: government casualties were twice as high this year as the year before. Apparently, where they actually engage in battle, things do not go so well for the neocolonial troops.

However, this is not so regular an occurrence as might be expected, and this, too, goes right along with the negotiations. The leadership of the Salvadoran opposition — with a little help from its "friends" — has been bending over backwards to make sure that these negotiations come off. While the U.S.-directed troops have carried out a showcase "offensive" rampaging through the key provinces of San Vicente and Usulután, FMLN forces have been "melting away" and offering virtually no resistance, despite their obvious political and military strength in these areas. According to *Latin American Weekly Report*, which cites its "sources in Mexico City" (where the FDR's Political/Diplomatic Commission is based), the opposition tactics have been "suggested" by Nicaragua, "as a means of lowering the tension in the area and perhaps facilitating the much-publicized meeting between the Salvadoran rebels and U.S. Envoy Richard Stone." The leading Sandinista officials in Nicaragua have been pushing this tack on the Salvadoran opposition — *hard* — in order to take some of the U.S. heat off themselves, and in the furtherance of Soviet jockeying within the U.S.'s "back-

yard." And the Salvadoran Communist Party's representative at the negotiations with Stone, Mario Aguiñada, carried this approach further by calling the meeting "a major step that will contribute to the search for a negotiated settlement."

As to the actual content and possible proposals of the meetings, nobody is talking publicly — in order not to upset the fragility of the discussions. What has been publicly stated, and reiterated, by just about everybody is that the U.S. wants the opposition to surrender and participate in *its* Salvadoran elections to take place in early 1984, while the FDR/FMLN leadership wants a piece of power in a provisional government (and a restructured military), and then elections. Lurking behind the public statements is continuing pressure by the U.S. to try and force a split in the historic compromise alliance, and induce the social democrats, Christian Democrats and some more nationalist forces to break away from the pro-Soviet revisionists, while the latter continue maneuvering to hold the alliance together and leave themselves as much operating room as possible. One proposal that has been gathering some support lately is a call for elections under the guns of an "international peace-keeping force." The British imperialists' *The Economist* hopes that, "If an international force could be provided to police a ceasefire and an election — by the Contadora group, or the United Nations? — left-wing candidates might be persuaded to take a chance on the ballot-box." And the leading candidate to be the next president of Panama (one of the Contadora countries), former National Guard chief Rubén Darío Paredes, has openly called for a Contadora "peace force" to be formed.

At this point, it is impossible to predict whether this proposal, some other equally reactionary scheme or anything at all will emerge from the much-vaunted Salvadoran "negotiations." But it is crystal clear, given the imperialist interests involved, that neither "peace" nor a lessening of the "social cost" will be the result. □

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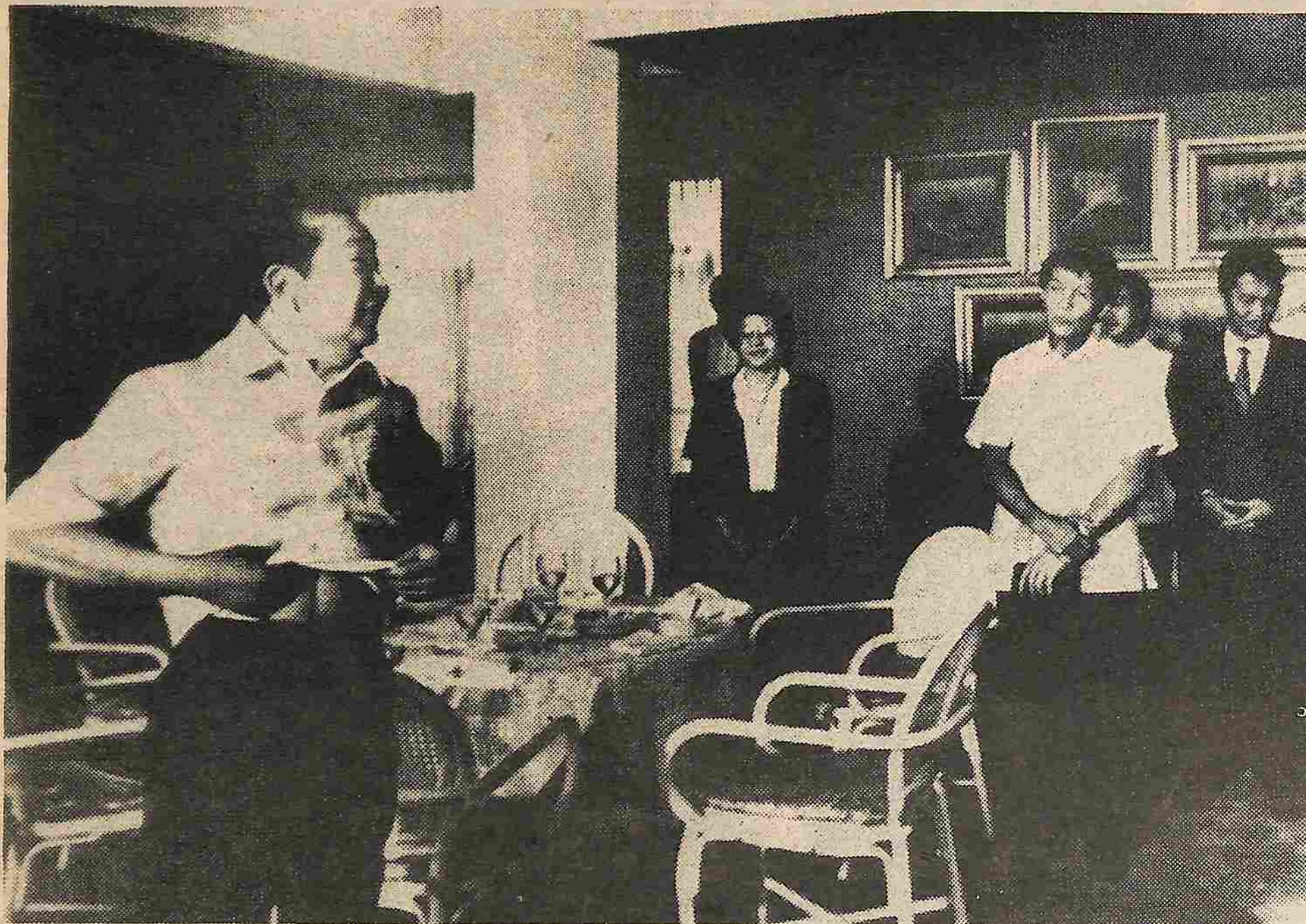
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# Cracks, Coups, and Unforeseeable Consequences in the Philippines



Marcos exposes his belly to prove he doesn't have a kidney dialysis bag.

What the *New York Times* called "the delicacy of the political climate" in the Philippines in the wake of Benigno Aquino's assassination was underscored by the millions of people who jammed the streets as his body was carried from place to place in a hearse. During the final procession to the gravesite for the burial, demonstrators carried signs saying, "Marcos killer, dictator, dog," and "Marcos, Imelda — killers on the loose." There were clenched fists raised, and shouts of "Fight, fight, fight."

The sharpest and most direct expressions of the protests against the Marcos regime during the past few days have come from the students. At Far Eastern University not far from the presidential palace in central Manila, 3,000 students demonstrated and attempted to force their way into the campus. There were reports of stones being hurled and homemade bombs exploding. Water cannons were turned on students, and the riot police charged with swinging truncheons. At the University of the Philippines, 3,500 students marched to protest the sham commission set up by Marcos to "investigate" the assassination, carrying banners that read, "No reconciliation under a fascist regime." Just hours after Aquino was buried, police battled several thousand youths who rushed to within 500 yards of the presidential palace. One youth was shot dead by the police and dozens of others were injured by gunshots and police clubs. The police superintendent said that, "The order was to disperse them. They were trying to assault our line. For two and a half hours they were pelting us with stones and pillbox bombs."

The police in Manila have been on "red alert" and have held riot-control maneuvers, and people going into government buildings and school campuses are subject to body-searches. The more rebellious protests by students have been dealt with harshly by the regime. However, this show of force is going

hand in hand with the police keeping a relatively low profile during the large marches. The regime is fearful of further arousing the masses and galvanizing their sentiments even more clearly against the government. The regime also realizes that the bourgeois opposition leadership has a certain stake in keeping the mass outrage under control and preventing violent confrontations with the regime.

While denouncing Marcos for complicity, in the main, things so far have not broken open into direct confrontation with the authorities. Shouts of "Ninoy!" (Aquino's nickname) have been the main chants raised from the crowds. But the huge and spontaneous outpouring of people onto the streets, which surprised even the Aquino forces, is significant and definitely not something that the Marcos regime and the U.S. are taking lightly. The people are coming out in unprecedented numbers under the openly repressive conditions of martial law, which still exists in effect, two years after Marcos claimed to have "lifted" it.

Every step that the Marcos regime has taken since the assassination has only served to expose further its bloody hands. The commission set up to "investigate" the assassination is made up of five retired judges, all appointed to the bench by Marcos. The panel is such an obvious vehicle for a whitewash that Cardinal Sin, named by Marcos to serve on it, quickly declined the invitation. When asked if there would be security measures taken to protect eyewitnesses who might have information implicating the government, the head of the commission replied flatly, "I am not in the position to offer special precautions." In other words, speak against the government at your own risk. There remains thick gaping holes in the official government version of what happened at the actual shooting. More evidence has appeared that seems to back up one eyewitness claim that Aquino was shot not by the alleged gunman but by the guards that took him off the plane. The

fourteen soldiers assigned to guard Aquino, and their commander, are being held in confinement by the regime. Cameras from the government TV station, the only one allowed near the arrival area, took shots of the scene at the airport. But the footage that aired on news reports shows the plane carrying Aquino taxiing to the gate and then soldiers putting Aquino's bloody body into a van. Film of the period in between when the shooting took place is mysteriously missing. More than a week after the killing, the government finally came up with a supposed identity of the alleged assassin, described as "a notorious killer, a hired gunman with a long record." The obvious question is, if the gunman was so "notorious" and had such a "long record," what took the government so long to identify him? And the Sunday *Times* of London reported that according to its investigation, the alleged gunman was a former member of a special security command that guards Marcos and his wife.

While denouncing Marcos for complicity in Aquino's murder, the bourgeois opposition has been appealing for calm and nonviolence. Archbishop of Manila, Cardinal Jaime Sin, who has referred to his relationship with the Marcos regime as "critical collaboration" and who remained in contact with Aquino during his exile in the U.S., called for patience and restraint. "Inflaming Filipinos to fight against other Filipinos," he said, would make Aquino's death "completely meaningless and futile." The motorcade carrying Aquino's coffin from his home town back to Manila for the funeral was originally scheduled to go past the University of the Philippines, but the Aquino family reportedly decided to take another route because of fears of student demonstrations.

Even at this point, what the bourgeois opposition leaders want to do with the mass outrage over Aquino's death is to pressure Marcos and U.S. imperialism to

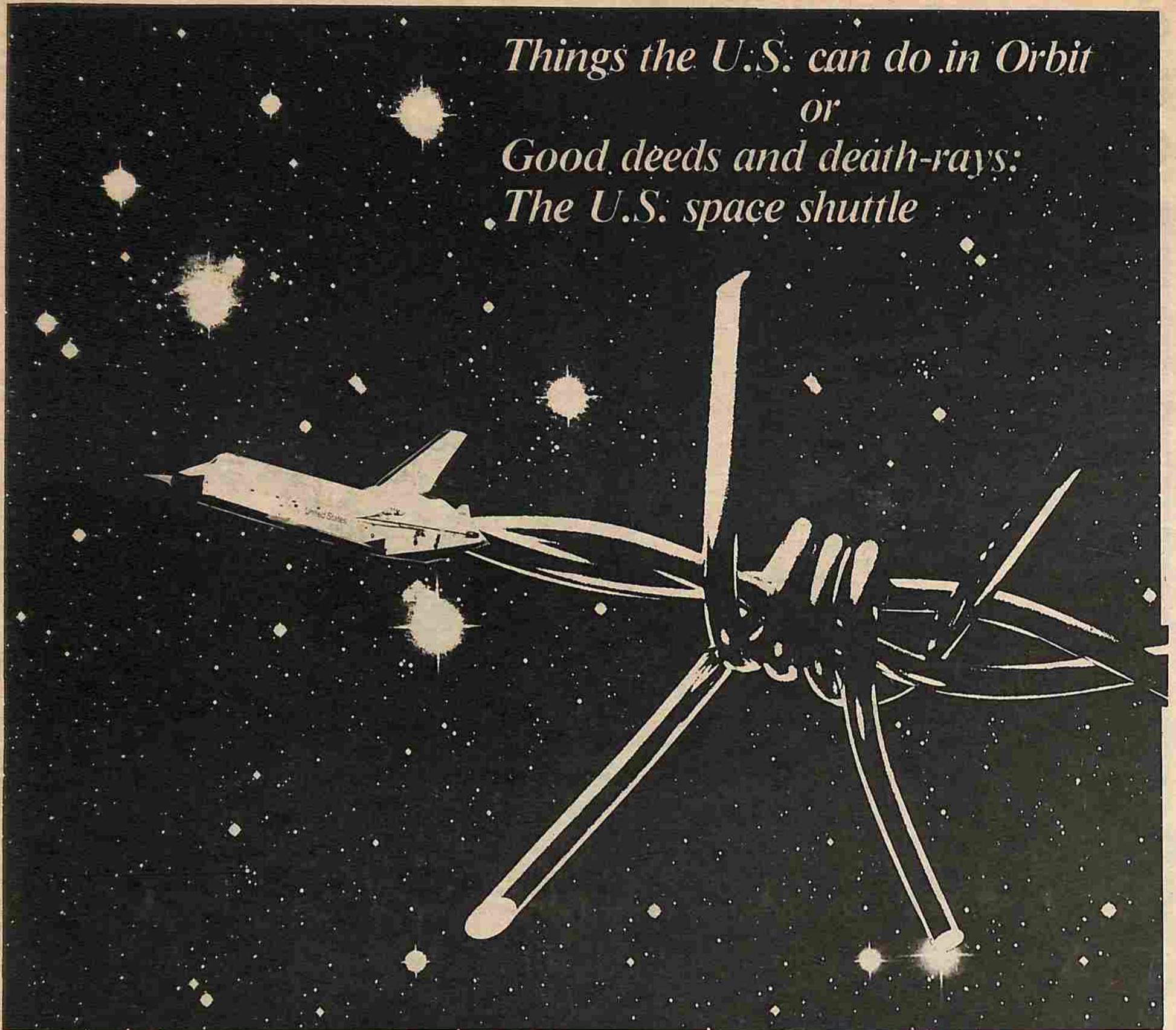
provide an opening into the political power structure in the Philippines, not to bring the whole structure down. At the mass, Cardinal Sin and Aquino's widow continued to call for "national reconciliation."

However, what worries the bourgeois opposition leadership is that the assassination might well have the effect among its social base, in particular the relatively large urban petty bourgeoisie and the lower and mid-level elements of the Catholic Church, of tearing away the few remaining shreds of illusion about "peaceful change" within the system under a "national reconciliation" banner. Support among such sections for leaders like Aquino was rather shaky in the first place, as the *New York Times* pointed out: "Interviews in the last months with more than a dozen politically active students, Catholic seminarians and community organizers revealed deep cynicism about the democratic opposition and sympathy, in some cases, for the New Peoples Army, the military wing of the Communist Party of the Philippines. Non-violent opposition leaders cite such attitudes of the danger that they have faced for years, the one that may now grow worse." Salvador Laurel, president of the United National Democratic Organization, a coalition of the dozen bourgeois opposition parties, moaned that, "We are only 30% of the opposition in this country," and rapidly "thinning out." "70% is in the hills," he warned.

Thus, even with a relative calm in the streets up to this point, there exists an air of apprehension, shared by the U.S., Marcos and the bourgeois opposition alike, that the tense political scene might yet break out into open upsurges against the regime. Cardinal Sin pointed out that the initial feeling of "shock and dismay" which stunned the people and made their reaction muted is beginning to wear off. Asking rhetorically what might follow, the Cardinal admitted, "The answer to

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## Things the U.S. can do in Orbit or Good deeds and death-rays: The U.S. space shuttle



On the night of August 30, Ronald Reagan addressed the five astronauts just before liftoff on the eighth mission of the U.S. space shuttle program: "(you) will continue to expand the shuttle's capabilities to do the things we've never done in orbit," and add to "the ability to use space to enhance the well-being of all people."

The oh-so-humanitarian aura surrounding this particular shuttle flight was given added glow by the inclusion of scientific experiments connected with a process for transplanting insulin-producing cells so as to help diabetics; by the emplacing of InSat, a communications satellite for another country, India; and of course, most trumpeted of all, the presence of the first U.S. Black astronaut, Guy Bluford, Jr.

However, as many people know, the objectives of the U.S. shuttle program in reality have less to do with bringing humanity together, than with blowing it apart on an unprecedented scale. For, despite the gilding of "commercial applications" for the program such as the InSat system, and barely hidden beneath the "human interest" features of the astronauts, the shuttles have always been, as Caspar Weinberger recently said, "loaded with military payloads." And recently, more has been revealed about the shuttles' Pentagon connections, especially since Reagan's infamous "Star Wars" speech put the practical, if still "visionary," possibility of space war on the map. Those who have been following the ballyhoo about U.S. spacewar technology, and it has been increasingly loud of late, must certainly be asking what, exactly, are the "things we've never done in orbit?"

In his "Star Wars" speech, Reagan conjured up some of the "things" he would like to see the U.S. be able to do, especially the development of missile-killing death-rays. With all the vision of

an Edward Teller, who promoted the H-bomb before its time, the U.S. has been plunging ahead quite steadily in the area of laser death-rays in space, as well as spacewar technology as a whole. In a lengthy interview for *Omni*, a popular science magazine, Weinberger spelled out a plan to "expend considerable research and development resources in this area. . . . I would hope this area would attract and keep a great deal of this country's best intellects." Caspar speaks of "possibly" having a workable, directed-energy space-based antiballistic missile system operational "before the end of the century."

Indeed, according to *Omni*, the 1983 *Defense Guidance* report which "outlines strategy and sets budget priorities for the Defense Department and the military services for the next five years," includes for the first time a section on "directed-energy," lasers.

And this is where the shuttle comes in. According to Michio Kaku, professor of nuclear physics at the graduate center of the City University of New York, "The Space Shuttle has increasingly taken on a role as a space wars weapon. Its heavy involvement in military applications dates back to May 13, 1978 when President Carter signed Presidential Decision Memorandum No. 37, calling for 'activities in support of the right of self-defense, thereby strengthening national security, the deterrents of attack, and arms control agreements. . . .'" The space shuttle today, says Kaku, "serves as a vehicle for beam-weapon experimentation."

"Self-defense," it should be noted, is precisely the rationale for the spacewar scenario; as Weinberger insists: "these are not offensive weapons; these are not weapons that go against people, these are weapons that protect people." This was also the claim of the Reagan speech.

But of course, antimissile defenses

have always been perceived (correctly) as a component in offensive strategy and a very aggressive one at that since it would negate the effect of an opposing nation's strategic forces and make that nation vulnerable to attack. And Dr. Kaku suggests a concrete possibility for its use:

"The laser ABM, with all its limitations, may have effective application in conjunction with the launching of a preemptive first-strike. The nuclear war-fighters reason that an American first-strike, no matter how successful, could never destroy the Soviet retaliatory force. That's where the space weapons come into play. The 10% to 20% of Soviet missiles that manage to escape a U.S. first-strike could be shot down by a laser ABM system."

Many U.S. war scientists scoff at the spacewar idea, pointing out the incredible complexities involved in tracking and homing in on thousands of Soviet warheads simultaneously, many of which would be capable of taking countermeasures to U.S. radar and other navigational systems. They also point to the gargantuan energy supply necessary to power such weapons — up to a trillion watts for the "laser cannon."

But the government appears to be serious in its "visionary" effort to overcome such problems and extend war of mass destruction to outer space. One major task of the space shuttle, for example, is the development of space-navigational systems which could be applied to a spacewar system. (Another study would solve the power supply problem by sending into orbit two nuclear power plants!) It also should be stated that, even short of the successful development of laser ABM systems, the spectre of antiballistics systems generally now outlawed by treaty but the subject of frantic efforts by both the U.S. and Soviets, is one more front in the race for first-strike capacity.

Finally, more immediately practical

than the antimissile laser systems are the weapons now being readied by the U.S. against Soviet satellites. These could be deployed as early as the 1990s. According to the August 23rd *New York Times*, the first test of antisatellite weaponry was scheduled for a "secret date probably before the end of the month." It would not be at all surprising, then, if Col. Bluford and his colleagues who went into orbit August 30 had an opportunity to collect observational data on this test.

All this is a strange way indeed to enhance the well-being of mankind. Seen from another viewpoint, however, the space shuttle program "loaded with military payloads" is a most appropriate vehicle on which to welcome aboard the first Black astronaut. As a matter of fact, Col. Bluford is no stranger to military missions himself. As an ex-Vietnam combat pilot, Bluford flew 133 combat missions, 65 of them over North Vietnam. (Perhaps it is also significant that the Colonel minored in laser physics at the Air Force Institute of Technology in 1978.) Though described as "quiet" himself, this part of Col. Bluford's qualifications for the job were advertised loudly by the press. Bluford's role in the launch was further promoted by the presence at Cape Canaveral of a party of prominent Black figures such as Lionel Hampton, Wilt Chamberlain, Bill Cosby, and the president of Howard University, Dr. James Cheek. It would also seem that this public relations show was quite deliberately timed to come a few days after the March on Washington. Black people, the bourgeoisie would have us believe, can "dream" to become just about anything in this country, even an astronaut. . . . if, that is, they are willing to kill for America, which after all, underneath all the glamorized hype, is the real function of the space shuttle. □

"An historic problem in Lebanon," declared a solemn George Shultz in an August 31 press conference, "has been to find a formula for reconciling the various communal and confessional groups. President Gemayel has been working hard to do just that throughout his tenure in office." He sure has. And so have those who put him "in office."

At presstime, an accurate account of events in Beirut since Sunday, Aug. 28 proves difficult. This is because, typically, a dearth of truth and facts accompanies a plethora of news stories and commentary. A few things, however, can be discerned.

Provocations on the part of the Phalange against the Moslem Shi'ite community have been growing in recent weeks. The Shi'ite community is one of the remaining "trouble spots" around Beirut: it consists largely of dispossessed Moslems (many of them recent immigrants from the South and Bekaa Valley) who dwell in densely populated shantytowns. It has been reported that the U.S. marines call the Shi'ite areas "Khomeinivilles," proving that wherever these "few good men" go, the first thing they ask is: "Where, and who, are the gooks?"

In July, Pierre Gemayel (the president's father), presiding over the opening of a new Phalange military complex in East Beirut, promised an "all-out revolution where there will be a vanquished and a victor if the will of the legitimate authorities is not imposed." This portended last week's events, wherein the authorities have attempted to impose their will on recalcitrant Shi'ites, particularly the Shi'ite militia.

In early August, the Phalange set up new offices in three Shi'ite suburbs of Beirut, and stepped up confrontational tactics and selective terror. This included killings and an undisclosed number of kidnappings. On Sunday, August 28, fighting started when these right-wing militiamen opened fire on Shi'ites who were putting up posters of Imam Musa Sadr (a Lebanese Shi'ite religious leader who disappeared five years ago). The following day, the Lebanese army moved into South Beirut Shi'ite neighborhoods. Some 10,000 to 13,000 troops placed a cordon around these areas and began a sweep against Moslem militias. In the retaliation that followed, all hell broke loose throughout the city, and fierce fighting has continued through Thursday, despite the claim by Shultz on Wednesday that a "cease-fire" had been arranged.

Developments in the near future will shed more light on the plan behind these assaults. It may be an effort to decidedly check one of the remaining "wild cards" which abound in Lebanon. Or it may be an attempt to impress upon the Shi'ite leadership the conditions under which any "reconciliation" will come about. Whether the efforts attain "success," the bloodshed serves as yet another indication of precisely what lies behind such lofty concepts as "Lebanese national sovereignty" and "reconciliation."

It is understandable that a certain befogging of the circumstances surrounding the demise of various "peacekeepers" in Lebanon — at last count, two Americans and five Frenchmen — would flow from the seats of power. "Our boys" may have gotten it from Shi'ite shells, they may have gotten it from Druse shells aiding the Shi'ites... whatever — the fellows simply had the misfortune of being in the wrong place at the wrong time. State Department hesitancy to employ the term "combat" gave rise, among other things, to a demand for honesty in government on America's talk shows: "If it's combat," the thinking goes, "then the government oughtta just come out and say so." (Reaction of the average French philistine to the deaths of their countrymen is unknown as of this writing.) But the heroes of the Multinational Peacekeeping Force, specifically the U.S. marines, weren't somehow "caught in the middle." They were caught in the act.

#### Cloning Marines in Beirut

For one thing, early press reports (later dropped) revealed that 30 U.S. marines had joined the Lebanese army in opening fire on Sunday against gunmen on the outskirts of the Beirut airport. It is a little

Caught  
in the  
Middle...

Or Caught  
in the Act?

hard to swallow the idea that the marines in Beirut, whom various profiles have pictured as "bored" and chomping at the bit to get into action, could have resisted the temptation to display their prowess. More believable is that the marine command was involved in the preparation of the sweeps, that marine grunts were right in the center of the fray, and that the "official policy" — "fire only when you're fired at... maintain a strictly defensive posture," etc., etc. — was indignantly dumped into the bin marked "garbage for the know-nothings back in the States," and dumped there, to quote George Shultz, "with vigor."

But the ins and outs of the particular military role of U.S. and other forces in this specific operation is of secondary consideration anyway. This is because while popular wisdom has it that the marines are some kind of adjunct to Gemayel and his army, the actual relationship is the contrary: the Lebanese army is an adjunct to the U.S. marines. For instance, just near the airport where the marines are camped, and within a stone's throw from Shi'ite areas, there is a tent village. New battalions of the Lebanese army are trained here under the supervision of 80 Americans in the U.S. Special Forces. The village is a main feature of a 550 million dollar (U.S. dollars, need we add) Lebanese Army Modernization Program, which has aimed to create a force of 36,000 men by the end of the year. (While the Lebanese army has had some successes in recruiting Lebanese Moslems, including, ironically, Shi'ites, it remains strongly Christian in sympathy and orientation, with a command structure of 70% Maronite Christians.) The Lebanese army has even started to look like the marines; and, if there was any question before last week, the terror unleashed against the Shi'ites proves that the Lebanese army has been well trained to act like the marines.

The set-up is hardly one without precedent in the annals of U.S. imposition of democracy on various parts of the world. But there are some particularities, and the ribald efforts to carefully delineate between the "responsibilities" of the Lebanese army (out in the field, extending domestic democracy) and those of the marines (back in the camp, insuring the domestic tranquility) could well need some revision. This is because there are serious contradictions, and there is a certain party which must accept *ultimate* responsibility. The entire Gemayel cabal, after all, is nothing but an adjunct to the U.S. imperialists!

With solemnity at least equal to that of George Shultz, Larry Speakes, presidential press secretary, spoke: "We condemn those who are responsible for the continuing violence which has claimed many victims, including our own marines. Our forces are there at the request of the government of Lebanon in helping to provide security for the Lebanese people..." This latter "request," it should be recalled, was reasonably easily extracted — since this "government of Lebanon" was put into power by the U.S. and its friend Israel, facilitated by the slaughter of tens of thousands of Palestinians and others. Then came the marines and other "peacekeepers," whose role, it is true, has to a good degree been the political one of "showing the flag" and clearly stamping the area: "U.S. turf." But also came any number of problems: bitter rivalries flared between the U.S.'s own allies, and even within the ranks of the various allies; the gradual assertion over Lebanon's multiple social groupings by Gemayel's "central government" — even accounting for its "compromise and/or die" style of work — has proven difficult; the slogan "withdrawal of all foreign forces" (which never meant NATO, and especially, U.S. forces) has bowed to the *de facto* partition of the country by Israel in the south and Syria in the east; and, of course, the Syrians (backed by the Soviets) have proved more obstinate in yielding to U.S. pressure than was perhaps conceived a year ago, and through all manner of intrigue, are trying to influence developments and forces throughout Lebanon in a direction favorable to them. (A Syrian statement accused the Gemayel government of leading a military campaign to massacre the Lebanese people. Was this an expression of envy? Maybe so, since that's what Syria did during the Lebanese civil war in 1976; and since now, under clear Soviet tutelage, even greater crimes are being plotted...)

#### More Marines

Lebanon, in a word, is not a stable place. Even if some agreement should come about, whereby the Druse and Shi'ite leaders, for example, would formally come to terms with Gemayel in exchange for being cut into the action of Gemayel's government (as opposed to frozen out, which is now the case), the solidity envisioned would be highly dubious. There are too many potential interrupters. Likewise dubious would be the projections one could expect to follow such an arrangement — that *now*, finally, the Lebanese army would be able to extend authority throughout the country (or that part of it not run by Syria or Israel, anyway).

So... then, what? Time will tell. Meanwhile, certain unnamed administration sources have already begun to tell. A very interesting article appeared in the *Washington Post* last week (August 31). It's worth quoting at length, because it puts the flap over the "War Powers Act" into proper perspective, but more importantly, it might restore the faith of those who have been demanding that somebody in government be honest:

"So far, the administration has chosen to seek 'no change' in American involvement, asserting instead that it believes the current fighting can be resolved through diplomacy such as the mediation among Lebanese factions now being attempted by Reagan's special Mideast envoy, Robert C. McFarlane.

"That was the thrust of the letter Reagan sent Congress yesterday in hopes of staving off a debate that could lead to forced removal of the Marines under the War Powers Act. The White House, while saying the Marines would remain, made no mention of increasing their numbers and sought to minimize the situation by stressing that a cease-fire went into effect in Beirut last night.

"Privately, though, many administration officials conceded that this is essentially a temporizing position that contains much wishful thinking. These officials said the chances for a durable cease-fire are very fragile. They expressed fear that the situation could deteriorate to the point where the American, French, Italian and British units of the multinational force will be the only force capable of restoring order in Beirut.

"What's more, they added, the international force won't be able to do the job unless it is made much larger and given a mandate to move from its present, essentially defensive positions into open confrontation with the various Lebanese militias shooting up the city. Otherwise, some of these officials predicted, the Gemayel government will be in peril of imminent collapse that would leave Lebanon without any semblance of central authority."

The motion is clearly toward an expanded role for (and quantity of) marines, et al. There are already some 2,000 more of them waiting off the coast of Lebanon (waiting for Gemayel to "request" their assistance). Things might soon be presented something like this: The situation in Lebanon further "deteriorates"; the limits of the "temporizing position" are now "broadly recognized"; Gemayel is clearly threatened; peace, stability, and democracy are threatened; America is threatened!

It is unlikely that even Congress, not being particularly un-American, could resist such compelling arguments, especially after a hearty round of debate.

In the past, we have stressed the connection between the U.S. mission in Lebanon and the international context in which this occurs. And now, as an expanded role of U.S. military forces is clearly under consideration in American ruling circles, it is useful to think about the method by which the need for this action is bound to be advanced. It will be said that America is being "unavoidably" dragged into a deeper conflict, but a conflict "necessary" in the "interests of peace." The lesson is that this is just how the orders to mobilize will come down in the future, when "peace, stability, and democracy" are "threatened" not only in Lebanon, but the whole world. *Then* it will be said that the perpetrators of all this disorder — the Soviets — must be finally and decisively defeated. It will be the logic of imperialism, as it is today, only magnified a thousandfold, and many thousand times more grotesque.

# From Pus The Olym



# her to Priest: pics Drugscam

If you wanted to sensationalize it, you might call it an Olympics drugscam. It certainly was a sting, an outrageous set-up. On the other hand, something deeply scandalous was just as certainly going on. Ingesting of hormones and other drugs in such dosages and in so widespread a manner as few people outside of the sports establishment had imagined, a phenomenon stretching worldwide, and perhaps even at its worst in the U.S. which produces the vast majority of the world's pharmaceuticals. A scandal which spread on a scale which could not have been unknown, and more probably was at least tacitly promoted by the very William Simon's and other leading figures in Olympics officialdom who are now acting the role of the piously offended. As the story has unravelled, and the reasons for the sting at the Pan-American Games at Caracas have become more clear, some profound problems for the U.S. Olympics planners concerning drugs and ideology have been steadily revealed.

The sting at the Pan-American Games in Caracas, Venezuela last week was the biggest drug bust in sports history. The U.S., said an *L.A. Times* columnist, was "globally humiliated." Sixteen athletes were kicked out of the Games having been caught with banned drugs in their systems — one of them was American star weightlifter Jeff Michels. The day after the first group of athletes were nabbed 12

other American athletes (originally reported incorrectly as 13) split Venezuela rather than face drug tests that were administered to all medal winners and a random sampling of other competitors (one of these 12 later returned and passed the test). One of those who split, shot-putter Jan Pyka, called it "the largest drug set-up in history." Another athlete said he left in protest of being used as a "guinea pig."

Twelve of the sixteen athletes were charged with using the hormone testosterone or its synthetic derivative, anabolic steroids, both of which are banned by the International Olympic Committee and both are widely believed by athletes and others to help build up muscles during training and thereby promote athletic ability (the other four were charged with using amphetamine-type drugs). It is generally assumed in the media that those U.S. athletes who left did so because they had been using steroids or testosterone, although some of the athletes deny this.

The fact that so many U.S. athletes left planted on the front pages the extensiveness of the use of dangerous drugs among all U.S. athletes, and indeed around the world. And while the scandal may have been a bit more than U.S. Olympic officials had bargained for, they wanted no doubt that drugs were behind this "evacuation." Head U.S. coach John Randolph, demonstrating the practiced mind of a true American chauvinist, pointed out how officials could have covered up the scandal "easily" by saying "there was an outbreak of diarrhea here and so-and-so and so-and-so couldn't compete because of it." Instead, officials seemed determined to *make sure* Americans were among those caught using drugs. The entire 13 member weightlifting team was given voluntary tests for steroids and testosterone *before* leaving for Caracas — even using the very machines that were later used during the Pan-Am Games. Eight of the lifters showed positive for steroids but all were allowed to compete — it's surprising that only one was caught during the Games. Michels, and apparently a number of others, were banned from Caracas for using testosterone. But the lifters and track and field team had been told there would be no testing for testosterone, only steroids.

Some, especially U.S., officials have insisted that the lab being used for the testing is responsible for the historic "drug bust." But in fact the same machinery has been around for at least three years and was used as recently as the Helsinki track and field world championships where no steroid users were found. The difference, as one U.S. official eventually put it, "is the determination to use it right." For example, at Helsinki only steroids, not testosterone, are on the banned-substances list, and as such were tested for. Thus, athletes who switched from steroids to testosterone early enough, which is the method by which athletes get around these tests, were not caught. It seems the Pan-American Games were a much better place for the U.S. to begin its new "determination." The U.S. would not have wanted the drug problem — that is *the U.S. drug problem* — exposed in an important meet where they are head-to-head with the East Germans and Soviets. The U.S. also would have more control over the situation in the Pan-Am Games and, besides, while the top athletes competed in Helsinki, the U.S. sent, in large part, only its second and third teams to Caracas.

William Simon, head of the U.S. Olympic Committee and a Pan-American Games honcho deeply involved in the testing, said of the incident, "(it is) a true tragedy, but did not come as any surprise. It was a time bomb waiting to explode." Colonel S. Don Miller, number-two man in the USOC, added, "something positive could come out of this, meaning that we have driven home the word to these athletes that they no longer will be able to compete as chemical robots." Such vilification has usually been reserved only for the athletes on the *other side* before this. And the *L.A. Times* and others have added in the warning to U.S. athletes about the '84 Olympics, "come clean or don't come at all." Those caught at the Pan-Am Games may be barred from participation in the '84 Olympics.

Over the past decades and increasingly in the last few years use of steroids has become something of a time bomb. Conservative estimates say half of U.S. world-class track and field athletes, men and women, have used them and virtually all

weightlifters have. Some athletes and observers (like Peter Gent, author of *North Dallas Forty*) say the number of athletes using the stuff has doubled in the last few years and that the dosages taken have increased dramatically.

On a recent Nightline segment (and elsewhere) a Los Angeles area doctor openly admitted he has 10,000 athlete "patients" on steroids! Dosages used are reported to be in the area of 10 to 20 times normal prescribed amounts (used for treating people with anemia and a few other medical problems). One Canadian athlete caught at the Pan-Am Games said he had been using two 50 milligram injections of steroids every eight nights (about 20 times a normal dose). And in a recent *Sports Illustrated* article, a former weightlifter states that the amount of steroids he took over a period of four years in the '60s, 6,000 milligrams, are at times taken by athletes today in *two weeks!* A medical advisor to college and high school athletic programs in Atlanta recently exposed that he is contacted every week by athletes in these programs for steroids. Others in similar positions have reported requests for steroids by athletes as young as 14, who have been encouraged to do so by their coaches.

This is no lightweight item that has been promoted so hard by the sports establishment. Long-term or heavy dosages of steroids have been shown to cause liver and kidney problems, possibly heart problems, testicular atrophy and prostate enlargement. Even short-term use causes "masculinizing" effects such as lowering the pitch of the voice, growth of facial hair, heightened aggressiveness and, in men, lowered sperm count and many other changes (anabolic steroids were synthetically developed to reduce these "masculinizing" effects but do not eliminate them).

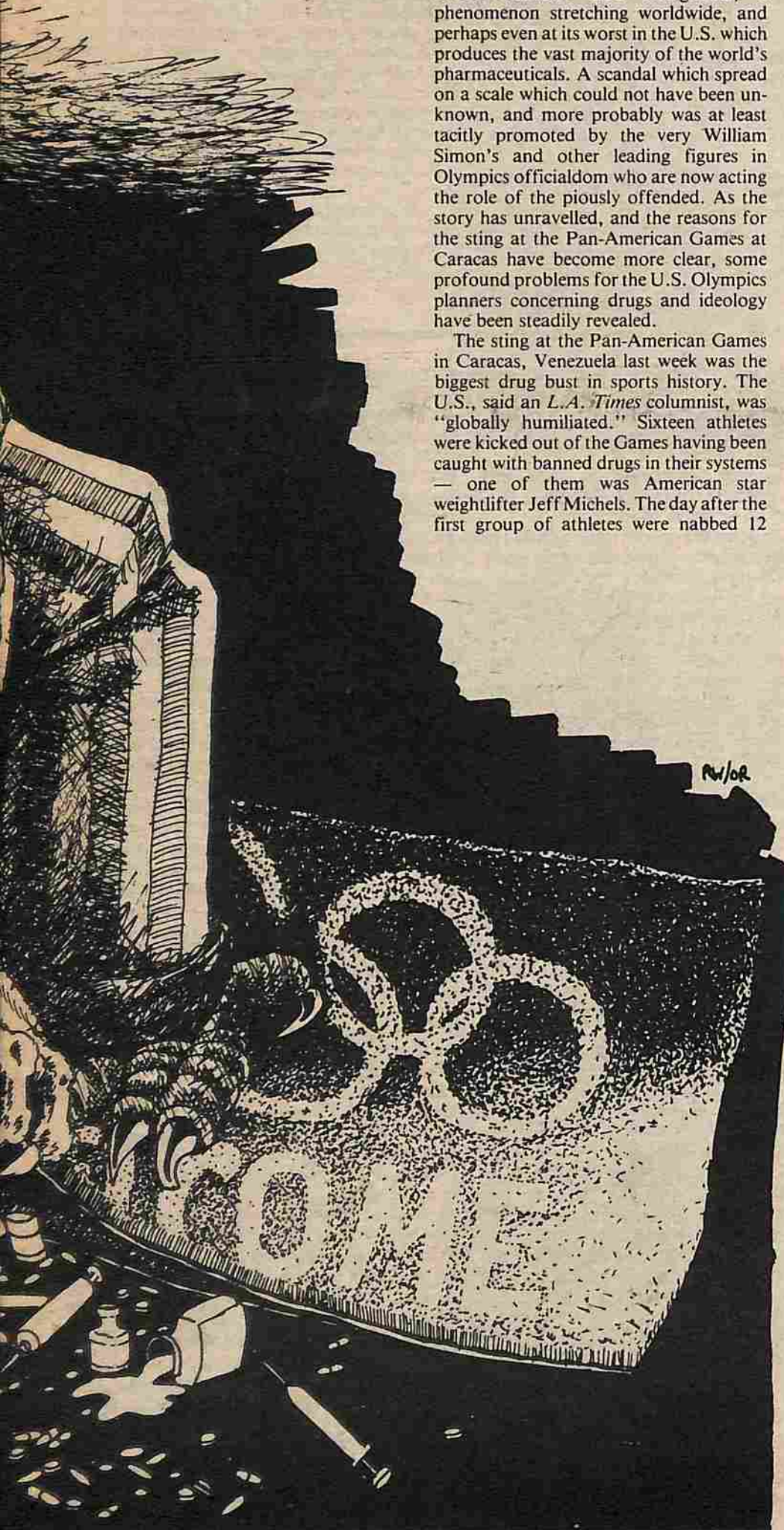
The actual dangers of steroids are probably far more severe than suspected and there have been no scientific tests with such high dosages and long-term use. Even the effectiveness of the drugs is not understood clearly. One obvious problem in understanding these matters is finding a large group of people willing to take such a dangerous drug unless they are athletes and already using it, in which case they can't admit it. But in an effort to clear this up one fine representative of U.S. sports, the inventor of the Nautilus weight machines, is taking some of his money to Mexico where he plans to hire a large group of people there to carry out some "scientific" studies on steroids.

In the midst of some mud-slinging over this scandal USOC official Col. Miller has blamed the widespread drug problem on "collusion" among coaches, trainers, doctors and athletes. Miller, and others, have gone so far as to blame the "insatiable desire in sports to win at any costs." Others, like the West German head of the lab used in Caracas for the drug tests, blamed the U.S. sports establishment as a whole, exposing the fact that the U.S. has never conducted a single drug test while they are commonplace at national championships in Europe. And though this *does* say something very incriminating about the ideology that saturates imperialist sports, there are areas which the likes of Col. Miller don't dare get into. What about the official Olympic's policy which says it is o.k. to shoot up an athlete with novocaine or other pain-killers so they can continue to compete with injuries (a commonplace procedure in U.S. sports)? Or perhaps Colonel Miller would like to comment on the fact that a few years ago, while he was in charge of the Army's sports program, there was a quickly hushed-up scandal when it was exposed that the Army's pentathlon coaches were giving athletes various banned drugs in order to improve their performance in such Olympic events as shooting.

But Miller and the others are quite right, not only have drugs been promoted by the sports establishment directly, but they are promoted by the very nature of sports in an imperialist country where competition is first, foremost and always and friendship... well, exploitable.

In a particularly apt analogy one writer/researcher on ethics in medicine wrote on the *L.A. Times* Opinion page, "The pressure to use steroids is like the pressure that drives the arms race: don't let the other side gain an advantage; do whatever your opponent does; if your opponent builds more and more missiles —

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## Letter to RW

## Cleaning Up The Dispossessed

Dear RW,

Last week I came across an article in the *NY Times* that speaks volumes about the politics of the 1984 Olympic Games scheduled for Los Angeles. It seems that a certain LA City Councilman named Gilbert Lindsay has publicly suggested that the transients who are a permanent feature of LA's Skid Row area downtown should be gotten "off the streets and sidewalks" by shipping them out of town to "grow vegetables" on a farm during the Games. Claiming this would go a long way toward "rehabilitating" derelicts, Lindsay said: "We'll do this as a permanent thing, but I want to go all out during the Olympics so we give a good impression to visitors." Suggesting reactivation of the city's former "drunk farm" near Saugus, north of LA, he said: "Let them sweat it out in the sun and grow vegetables to eat...." An LAPD spokesman, while admitting that such a plan was probably illegal, responded by saying that the police "like the way Gil's thinking, not only for the sake of the city but for the sake of those indigents and winos who are suffering on the streets."

What a capital idea for hiding U.S. imperialism's "dirty linen" from the Olympic spotlight — i.e., rounding up those folks like Lindsay are fond of referring to as "human garbage" in order to preserve the noble image of the American-hosted Games and that of LA's downtown for the expected influx of gawking tourists. (After all, the *Times* notes, the Soviets are rumored to have done the same thing in 1980 in Moscow!) And that this is being couched in strains of "concern for the poor derelicts" is really quite touching. Lindsay's proposal quickly stirred up some controversy about "violations of constitutional and civil liberties." The fact

is, however, that cleaning up downtown LA by sending such people off to "grow vegetables" is nothing new at all and has in the past been standard operating procedure. As I read the *Times* article, it jogged a few bitter memories....

Back in 1967 I worked as a social worker for the state's Department of Human Resources and Development at a facility known as the Unattached Mens' Center in downtown LA. Its main function was to recycle the indigent men who could be seen standing, squatting, crouching and stumbling along the sidewalks in the environs of 5th and Main by the hundreds, and sometimes thousands — men with literally nothing but the rags on their backs and nowhere to go. Many, if not most, were immigrants from Mexico, other countries in Latin America, some Koreans, and lots of Filipinos. These people were generally single and bereft of any friends or family — who had come to the "land of milk and honey," been put through its meatgrinder, and ended up displaced, beaten down and drowning in alcohol. And their ranks included quite a few U.S. citizens — mainly Blacks, but also a good number of whites, older war veteran-types, etc., who found themselves in similar circumstances, unmercifully kicked down to the lower depths.

I remember them: desperate, shaking in various stages of DTs, stricken with every imaginable disease gone untreated, and cursing madly on street corners to no one in particular in the manner of those driven half or completely insane. I remember: stepping over their lifeless looking bodies to get in the door to work. And I remember the gutters: littered with human forms and empty bottles of synthetic Tokay (popularly known as "shortie dogs" and sold for a quarter by the countless li-

quor establishments that hovered vulture-like around the Center). Often, the bodies I stepped over were quite literally lifeless. In the short three months I spent as a social worker, twice I had the experience of calling a "client" (welfare dept. terminology for aid recipients) by name only to find he had died while sitting on one of the folding chairs in the waiting room.

The state's methods for dealing with these men and getting them off the streets were a screaming indictment of the beneficent "American welfare state." Caseworkers were authorized to give them chits for a 50¢ meal at some greasy spoon and arrange lodging at one of the Midnight Missions that proliferated downtown or, perhaps, more private accommodations like a "room" at one of the notorious 5th St. flophouses that went under names like Grand Hotel. Once, after a number of complaints from my clients, I investigated one of these "flops" over the strenuous objections of the burly, scowling desk clerk who was packing a .38. The rooms were all alike: a bare mattress on floors covered with filth and excrement, and rats you couldn't beat off with a stick. When I complained about these conditions to my supervisor, he told me I'd best forget it "if I knew what was good for me." It seems the welfare dept. and the owners of these flops had a mutual and quite serious business arrangement: the slumlords provided the "flop" and the state got off dirt cheap for 75¢ a night.

But there was a far more lucrative arrangement in which these indigents figured prominently and by which LA's city fathers could ship many of them out of there at least temporarily and relieve some of the pressure on their precious downtown. The big thing at the welfare dept. was to give the men a

chance to "better themselves" by offering them a "job" picking tomatoes, artichokes, grapes and other vegetables in Coalinga, Saugus, Salinas and a host of other California agricultural towns. Since turning down such work was grounds for revocation of aid, most would agree and then be shipped off by bus into the hands of the growers (who sometimes used them as strikebreakers against the farmworker struggles at the time). Supposedly they were paid a (minimum) wage for their slave labor in the fields. A week or two later, their human resources having been "developed," they would be bused back and unceremoniously dumped out on 5th St., utterly penniless after "reasonable" deductions for meals consumed and lodging on the floor of some wooden shack.

I don't know much about how the state's official "drunk farm" in Saugus used to operate (it was closed down in the mid-60s), except that it was notorious among the men who had done time there and famous for never having cured a drunk. And which particular business interests profited from its vegetable plots I never found out. But it was a drop in the bucket compared to the unofficial trade in "derelict" labor sanctioned by the state and generously provided by the welfare dept. on a regular basis for California growers.

I haven't been back to downtown LA since that brief experience with "social welfare work," but it isn't hard for me to imagine what things are like there in the '80s and why its transients are perceived as enough of a problem to have the authorities publicly considering what amounts to their internment during the Olympic Games. And given the fact that many of these dispossessed are conspicuously from the oppressed nationalities, immigrants, etc., such a plan, if adopted, could obviously be constituted to have much wider applications than just "cleaning up the downtown."

— a reader

## Drugscam

Continued from page 7

or takes higher and higher doses — do the same or risk being left behind and losing." Repeatedly, athletes have been pointing out during this scandal that they have taken steroids because they fear that if they didn't, the competitor in the next lane will, and will win.

The use of steroids is indeed a worldwide problem. The situation seems to be much the same with athletes in the Soviet Union, East Germany and other Soviet bloc countries as it is in the United States. It seems that top officials there publicly condemn use of steroids and other banned drugs, as in the U.S., but their use is nonetheless widespread. In an interview with the *RW*, Michael Yessis, an expert on Soviet sports training methods who has traveled widely and studied training methods in the Soviet Union for more than 20 years (and is editor of a journal which translates Soviet sports training articles into English), contradicted U.S. claims that the Soviet sports establishment encourages drug use. According to the Soviet officials they oppose it but as in the U.S., competition drives athletes to the chemicals. There, too, coaches and trainers can get doctors' prescriptions for drugs. And, also as in the U.S., training programs tacitly assume athletes' use of such drugs.

The ideology and social system at the source of this — in both the U.S. and Soviet Union — is well-depicted in a 1967 *Sports Illustrated* article, which printed an informal survey by a doctor who asked 100 runners if they would take a drug that would give them a good chance to win at the Olympics if it also had an equally good chance of killing them in a year. The majority said they would take it! Anabolic steroids: almost a perfect expression of the imperialist adage "winning isn't everything — it's the only thing!"

The bourgeoisie, having promoted drug use and the "win at all cost" outlook in the first place, now suddenly has seemingly switched from pusher to priest — criticizing drug-taking and even going so far as to set up some of its own athletes to make the point. Times have changed since the days of the '70s, the me-first, me-period orientation which indeed served the bourgeoisie

well and was actively promoted by it, including in sports. As Bob Avakian writes, "A sharp example of this, and one that was obviously not missed by the imperialists, was the experience they had with their Olympic boycott in 1980 — which it should be pointed out was under Carter and not Cowboy Reagan — an experience where it was clear that if they had left it up to an actual vote of the athletes, they would have very, very likely been defeated and the athletes would have voted to go to the Olympics on the basis that, 'Hey, I worked so hard for this and now I want to get the just rewards and the publicity and all that goes with it.' And it must be said that the bourgeoisie, especially the U.S. bourgeoisie, has made a special point of promoting this sort of individualism and making it one of its selling points and one of the strong points about its society, but now it needs to curb and rechannel this to a certain degree 'for the greater collective good of the nation and of the Western world against the threat of the great totalitarian power in the East.'" ("The Us vs. Them Decade: Which Way? *That's the Question*," *RW* No. 185, Dec. 17, 1982.)

The driving necessity for U.S. Olympic planners is this: a drug scandal in L.A. in '84 would be an unmitigated disaster, to whatever extent it involved Americans; it would cloud the overall political goals of the prewar Olympics. In recent years, as columnists have not failed to point out in the course of this scandal, almost every Olympics has become branded: the Munich Olympics is equatable with terrorism; Mexico, the student demonstrations and Black power salute by U.S. athletes; Montreal, superpower politics and the African teams' boycott, and so forth. The U.S. does not want the projected prewar Olympics transformed into "the one where there was the big drug bust." With drug tests in '84 stricter than at any previous Olympics, and with the use of steroids so much wider now than the last time the U.S. participated in the games in 1976 at Montreal, the potential for a scandal is no small matter. The U.S. is trying to clear away that possibility now, and if it means burning the careers of a few American athletes, well, so be it.

(Stressing just how important is this eradication of individualism the blade was even turned a second time on those who

got exposed for steroid use at Caracas. One athlete has been widely quoted, referring to those who left, as having "walked out on their country," and "walking out from under the U.S. of A. jerseys." Another said they "have gone home and left us with no representation." Or in the words of a noted sports columnist — "would John Wayne ever take a pill?")

A second factor prompting the sting has been the inevitability of acute embarrassment of the U.S. team in particular. For years U.S. officials have been accusing the Soviet Union and East European countries of creating "chemical robots" and generally cheating with drugs and using this as an explanation for why the U.S. slippage in international sports. Only a day before the Caracas events opened, *Newsweek* ran this typically ugly comment on the Helsinki Games:

"In women's athletics, Mary Decker, 24, seems destined — or perhaps doomed — to be declared 'America's Sweetheart'...the slightly-built Decker has endured several operations on her legs to relieve the pressure caused by overdeveloped muscles....Unperturbed by the suspiciously broad-shouldered, fuzzi-lipped challengers that the communist-bloc 'sports machine' continues to produce, Mary looms as a gold medal favorite."

But the Caracas drugscam has caused an abrupt silence around these "suspicions." At the moment, nary a mention of the "Soviet women on hormones" angle used liberally for so many years. And if at the Olympics it were discovered that the U.S. in fact has lubricated its sports machine with a bit more of the "suspicious" steroids and other chemicals than the Soviets (something which is, at least, possible), such a development would be sharply embarrassing in the glare of the prewar limelight which the U.S. itself has cast on the Games.

According to sports training expert Yessis, there is indeed a possibility that Soviets and East Germans may be moving away from steroid use in certain areas. A great deal of attention has been paid in the Western media, for example, to the East German women's swim team — who have frequently been called "monsters" in the U.S. media — with the U.S. saying their great recent success is due to steroid use. But contrary to Western reports, accor-

ding to Yessis, the East German women's swimmers are getting smaller, not bigger or bulkier (with the exception of those in the butterfly stroke where great upper body strength is required). Yessis insists that the East Germans are not emphasizing steroids; quite the contrary, in utilizing training programs which do not emphasize muscle bulk, the East German program does not seem to lend itself to steroid use.

A third factor behind the Caracas sting is the bottom-line drive for a U.S. victory in the Olympic Games. This is something about which the U.S. has serious fears, and assessments of the competition now seem to put the Soviets ahead. At the last Olympics in which the U.S. competed (Montreal) the U.S. came in *third* behind the Soviet Union and East Germany. This will not be acceptable in the coming round. And so, into this already iffy situation, the problem of epidemic drug use among U.S. athletes, and the prospect of a major *drug bust* of the team, has injected another important element of doubt. Will the crackdown prove to be a serious disruption of the American effort? Or, will it create even more havoc in the Soviet bloc and Eastern and Western Europe in general, and turn out to be an advantage to the U.S.? (Again, at least in the case of Western Europe, where there has been more extensive drug screening, the U.S. would seem to be at a disadvantage in the case of large-scale drug disqualifications.) Or will the U.S. competitors be able to conceal continued drug use and thereby have the advantage? The problem for U.S. officials is that the answers to these questions are not known and this further complicates and adds still another element of instability to their Olympic planning.

The stakes in these prewar Olympics are extremely high and fraught with difficulties. The importance of sports and the Olympics in the political machinations of imperialism are expressed, ironically, in both the bourgeoisie's promotion in one period of the use by athletes of drugs that can kill, and on the other hand, in their need to publicly squash between their fingers the careers of these very American athletes they have built up and induced to take these drugs, when *that* is in their imperialist interests. This steroid scandal has truly demonstrated that endemic problem for Team America in the '80s.



# The "Shantytowns" of Manhattan

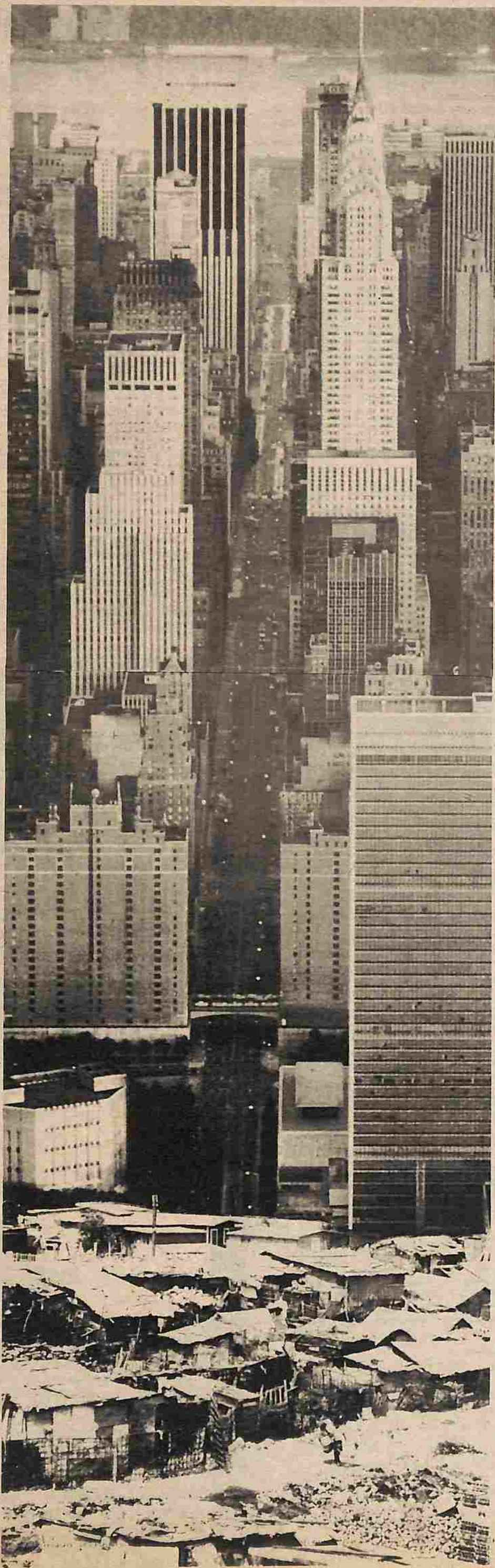
From the corner of Broadway and West 32nd Street you can see a huge sign, "The World's Largest Department Store," on the side of Macy's at Herald Square two blocks north. If you look straight up, you can see the top of the Empire State Building towering over its neighbors. Truly the heart of New York that everyone loves. And just a few yards from this corner the marquee of the Martinique Hotel juts out over the sidewalk. To the thousands of people who walk by hurriedly on their way to work in midtown offices or to shop, the doorway is just an entrance to another once-elegant, now-seedy hotel common throughout New York City. The only unusual feature, but jarring if one stops to think about it, is the sudden sound of roller-skates on the pavement. There's a bunch of little kids playing smack in the midst of midtown Manhattan.

You realize then that what the kids call home is the Martinique itself, a "welfare hotel" which is peopled by families, most headed by women and most — but not all — on welfare. The origin of the "welfare hotels" are as "emergency shelters," where families who are made homeless by some accident are housed for a few days while seeking a place they can live. A vestige of this is the regulation, now an open fiction, that the limit for the "emergency housing" is thirty days. But the reality is for a great many, the thirty days has stretched into one or two or more years, and in fact the ancient, decomposing, 16-story Martinique has become transformed into part of the metropolitan "shantytowns," home for a whole strata of people cast aside by the madness of the housing situation in New York City. Instead of the cardboard and tin of an oppressed country, there is the crumbling plaster of a Manhattan slum.

People are referred to the Martinique, or one of the other 50-some hotels and motels or 6 city-run shelters in the New York City area when fires, vacate orders (issued mainly by the fire department or the housing agency supposedly for major structural damage) or evictions leave them homeless. Often those who are evicted end up in the "hotels" because they are simply priced out of the housing market. Altogether, about 2100 families, with approximately 7,000 children, live in the "hotels"; probably over 200 families, with 800 children or more, call the Martinique "home." People familiar with the housing situation told the *RW* that from January 1st of this year through the end of August there had been 1,037 buildings with one to several apartments in each where families had to move because of fire or a vacate order in just the territory covered by the emergency office in the Martinique. According to official workers, this is the worst it's ever been at the hotels, a sure sign that the "shantytowns" house a section of more or less permanently homeless, and not people "accidentally displaced."

In some way or another then, the "welfare hotels" are filled with thousands who have had New York housing crumble out from under them, either literally as condemned premises, or evicted and priced out, or burned out. And even the burnouts are not always — and perhaps not even mainly — "accidental fires," but a product of the mad and irrational housing crunch... landlord arson. Those we talked to were guarded in their assessment of fires of this nature — emergency housing money will not be issued if a building or apartment has been torched by the landlord — but many were very cynical and managed to convey opinion. If a building is old and would cost more to fix up than the rent will bring in, landlords have some incentive to get insurance money if it goes up in flames, or at least is seriously damaged. As one person said, "They can give a junkie enough for a bag of smack and he can easily get a fire going."

One woman, Luiz Martinez, had been



burned out of an apartment in Brooklyn where she had lived for five years. The fire had started when "someone threw a cocktail into the back window" of the apartment above hers. Three families had to be moved out. All her belongings have been destroyed by smoke and the water the firemen used to put the fire out. She and her five-year-old son and two-month old baby had been at the Martinique several months. She couldn't wait to get out — "the rooms are full of roaches, the place is filthy, there's no stove, no refrigerator. How can I cook for my children?" Baby bottles have to be heated under the hot water tap and perishable food not used immediately has to be thrown out. Some families have brought in hot plates to do minimal cooking. Because they aren't supposed to cook in their rooms, they are allotted \$2.20 per day per person in restaurant coupons — that's \$2.20 when a hot dog in a nearby fast food place costs \$1.00 and a hamburger is \$1.70.

Many women told of similar burnouts. One woman who had been burned out from her Bronx apartment said that if they ever did repair the buildings, or renovate the ones people had been ordered to vacate, "they'll turn them into condos or apartments that we can't afford." The maximum the welfare department will pay for an apartment for a family of four is \$218 a month.

"It's rough living here," she said. "The children can't go out — there's no place for them to play and the hallways aren't safe." She said there had been rapes of women and young girls. "We never used to get sick," she said, but they had a lot of colds last winter, the hot water was off for a week and they often didn't get enough heat. This woman was evicted from her apartment in Staten Island because the landlord wanted to renovate it and rent it to other people, presumably for greater profit.

Another woman we talked to, Barbara, was evicted because she was active in a tenants' group and was planning to take her landlord to court — there was no heat and the temperature had gone down to 22 degrees last winter. Barbara had three children, 8, 2, and 3 months — the 2-year-old was staying with her sister "because my room is on the 11th floor and there are no window-guards."

Barbara, along with several others we talked to, were waiting for an apartment to become available in the projects — run by either the city, state or federal government. Despite the reputation of some of the projects as centers for drugs and violence many families hoped to be placed there because, with all the problems, they are still better than much of the housing available for low-income and poor people in New York, with generally lower rents, which include gas and electricity, and which guarantee some degree of maintenance.

A number of other people commented that even the Martinique was still better than much of the non-project low-income housing they'd been offered — which is certainly no compliment to the Martinique with its debris-strewn hallways, frequently-broken elevator, and active mice population, but, rather, an indictment of the housing situation in general.

The Martinique, which has existed as a "welfare hotel" for ten years, recently hit the front pages of the daily newspapers because some state inspectors had popped up and reported malnutrition and disease among the women and children there and at another welfare hotel in Brooklyn.

This sudden concern with the plight of the welfare families was due to some infighting between New York governor Mario Cuomo and NYC mayor Ed Koch. The governor, evidently, was interested in embarrassing the mayor on the mayor's own turf, cynically using the

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# Cracks, Coups, and Unforeseeable Consequences in the Philippines

Continued from page 3

that question, my friends, scares me to death." He added that underneath the mildness of the reaction of the masses, he sensed "ominous undercurrents" of "anger that was building up, of a resentment that was smoldering and which could be set up by the slightest spark." "Whether the government likes it or not," said Sin, "much of the anger and all of the resentment is directed against it." On the one hand, the bourgeois opposition is making such statements to put pressure on the regime. On the other hand, there is a real fear that the masses are not totally under their control.

The sight of millions marching in the streets in defiance of the regime is bound to widen the tears in the political fabric of the Philippines. The U.S., of course, wants to see to it that the tears do not spread and become even wider. But the U.S. must deal with the prospect of increasingly sharp contradictions between various forces of the Philippine bourgeoisie. Aquino's assassination itself was a product of these sharp contradictions. The U.S. had placed some hopes on Aquino to provide an "alternative" that would draw in the middle forces towards the safe "opposition" to the regime and slow down the process of political polarization. Aquino's program was "national reconciliation" — between the Marcos clique and the bourgeois forces shut out from political power — which he claimed was necessary to stem the growing influence of the Communist Party of the Philippines and the National Democratic Front which it leads. That

the Marcos clique felt it necessary to off Aquino is evidence of the shaky state of the regime.

Besides the contradiction between the Marcos clique and the bourgeois opposition forces Aquino represented, there also exists intense infighting within the clique itself, concentrated on the question of the successor to Marcos. There has been some speculation raised that Aquino's murder was the work of a certain faction within the Marcos clique and that Marcos was in no position to put up any arguments about it. According to *Far Eastern Economic Review*, "The most popular theory in Washington focuses on unnamed culprits in the Philippine armed forces who envied Aquino's popularity in the U.S. and feared that a deal between him and Marcos would lock them out of power." One name that has been mentioned as having had a particular interest in seeing Aquino knocked off is Imelda Marcos. She has her own faction within the clique and is said to have the backing of General Fabian Ver, the armed forces chief of staff. Other rumors point to Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile, who leads a rival faction. It might be that such speculations are being floated around to deflect some of the pressure off Marcos himself. But in any case, the factional infighting is real and bound to escalate.

There are undoubtedly fierce maneuverings going on among these various bourgeois forces in the aftermath of the assassination. One indication of some of this was given by Raul Manglapus, a former Philippines senator and foreign minister who now heads a

Filipino exile group called the Movement For A Free Philippines. Manglapus suggested on ABC's *Nightline* that certain forces within the Philippine military should go over Marcos' head and align with the bourgeois opposition in order to avoid a complete breakdown of the situation in the Philippines. Such a move, of course, would need approval of U.S. imperialism. Henry Kissinger, appearing on the same *Nightline* program, immediately expressed strong reservations: "I become uneasy when I hear about American-sponsored military coups in the Philippines when one sees what happened in Vietnam under similar circumstances and in other countries." Besides being a bare-faced admission that the U.S. has never hesitated to deal ruthlessly with puppets if these had become ineffective, Kissinger's statement reveals why the U.S. does not want to abandon Marcos at this time. It's not that Kissinger, and U.S. imperialism, is against "American-sponsored military coups" in principle. He is applying the historical lessons of Vietnam, when the U.S. had Diem knocked off. Diem indeed had outlived his usefulness, but the problem was that the U.S. had not sufficiently prepared a replacement and united its flunkies around him. Thus, Diem's untimely demise only intensified the contradictions within the puppet regime. Kissinger's point is that although there are problems with the current regime, a coup to replace Marcos now would only exacerbate these contradictions.

An immediate and particular question facing the U.S. imperialists is what to do

about Reagan's planned stopover in Manila during his upcoming trip to Asia in November. The *Los Angeles Times*, among some other bourgeois voices, argues that Reagan should "scratch Manila" from the Asian itinerary. The argument is that the visit is "morally out of the question" — that is, for Reagan to be hugging Marcos in Manila only a few months after Aquino's murder would be just too much of a public exposure of the U.S. Moreover, "the U.S. needs to keep the confidence of Filipino political moderates who are the best eventual alternative to rule by Marcos and his clique . . ." Reagan's visit would make the claim of the bourgeois opposition to being a genuine "alternative" even more untenable and push even greater numbers of the middle forces toward the CPP. It could also push some within the bourgeois opposition to more desperate and violent measures against Marcos. On the other hand, for Reagan to cancel his trip would be taken as a political signal that the U.S. has no confidence in Marcos and thus could encourage a bid for power by a faction within the clique, the bourgeois opposition, or some alliance of these forces. As Kissinger warned, canceling the trip might pose a more immediate and catastrophic danger by triggering "an upheaval of unforeseeable consequences." Aquino's assassination, which resulted from wranglings within the bourgeoisie, has already thrown millions into motion. The intensification of such infighting could crack open Philippine society. □

I received your letter and I was very happy to hear from you and to know that other prisoners have written you in regards to this Menard Psychiatric Center that I am now in where they force you to take drugs against your will and without your written or oral consent.

They gave me another injection this morning of the drug prolixin. They gave me 2 CC of the powerful tranquilizing drug prolixin. So please forgive me for any typing mistakes that I make in this letter to you.

Every Wednesday a bunch of wild officers come to my cell and tell me that Warden Stephen Hardy and Dr. N. Vallab Haneni has ordered an injection (shot) of 2 CC of the drug prolixin for me to take.

If I refuse the shot they spray chemical mace in my face blinding me, then they open up my cell door and rush in and begin to hit and kick me upside of my head, neck, shoulders, back, stomach, buttocks, groin, and legs for over twenty minutes and then they begin to choke me around my neck for five minutes while the prison nurse comes inside of the cell and injects the 2 CC of the drug prolixin in my body.

The prolixin shot causes me to have all types of side effects, like vomiting, dizziness, blurred speech and blurred vision, mild heart attacks, mild strokes of the body, restlessness, and inability to get a good night's sleep.

All this is not justified because it is being done simply because of my Black race, poverty and social status as an indigent state prisoner.

Also because I am an innocent man of the charges of rape and armed robbery I was very vindictive, angry and bitter when I first came to prison; and I was in a lot of fights with prisoners and officers and that is the reason why they try to claim that I am dangerous, but I never did kill or seriously injure anyone and therefore I am not dangerous or a threat to security or myself.

A prisoner committed suicide last night and he is now dead, they could not save him because they discovered him too late. Every week around here some prisoner tries to commit suicide to get some type of relief from the prolixin drugs and the other drugs that they give out here.

These last fifteen years that I have been in prison I have read numerous books, magazines and newspapers, and many of them were what you might call revolu-

tionary, and there is a great deal of truth in them. Therefore don't forget to send me a free subscription of your newspaper.

The prison policy here makes it mandatory that all books that I order or that are sent to me must first be approved by the prison publication review panel and they will not let any type of revolutionary books come in or any other books come in without their written approval. That is the reason why you cannot send me any type of books. But a newspaper is alright. They do not stop any newspapers or magazines, that are sent me, so send me a free subscription to your newspaper. I was receiving it when I was in the Stateville Prison, but all of them was stopped when I was transferred here.

Remember I told you that a lot of prisoners here are receiving the drug prolixin and other similar type drugs like thiorazine, halydol, and other antipsychotic drugs and they are walking around looking like robots, mummies and zombies. This Menard Psychiatric Center is where they send a lot of prisoners that they feel is a threat to their security. They send us here to try and break our spirits by keeping us doped up on these drugs, where they can easily come inside of our cells and beat us near death.

Forever yours in the struggle

Dear Comrades,

Thank you for sending the *Red Book* and for my subscription to the *RW*. Your newspaper brings light to these dark corridors and steel cages. We, the prisoners, are in maximum security in this imperialist system and when the working class people in society realize that they are just one notch above in minimum security of the same prison, changes will be fast coming. Political awareness is the key to change, praxis is the method. Direct action is political power and Chairman Mao instructed us all on where political power issues.

Thank you again,  
In Revolutionary Spirit  
Rosharon, Texas

P.S. Could you send me Lenin's *State and Revolution*? I've been wanting to read and study it for a very long time and have not been able to get a copy. I would appreciate it very much.

## Shine the Light of Revolution Behind the Prison Walls



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# 007 And The Birds Of Prey

Continued from page 1

raised the obvious question about whether or not there was a deeper meaning in the fact that this was flight 007 — and one commentator floated out and attempted to dismiss as ridiculous the "theory" that the Korean plane was fitted with spy cameras and was deliberately overflying Soviet military installations.

That there is some history to this sort of thing was not among the many public speculations. But it is worth noting that this wouldn't be the first time that the U.S. has used "third country" commercial airliners for reconnaissance. One famous incident some years ago involved Pakistani airliners spying on military bases in revolutionary China, including taping adhesive strips to the wings to gather particles from Chinese nuclear tests.

While Larry Speakes emerged from the White House to intone about "horrifying acts of violence" and "wanton misdeeds," Secretary of State Shultz was busy bragging about the extent of Western bloc spying on the Soviet Union in general and on this incident in particular. While denouncing the Soviets (who had not yet offered an explanation or admitted that they had shot the plane down) for their inexplicable and insufferable silence, Shultz went on to describe the whole thing in minute detail:

"At approximately 1600 hours Greenwich mean time the aircraft came to the attention of Soviet radar. It was tracked constantly by the Soviets from that time. The aircraft strayed into Soviet airspace, over the Kamchatka Peninsula and over the Sea of Okhotsk and over Sakhalin Island. The Soviets tracked the commercial airliner for some two-and-one-half hours. A Soviet pilot reported visual contact with the aircraft at 1812 hours. The Soviet plane was, we know, in constant contact with its ground control. At 1821

hours the Korean aircraft was reported by the Soviet pilot at 10,000 meters. At 1826 hours the Soviet pilot reported that he fired a missile and the target was destroyed. At 1830 hours, the Korean aircraft was reported by radar at 5000 meters. At 1838 hours the Korean plane disappeared from the radar screens. We know that at least 8 Soviet fighters reacted at one time or another to the airliner. The pilot who shot the aircraft down reported after the attack that he had in fact fired a missile, that he had destroyed the target and that he was breaking away. About an hour later, Soviet controllers ordered a number of their search aircraft to conduct search-and-rescue activity in the vicinity of the last position of the Korean airliner reflected by Soviet tracking. One of these aircraft reported finding kerosene on the surface of the seas in that area...."

Continuing in this vein, news commentators revealed that U.S. sources had confirmed Soviet claims that they tried to radio the airliner and got no response. They went on to add that U.S. intelligence sources indicated that the "extreme detail with which Secretary of State Shultz laid out what the U.S. knew about this incident was only a fraction of the material which the National Security Agency and the CIA had compiled" and that all of this information was gained through a combination of spy satellites, heat-detecting satellites, plus listening posts in South Korea and Japan. All of this bragging in the afternoon occasioned further explanations in the evening as ABC Nightline rushed to the rescue on what had become a nagging question: If the U.S. and Japan knew so much, why didn't they try to prevent this from happening in the two-and-one-half hours they were collecting all this intelligence? The explanation was as flimsy as it was

cynical: they were simply overwhelmed by "translation" problems, they were being very careful to check everything, and besides, the whole thing was "just unbelievable"! So what we have here appears to be a rather fatal "failure to communicate."

There was, however, no lack of communication on just what kind of mileage the U.S. imperialists hope to get from this incident, as liberal and rabid dogs engaged in a bit of point/counterpoint analysis of the ultimate in "inexplicables" — why did the Soviets shoot the plane down? Here NBC News engaged in some speculation that maybe it was a section of the Soviet military trying to embarrass Andropov, or a trigger-happy local commander, but it was generally the opinion of "experts" that this incident could not have happened without a high-level decision. One thing is quite clear. The fact that this incident occurred is a stark example of the very tense situation in the world, the sharpness of the inter-imperialist rivalry, and the fact that *all* the imperialist powers are intensely preparing for war. One week U.S. warships are tailing Soviet ships in Nicaragua and the next week the Soviets are shooting down a plane. And the U.S. humanitarians wasted no time in using the occasion for stepping up these preparations.

One of the more bizarre aspects of this incident (and one which falls into the good-riddance category) was the death of Congressman Larry McDonald, head of the reactionary John Birch Society. (The only drawback is that it would give him great satisfaction to rant and rave about Soviet aggression resulting in his untimely death, as long as they inscribe his name on a first-strike warhead.) This coincidence provided ample opportunity for interviews on ABC Nightline with his robot wife (who swore that the whole thing was

a plot to get him) and Jesse Helms, who had also just flown into South Korea for ceremonies honoring the U.S. imperialist aggression in Korea. These two and several others formed the rabid-dog chorus calling for an immediate and tough U.S. response to Soviet aggression, while the "liberals," including two former CIA heads and a former NSA chief, discussed Soviet "paranoia" and a more calculated U.S. response. The rabid dogs were unleashed to set the proper ideological tone about how such "tyrannical madness" bears absolutely no resemblance to humanitarians such as themselves, while the expert "liberal" dogs made shrewd political calculations about how the U.S. could maintain the political offensive without "overreacting" and being too blatant. It must be said, however, that they themselves were not too subtle.

Former NSA chief Admiral Bobby Inman got straight to the point when he said that the Soviet Union had been waging a very effective propaganda offensive, particularly in Europe, painting the U.S. as an aggressive warmonger. Inman prescribed that this incident is "going to have an impact on Western Europe" and if the U.S. plays its cards right "it will be easier to get a consensus here and in Western Europe in adopting tough measures" in regard to the Soviet Union. Inman also pointed out that any dealings the U.S. had with the Soviet Union would be, as always, in the U.S.'s own self-interest. Given the performance of the U.S. imperialists throughout the entire day and the projected political offensive in the period ahead, this last point hardly seemed necessary. But then, vultures never can get enough. □

# The "Shantytowns" of Manhattan

Continued from page 9

issue of the hotels. The mayor fought back with a characteristic combination of racist innuendo and cosmetic changes and expression of concern "for the children."

"Look, these are third-rate hotels, they're not palaces, but they're comparable to the accommodations these people came from when they were burned out or evicted, and that means they are apartments the middle class wouldn't live in," Koch said at a press conference. He added, "it takes people to put the smell of urine" in the halls of the welfare hotels. "These are adults with children who run their own lives. This is not camp."

Having thus blamed conditions in the hotels squarely on the people who are oppressed by them, the city announced health check-ups for the children, while various charitable agencies and the Board

of Education began providing free bag-lunches (peanut butter or cheese sandwiches) at the Martinique, and Mayor Koch himself toured the Martinique for 45 minutes one evening and announced that he'd found no sign of malnutrition. Koch's findings were of course backed up by the Health Department which announced that most of the children had passed the health check-ups — which amounted to, in the words of one doctor, a "rapid physical exam," which mainly compared a child's height to weight for his/her age, and measured the amount of fat. According to growth charts, only 6.8% fell below the fifth percentile — and, the doctor, pointed out, two percent were above the 95th percentile (they were "too fat"). In addition, he said, some of the children had showed signs of having had previous medical care — i.e., one with a repaired congenital heart disease, and another with burns that had been treated — all of which led him to conclude that things had been very exaggerated in the newspapers concerning the conditions of the children. By this definition, it would appear that only death, severe disability or major obvious infirmities are signs of poor health. However, he hedged, "we don't know what might turn up" as the check-ups continue of the rest of the 7,000 or so children 12 years and under in the hotels and shelters.

But already by Friday, August 27, with exposure of the hotels plainly becoming an uncomfortable subject for both state and city and indeed the bourgeoisie as a whole, Cuomo and Koch patched up their differences.

The *New York Times* headlined: "Koch and Cuomo agree on aiding children in welfare hotels." A spokesman for the governor stated at a press conference, "from day one his only concern was the children... now the city and state are working together to give them a better life." "A better life" — a height/weight check-up and a peanut butter sandwich.

And so the existence of these metropolitan "shantytowns," which only came into

the light of day temporarily as a result of feuding between different factions of the ruling class, will now sink back into the realm of the unsaid, unacknowledged by the bureaucrats who still maintain the face of the "thirty-day shelters," unmentioned by the city boosters who frantically print their "I Love NY" t-shirts and hope that its residents will forget the fact that in

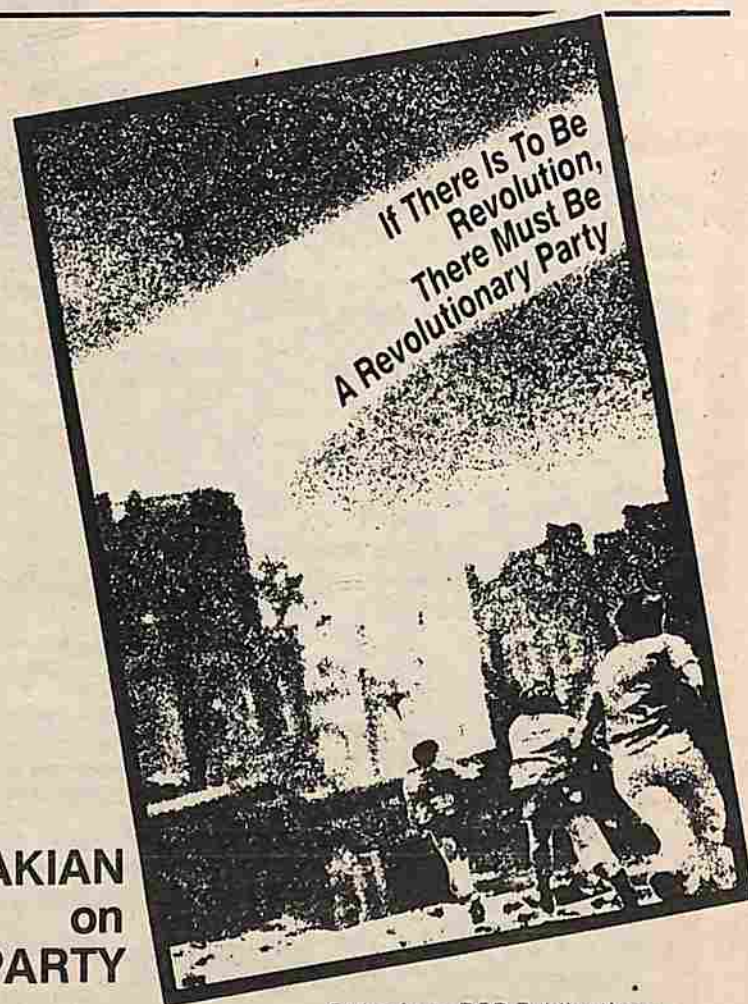
a city where tens of thousands of square feet of highrise space stands empty as unrented offices, a whole stratum of people exists who barely have a roof over their heads. Nevertheless, the system and its housing crisis continues to churn people into this situation, accumulating like the dry tinder in the walls of the "condemned premises" from where they were evicted. □

## Corrections

In *RW* No. 219 (August 26, 1983), in the article "Securing Territory for the Pre-War Games," on page 3 the second full sentence in column 3 should read: "It should also be noted that the problem of terrorism is, in the imperialists' dictionary, spelled M-U-N-I-C-H and specifically *not* Mexico 1968, where four hundred radical students were gunned down in a protest prior to those Games — that was no "terrorist incident" but merely a security problem disposed of properly."

In *RW* No. 216 (August 5, 1983), in the article "Over the Barbed Wire at Seneca Falls," on page 14 the second sentence of the second paragraph in column 3 should read: "A contingent of women organized by the Seneca Women's Encampment had arrived from New York City in Seneca Falls and was holding a 15-mile walk to the encampment to call attention to Monday's demo and to highlight historic figures in the women's movement."

## BOB AVAKIAN on THE PARTY



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Shortly after the publication of "Conquer the World? The International Proletariat Must and Will" by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA (*Revolution* magazine, No. 50, December 1981), Comrade Avakian responded to a number of questions from a comrade who has been involved in the revolutionary struggle throughout the decades of the '60s, '70s, and into the '80s. The answers elaborate on a number of questions raised in "Conquer the World?..." Excerpts from this series of questions and answers were published in the *Revolutionary Worker*. This pamphlet reprints the excerpts dealing with questions about the party.

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This volume contains the full text of the main speeches presented at the debate: *The Red Flag Still Flies: Workers' Power in the USSR*, by Albert Szymanski, and *Realities of Social-Imperialism Versus Dogmas of Cynical Realism: The Dynamics of the Soviet Capital Formation*, by Raymond Lotta. Also included are the texts of the rebuttals and concluding remarks from the debate.

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