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Jaws in Geneva

ABC anchor Peter Jennings pronounced, "The world became a little safer this week." The *Chicago Sun-Times* splashed a full front-page headline: "BREAKTHROUGH!" CBS spoke to a little Swiss grandmother now giddy with "hope," who listened to the "success" reports from Geneva over and over and who could now tearfully conclude that "her grandchildren will indeed live out their lives without knowing war."

Over a thousand reporters crammed into Geneva this week to report on a single two-day event just like literally thousands of others conducted by the U.S. and Soviets over the years in their peace wars. But whereas in the past such meetings and results of meetings like the ones this week hardly raised an eyebrow, this one called forth the most gushing — and ridiculous — torrent of praise and predictions of lessened tensions at last. The media circus was in itself a chilling sign of the times.

Don't get it wrong, no one's promising an era of peace. Over and over, the American media insisted that this "first step to better U.S./Soviet relations" is a fruit of... Reagan's war buildup! From Ted Koppel, to military expert Bobby Inman, to Soviet expert Edward Luttwak, the word came down from the "policy elite": The Soviets had callously broken off talks a year ago, and were now being dragged back to heel by fear itself. In a *USA Today* article headlined, "'Star Wars' Was Key to Success," Luttwak touts "a great vindication for Reagan."

Noting that "many people have ridiculed" Reagan's plans for a space-based antimissile system, Luttwak concluded that in fact this approach had frightened the Kremlin back toward the bargaining table.

Truly amazing reams of absurdity were spun out to paint vicious American weapons of mass murder as "moral," "peaceful," and as the true instruments of a whole new era. They even dared to portray Star Wars as a neutron-bomb-turned-inside-out, i.e., as a weapon that killed things instead of people! Gromyko was lectured about how this SDI (Strategic Defense Initiative) created a new basis for the end to the mutual balance of terror... and while Gromyko obviously was not going to be fooled by such drivel, the viewing public was expected to swallow it by the shovelful. This week was proclaimed the definitive victory of "peace through strength"!

Throughout, the air of hostility to the Soviets was carefully maintained. Geneva was never (not for a moment) presented as a rediscovery of "brotherhood," or even of some realization of "common interest in preventing global destruction." There is no hint of an East/West "honeymoon." From start to finish the talks were painted as one more fight with an inherently "uncivilized foe." All the commentary has been the occasion for shifting the blame and belligerence onto Moscow's back. And this is the *peaceful and diplomatic* face of U.S. policy!

When it was over, the pollsters in-

formed us that the majority of people had bought this propaganda hook-line-and-sinker: This "majority" was (a) supposedly enthusiastic that the talks were under way, seeing hope for peace in the mere existence of such "dialogue"; (b) pessimistic that major breakthroughs in disarmament or arms limitations could be easily achieved; and (c) overwhelmingly convinced that the Soviets would cheat on any deal, while the U.S. would not. Loyal Americans know what they are supposed to think.

"Compromise"

The earth-shattering compromise at the end of the meetings consisted of this: the Soviets agreed to discuss the question of intermediate missiles—like their SS-20s—and long-range missiles—like their land-based ICBMs—putting aside their insistence that the U.S. must withdraw the Euromissiles first. The U.S. agreed to discuss Star Wars (while making it clear that the project was, in the words of *Time*, "on the bargaining table only in the most technical sense").

Does this make room for a breakthrough down the road somewhere? A discussion on the ABC show, *Nightline*, was typical of the musings. Strobe Talbott, a *Time* bureau chief and author of a well-known recent book on arms control quoted by Walter Mondale during the presidential debate, described the only possibility of a "swap" he could see: if the Soviets were willing to radically

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From Lagos To Los Angeles The Word Is: Free Fela Anikulapo Kuti

On December 25, Nigeria's Supreme Military Council ratified the conviction and five-year prison sentence of Afrobeat musician Fela Anikulapo Kuti for an alleged, and clearly trumped-up, currency law violation. Under Nigerian law, no further legal appeals are available.

As indicated in previous letters to the *RW*, Fela was arrested at the Lagos airport as he was departing for his first U.S. tour in fifteen years and this incident is the latest in a decade-long series of attacks aimed at silencing his music.

Protest statements and telegrams have been sent to the Nigerian government from throughout the world. Among other actions, the National Association of Nigerian Students has called for Fela's immediate release, and Amnesty International is looking into the case. Future plans include support concerts to be held in several cities in the U.S. and Europe. In the magazine *Africa Now* the editors note that Fela recently wrote from prison to a friend: "I will never, never stop fighting. This (jail) only makes me stronger, and I hope it's giving my people more courage to do their part in the struggle."

The following telegram has been circulating in a number of cities in the U.S. among musicians, artists, and popularizers and fans, including the signatories below:

To the Government of Nigeria:

We protest the preposterous sentence of Fela Anikulapo Kuti (to five years in prison) in the latest attempt to silence his music and wall him off from the rest of the world. Although you've accused him of countless crimes, Fela's real "crime" is his music, the set-up on the fabricated currency charges being only one way that his vibrant music has been denied access abroad.

We demand Fela's immediate release. His music is treasured as a voice of the oppressed and we will defend it and bend every effort to make sure this voice be heard.

FREE FELA ANIKULAPO KUTI NOW.

Dave Wakeling, General Public
Ranking Roger, General Public
Art Ensemble of Chicago:

Lester Bowie
Roscoe Mitchell
Joseph Jarman
Malachi Favors Maghostus
Famoudou Don Moye
Herbie Hancock
Five members of the Rockit band:
Bernard Fowler
J.T. Lewis
D.S.T.
Jeff Bova
Wayne Braithwaite
Gary Lucas, CBS Records
"Miller the Killer," reggae DJ
Douglas Wendt
"Midnight Dread," KQAK
Gary Floyd, The Dicks*

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and Dead Kennedys
Suzanne Stefanac, writer for *BAM*
magazine*
Idris Ackamoor, jazz musician
Kimathi Asante, jazz musician
Shabaka, actor
David Nadel, Ashkenaz Music and
Dance Club
Jonathan E., DJ
Nina Cerrano, music professor
David Dictor, Million Dead Cops
(MDC)*
Three members of the Caribbean All-
Stars:
Ronald Van Leeuwen
Jah Rashan
Jasiri
Richard Reineccius, artistic
director/Julian Theater

Lorraine Hansberry Theater
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Kamikaze Records
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Atlanta
Monty Montgomery, reggae musician,
Atlanta
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poet
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Inc. (Theater Company)
Mitchell Feldman, writer, *Jazz Times*,
Atlanta Magazine, *Creative Loafing*
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Louise Shaw, executive director, Nexus
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Miller Francis, DJ "Revolution Rock,"
WRFG, Atlanta
Melanie Collins, DJ "Leather Jacket,"
WRFG, Atlanta
Rob Gibson, DJ "Extensions," World
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Marsha Jackson and Thomas W.
Jones, II, Jomandi Productions, Inc.

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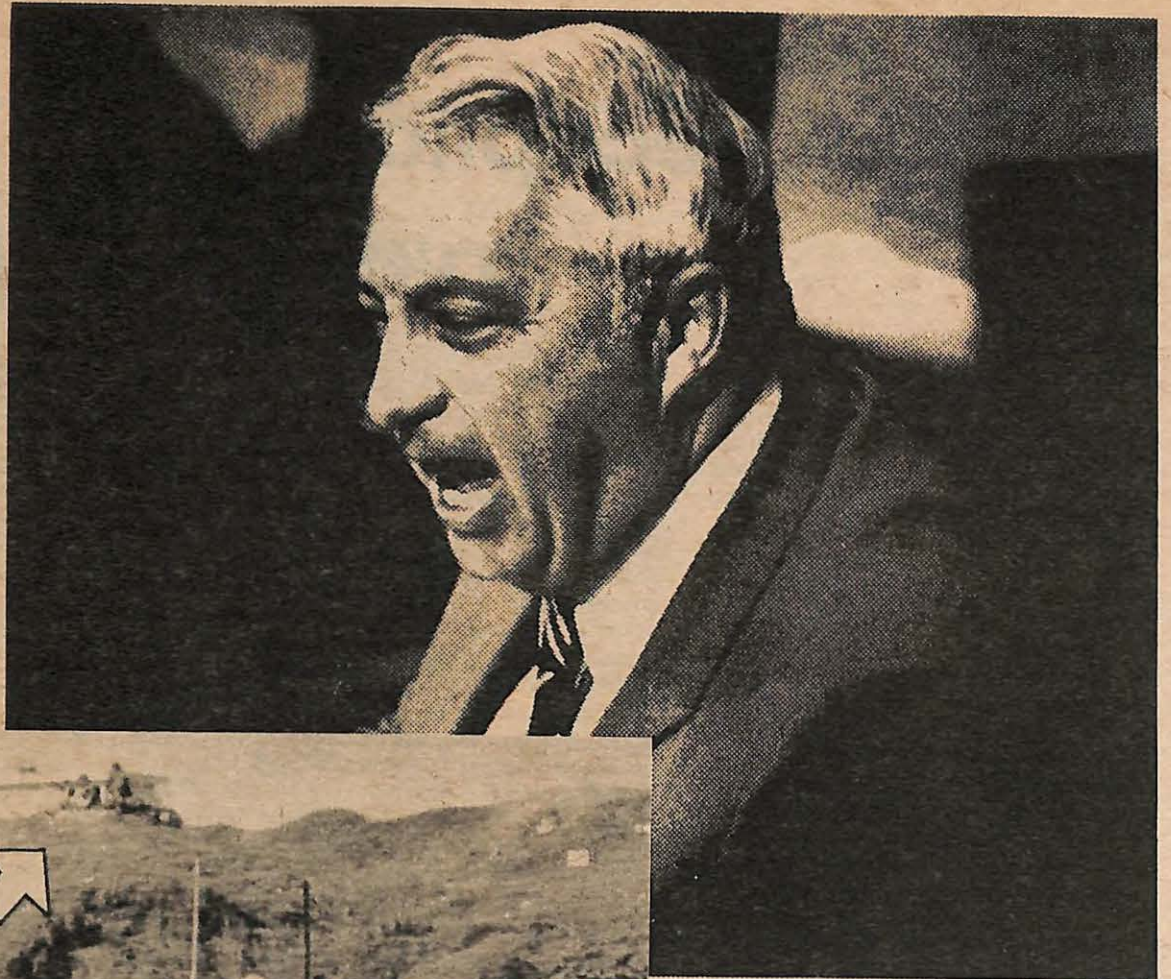
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The Resurrection



Shatila after the massacre. Arrow points to an Israeli observation post.

Of A Butcher

shock waves of revulsion and outrage throughout the world. The "friends" referred to were the combined right-wing militias of the "Lebanese Forces," whose entry into the camps had indeed been coordinated, at the highest levels, by the Israeli command. And the above communiqué between Drori and Sharon was but the final exchange in a series of preparations, involving the top command structure of the Israeli military and that of the Lebanese Forces militias, for what was to follow.

Beirut, already bloodied, splintered, pulverized by two months of siege, was again the site of war. The assassination of president-elect Bashir Gemayel on September 14 had thrown West Beirut, most of all the Palestinian camps, into an acute anxiety and foreboding. The expectation, solidly grounded in historical experience and soon to be bitterly verified anew, was that the Phalangist militia, enjoying the full support of Israel, would demand, and extract, a terrible revenge for their leader's death.

For the Israeli command, Gemayel's death represented a clear opportunity to enact its long-standing plans to invade West Beirut. Since the early days of the invasion, when Israeli forces began to lay siege to the city, plans had been drawn up to overrun and capture the western sector. Israeli army units had been assigned to lay siege to particular neighborhoods and areas, and received specific training for that purpose. Only a determined resistance by Palestinian and Lebanese fighters had prevented them from doing so previously. Now, with the PLO departed under the terms of the U.S.-brokered "Habib Agreement" and most of the West Beirut militia forces disarmed, the prospect of easy victory loomed. Within hours of Gemayel's death, Israeli forces began steamrolling their way into West Beirut, encountering scant organized resistance as they captured the city block by block. Sharon, directing the offensive from his Tel Aviv ministry office, arrived to personally oversee the assault the morning of Wednesday, September 14. The Israeli command's mindset was demonstrated by the remarks of Israeli General Rafael Eitan: "Now we are inside. We are going to mop up West Beirut, gather all the weapons, arrest the terrorists, exactly like we did in Sidon and Tyre and in all other places in Lebanon. We will find all the terrorists and their leaders. We will destroy whatever requires destruction."

For all the bluster about rooting out "terrorists," the Israelis knew that very few Palestinian fighters remained. Eitan's own assessment of the situation, made just hours before Gemayel's assassination, was that "Only a few ter-

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Since November 13, a grotesque travesty has played itself out in a New York courtroom. A \$50 million libel suit, lodged against *Time* magazine by Israeli war criminal Ariel Sharon, has become the occasion for many things. It has enabled Sharon to travel very far indeed in reestablishing his credentials for respectability within the U.S. political arena. He has regained entry into the media, noisily splashing around on ABC's *Nightline*, in the *New York Times*' Op-Ed page, and elsewhere, presenting "his side of the story." In Israel, the trial has been front-page news from the beginning and has earned Sharon grudging support even from some of his political opponents. And in New York, the trial has been hailed by some as being, if nothing else, "great theater." How innocently the public rehabilitation of war criminals proceeds! For if this is theater, its proscenium rests on the bones of thousands of Palestinians and Lebanese; not only the victims of Sabra and Shatila, but the thousands more who died throughout Israel's 1982 invasion of Lebanon, of which Sharon was the chief architect and commander.

Sharon's case, his charges of a "blood libel" against not only himself but "the Jewish people and the state of Israel," rests on *Time* magazine's cover story of February 21, 1983: "The Verdict is Guilty: An Israeli Commission Apportions Blame for the Beirut Massacre." A paragraph within the article states that on September 15 — one day after the assassination of Bashir Gemayel and one day before the massacres began at Sabra and Shatila — Sharon visited the Gemayel family and raised the matter of revenge with them. Sharon claims that in visiting the Gemayels, he was only paying his "condolences." On this basis he denies any foreknowledge of the massacre and continues to deny as well

the limited verdict of "indirect responsibility" leveled against him by the Israeli Commission of Inquiry.

There is a certain perverse ingenuity to Sharon's tactics here. Nobody, it seems, will step forward to challenge his version of what really happened the morning of September 15, when he went to pay his "condolences" to the Gemayel clan. In addition, *Time*'s original story cited the authority of a secret appendix to the Israeli commission's report as backing up its version of events. It now seems that the contents of this appendix do not support this particular charge. None of this is in fact of any real consequence in determining the actual responsibility of Sharon and Israel in encouraging and facilitating the massacres, as we shall see. But the terms of the legal case, and the great sympathy with which Sharon's suit has been received in high quarters, are such that if he wins what is basically an extremely limited point — that he arguably did not discuss the massacres with the Gemayel family on one particular occasion — then he has gained a bizarre "moral" victory suggesting a broader exoneration.

It might seem incredible that, at this late date, these matters should have been once again called into question, that the massacres at Sabra and Shatila could today be the object of such deceitful maneuver. Certainly an overwhelming ensemble of facts point to Sharon's involvement in, and likely authorship of, the massacres. Moreover, the Sabra and Shatila murders cannot be isolated from the entire pattern of events set in motion by the Israeli invasion itself — an invasion backed in full, materially and through diplomatic subterfuge, by the United States. At Sabra and Shatila, massacre was a continuation of war by other means. Just as the Israeli invasion — whose "military" targets throughout the summer of 1982 were overwhelmingly

Lebanese and Palestinian civilians, and which left some 18,000 dead, with 30,000 more maimed and wounded — was itself in essence a "rolling pogrom," a systematic, wholesale assault on Lebanon's social fabric and people. The Phalangists used pistols, knives, and hatchets; the Israelis employed the "state of the art" — cluster bombs, phosphorous shells, the "vacuum bomb," and more — in modern technological butchery. The U.S. government, as perennial "honest broker," provided the diplomatic cover which made it all possible (even as Pentagon specialists intently surveyed the battle performance of U.S.-Israeli weaponry against Syria's Soviet-supplied weapons systems). What happened at Sabra and Shatila was the culmination of a political and military doctrine dictated by U.S. and Israeli strategic designs and objectives — to deal a death blow to Palestinian nationalism once and for all, and to uproot and fracture Lebanon's political topography into pieces more malleable and congenial to Israeli and American interests.

But let us return to the scene of the crime, in Beirut during September 1982:

A little after 3 p.m., September 16, Israeli Defense Minister Sharon received a call from Major General Amir Drori. "Our friends are marching on the camps," reported Drori, "We have coordinated their entry." "Congratulations," replied an ebullient Sharon, "The operation of our friends is approved."*

The camps in question, of course, were the Sabra and Shatila Palestinian refugee camps in West Beirut, where the massacres shortly to unfold would send

*Cites in Amnon Kapeliouk, *Sabra & Shatila, Inquiry Into A Massacre* (Belmont, Mass.: AAUG Press, 1984) p. 25.

Kennedy In South Africa

Different Receptions From Different Quarters

On January 5, U.S. Senator Ted Kennedy landed at Jan Smuts International Airport in Johannesburg, South Africa. Confident that his advance-men had done their job well, Kennedy expected a warm reception as a well-known "opponent" of the apartheid regime. Instead, America's Prince Valiant got an uncomfortably hot greeting. As he strolled through the airport, dozens of demonstrators, confronted him with signs demanding "Kennedy Go Home" and denouncing him as a representative of U.S. imperialism. The demonstrators, organized by the Azanian Peoples Organization (AZAPO), fought with the South African police as the cops sought to break up the demonstration.

After this initial demonstration, AZAPO announced that it planned on confronting and opposing the senator throughout his tour. At least one other incident was reported in the U.S. According to the January 9 *New York Times*, a Kennedy speech in front of members of the South African "business community" was the scene of another AZAPO demonstration and battle with the police. Kennedy has required South African police protection a number of times throughout his visit. The situation was such that at the beginning of the tour, Desmond Tutu, one of the principal organizers of the Kennedy visit, had to publicly warn Kennedy that he would most likely confront a number of hostile demonstrations during his stay.

Beyond these initial reports, the press coverage of Kennedy's tour has been carefully controlled. In part this has been a product of standard editorial policy in the U.S. press. However, it is also the case

that Kennedy and his aides have ruled over the press corps tagging along on the tour with a very heavy hand. According to the *New York Times* the press has had to follow Kennedy around in buses run by Kennedy aides and Teddy's assistants have threatened to withdraw the press credentials of any reporter who photographs, films or reports on any event other than those officially O.K.'d by Kennedy. Part of the reason for this is undoubtedly an attempt to avoid extensive coverage of any embarrassing confrontations. Such was the case on January 5 as the Kennedy party was heading from the airport to Soweto where the senator was to spend the night with Bishop Tutu. On the way to Soweto the South African police reported to Kennedy that a hostile "mob" was waiting for him inside Soweto. Immediately Kennedy's aides turned the buses carrying the press back towards Johannesburg.

One favorite angle in the U.S. press coverage of the demonstrations against Kennedy in Azania is to paint them as being organized on the basis of opposing Kennedy's visit because he is a "moderate white." The intention here is to obscure the explicitly *anti-imperialist* character of the demonstrations.

Response to Upheaval

This is no "personal fact-finding mission," as Kennedy's office claims, nor less a "personal statement against apartheid." The explosive situation inside Azania is obviously spreading panic in U.S. ruling circles. The very fact a Kennedy-type would be dispatched off to South Africa itself points to the fragility of the regime's position and the fear of

sweeping revolutionary upheaval.

Partly, Kennedy's trip is aimed at getting across the notion that some U.S. imperialists are reasonable, just, and genuinely interested in aiding the Azanian people. Allan Boesak, a leading member of the United Democratic Front, who, together with Bishop Desmond Tutu, invited Kennedy to South Africa, put it this way: "One of the things Kennedy will have to do is convince black South Africans that there is America and America." One's bad, but you can work with the other. But while this, along with the public display of hostility by the regime, may bolster Kennedy's "anti-apartheid" credentials with some people, the show obviously isn't washing with many others.

Kennedy is also attempting to build up and promote moderate and pro-U.S. leaders among black people in Azania and to stretch a line into various other forces and strata within the broad opposition to the apartheid regime. In part, this is a matter of promoting "moderate" forces like Bishop Desmond Tutu as "the leadership" of Azania. Tutu's program centers on finding a way to strike up a deal with the South African ruling class and opposing revolution and revolutionary upsurge. He is unashamedly pro-imperialist, especially U.S. imperialist. About as radical as Tutu gets is asking foreign corporations to attach conditions to their continued investments in South Africa. Tutu advocates the imposition of sanctions against the regime if these conditions aren't met within a couple of years. Sanctions? One is compelled to comment that sanctions in one form or another have been formally held against

the regime for much of its postwar existence, yet this has hardly resulted in even a more "humane" apartheid!

At the same time, it is most interesting that Kennedy is also attempting to maneuver around a bit among forces like the United Democratic Front, an organization led by the African National Congress (ANC), and the ANC itself (a pro-Soviet "liberation" organization inside South Africa). In relation to these groupings, Kennedy is clearly trying to sound out some of the forces that just might be amenable to striking up a deal with the U.S. This same tactic has been broached by elements in the South African regime who have taken the unheard of step of publicly calling for negotiations between the ANC and the government. (As for ANC, the group's strategy leads it to feel around for possible alliances with elements of the South African ruling class.) While it is not clear just what this overall development means, or even what these negotiations would take up, that such an unprecedented proposal has been publicly batted around is indeed indicative of just how fragile the social fabric is in South Africa today.

Underlying all of this is the struggle of the Azanian people and the untenable situation that this struggle has forced the U.S. to face in South Africa for the last six months. As if to underline this point, a week prior to Kennedy's visit at least eight black townships in Azania once again blew up. In Sharpeville alone, 1,000 people battled with the police. When the police ran out of ammunition the people chased after them and burnt their houses down.

The Kennedy trip signals the depth of the crisis in South Africa and the potential for far greater upheaval in the future. Ominous for imperialism, welcomed by the proletariat and oppressed people of the world. □



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anti-abortionists vs. women's liberation

Falwell's Call:

Wear An Armband And Kiss The Bomb

In 1983 Ronald Reagan stood before the convention of Evangelical Christians on International Women's Day and gave the command: "There is sin and evil in the world and we are enjoined by scripture and the Lord Jesus to oppose it with all our might..." Further, he intoned, we should "never rest until abortion is outlawed."

To begin 1985, the Grand Dragon of the Moral Majority, Jerry Falwell, has taken this command to heart and announced that he is launching a major effort to further build the "pro-life" movement. Ads have appeared throughout the country, including in *TV Guide*, which calls for a "National Day of Mourning" on January 22, the anniversary of the Supreme Court *Roe v. Wade* ruling which legalized abortion in 1973. Falwell's goal, on this day, is to get 15 million people to wear black armbands — one for each of the abortions that have been performed since the Supreme Court decision. In Falwell's words, this national campaign is meant to "galvanize public opinion against what we believe to be our 'national sin.'"

How absurd for these reactionaries to pose as defenders of the "sanctity of life." They, who have no quarrel whatsoever with the daily and hourly murderous crimes committed by imperialism. Did they wear green ribbons for the Black children murdered in Atlanta? Where are the armbands for the murdered in Bhopal? Or for the starving in Ethiopia? Or protest against the imperialist nuclear weapons which threaten the very survival of life on this planet?

No, these armbands will not be found on the flexing arms of the so-called right-to-lifers.

The "pro-life" label they have given themselves would be laughable if their reactionary intentions were not so deadly serious. And to call them simply hypocritical begs the point. Their "concern for life" was expressed by their leader, Phyllis Schlafly, when she commented that nuclear weapons are a "gift from God." Even a cursory look at the politics of Falwell's movement reveals that what their version of "right-to-life" really means for the masses of people is more state executions, more police marauding the cities with trigger-happy fingers and sights set on Black youth, bigger prisons to be swollen with the oppressed and more vigilante gunmen. Far be it for Falwell to question U.S. sponsored "health care" in the third world, under which thousands of women are systematically sterilized. They stand for a system where hundreds of women are beaten and raped in this country every single day.

No, we won't hear a word of protest from the likes of Falwell against these real crimes. For their brand of "protest" is strictly in the interests of those for whom putting women in chains is part and parcel of a vision filled with mushroom clouds stamped "made in the USA." And all thinking people should call them out for what they really are: "America-to-the-death-ers."

The abortion issue has been employed, for sure, in defining the terms of life and death questions. But fundamentally, it is not the question of saving fetuses but enforcing the oppression of women which lies at the heart of the whole right-to-life movement. And beyond this, the life and death question of imperialist war preparations and civil war are openly being raised in the struggle that has been ignited over abortion rights.

Richard Viguerie, a major architect of the Right and leader in the antiabortion movement, said straight up: "The abortion issue is the door through which many people come into conservative politics, but they don't stop there. Their convictions against abortions, are like the first in a series of dominoes. Then we lead them to concern about sexual ethics and stan-

dards among young people. This leads to opposition to secular humanism. Then, particularly in the schools with its (sic) purportedly decadent morality, we point out that secular humanism is identified as both the godfather and the royal road to socialism and communism which points the way to commitments to minimally regulated free enterprise at home and to aggressive foreign and military policies to counter the communist threat from Russia and its many surrogates." (!)

Yes, there is a definite prewar mission that the U.S. rulers need done, that these idiots have enthusiastically taken up. And as Viguerie quite clearly points out above, an antiabortion movement is being built and shaped, with the conscious aim of a bigger task — solidifying a patriotic, pro-war social base. The leaders of this movement are also quite aware of the social dynamics involved in a prewar and war situation. And when

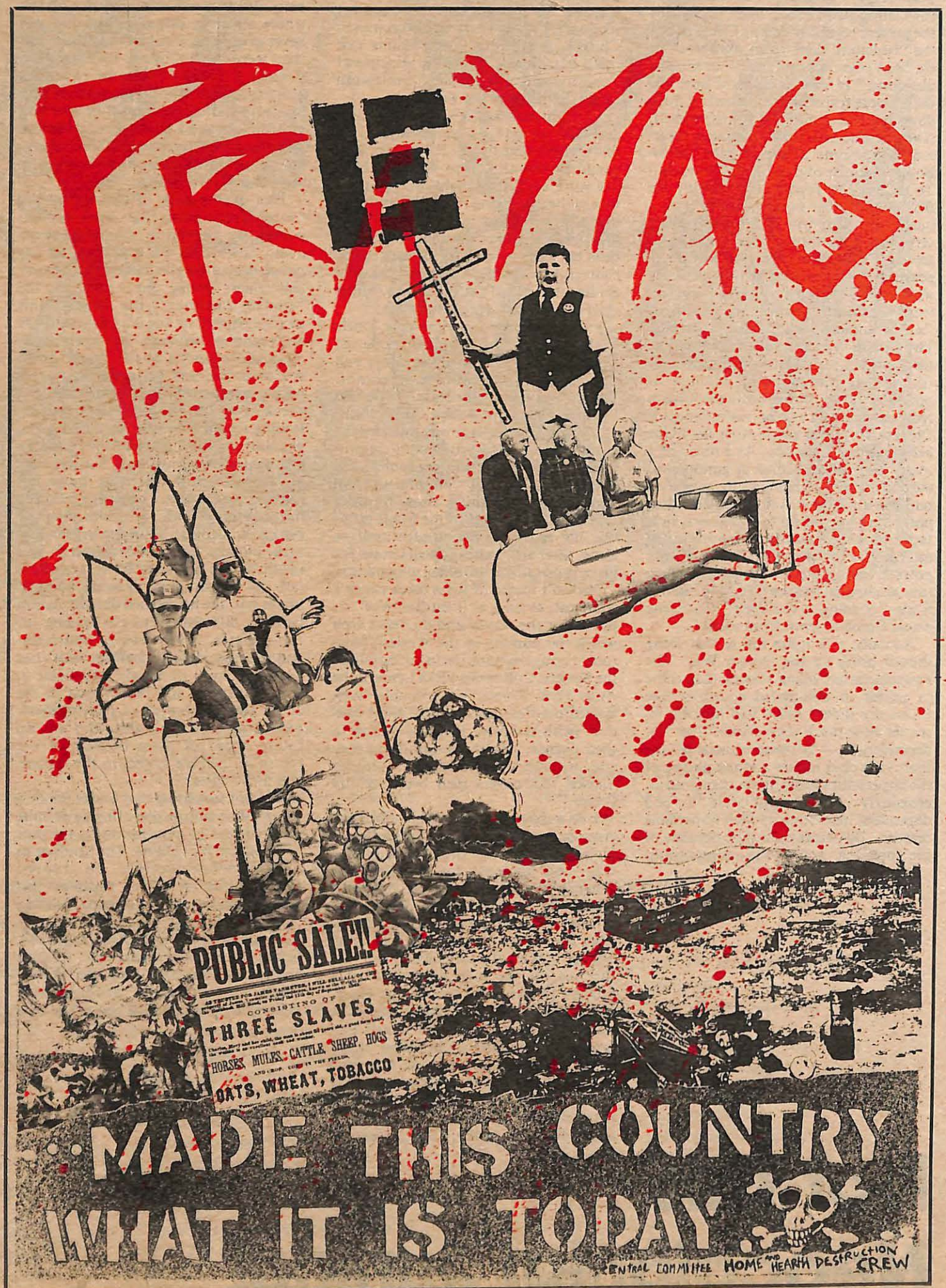
Dottie Roberts, a pro-lifer in Washington, says, "We're in the middle of a civil war," it should be clear that she is applying this to a much broader framework. And we should too.

Further, they have posed the terms of the abortion debate itself in order to purposely build a movement based on blind obedience to the morality of the church, and specifically to the traditional and oppressive social relations between men and women. While endless articles are written on "when does life begin" and the "morality of abortion," what is *not* addressed is the liberation of women, which lies at the heart of the abortion issue.

In fact, the *Roe v. Wade* decision which legalized abortion in this country did not specify that women were being given the "right to abortion" per se. The decision is carefully worded in such a way that the availability of abortion rests much on the legal definition of when a

"fetus is viable" — capable of survival outside the womb. Many have pointed out that the decision was worded in this way exactly because it makes it extremely easy to overturn. Thus we have the question now being posed in reevaluating the *Roe v. Wade* decision: as *Newsweek* put it: "Is medical technology moving faster than the law?" The so-called scientific argument being posed here against abortion is that because technology has advanced and babies can be kept alive when delivered at earlier stages of pregnancy, this therefore makes the *Roe v. Wade* definition of when abortion is legal (through the third trimester) obsolete. Arguments such as these are meant not only to give the accompanying know-nothing ravings of the Right an objective "scientific" side, but are also aimed at side-tracking the debate away from the issue of women's liberation. In fact,

Continued on page 10



Will Deng Xiaoping Ever Go Cold Turkey?

The arrival of the new year brought new cravings of addiction to imperialist domination from the rulers of capitalist China. Going on sale across China on January 1 was a new book by Deng Xiaoping, *Building Socialism with Chinese Characteristics*. The book features a recent major speech by Deng in which he reassures "some people abroad worried that China would change its open policy": "We say that China will continue to draw on foreign capital and practice an open policy for a long time to come. . . . That is because no country can now develop by closing its door. We suffered from this, and our forefathers suffered from this." According to a report on the speech by China's Xinhua News Agency, "He [Deng] recalled that China had isolated itself from the rest of the world for over 300 years, if calculating from the middle of the Ming Dynasty to the Opium War. This isolation had landed China in poverty, backwardness and ignorance, he said." Deng went on to remark that China again closed its doors after the First Five Year Plan of the People's Republic (presumably referring to the polemics and split with the Soviet Union and the beginning of the Cultural Revolution and "had not made much progress after that."

According to Deng's argument, the opening of China's door with the Opium War led to a period of "development" for China, just as the "open policy" of the present regime is leading China out of the "isolation" and "backwardness" of the Mao years and into the "four modernizations." It really is a sign of how low the Chinese revisionists are crawling these days that such bullshit is being peddled. (Deng's collection is affectionately referred to by some as the "Little Yellow Book" because of the color of its cover.) To be sure, the forcible intrusion by the British and other powers, which took a qualitative leap with the Opium War, served to break through the insularity of feudal China. But this was not some peaceful introduction of the outside world by benevolent powers bent on leading China toward the path of "enlightenment" and "development." The Opium War was a predatory war by the British to maintain the highly profitable drug trade in Asia. Millions of pounds sterling flowed into the British coffers, squeezed out of the millions of Chinese forced to go through the living hell of opium addiction. As a result of a treaty imposed on China at gunpoint at the end of the war, Hong Kong was ceded outright to Britain and several trading ports were opened up to foreigners, thus facilitating the intensified exploitation of the country. France, the U.S. and other powers quickly followed suit to force similar unequal treaties on China. So this is the "opening to the West" that Deng wants China to learn from today!

Actually, it is quite fitting that Deng should bring up the Opium War. The nonproletarian ruling classes that come to power in dominated countries like China are indeed much like junkies: no matter how much they claim to be "independent" — or even "socialist" — their very class nature and the nature of the imperialist system drives them into increasingly craven capitulation to and dependent relations with their imperialist masters. But more than this, because of the pressing needs and compulsions

thrust on both the imperialists and their reactionary henchmen today as their system is hurled toward world war, the Chinese rulers must "open to the West" — in the economic, political, military as well as the ideological sphere — more and more openly and at an increasingly frenetic pace. A brief look at the moves by the Chinese revisionists in the recent months is enough to illustrate this point.

- In the above-mentioned speech, Deng claims *personal* credit for two "achievements" in 1984. One is the opening up of fourteen coastal cities to attract more foreign investment (shades of the post-Opium War "treaty"). The other is the agreement with Britain on the return of Hong Kong to China in 1997. Under the agreement, China promises not to lay a finger on Hong Kong's free market economy for fifty years after its return to Chinese sovereignty. Deng claims that this is a landmark case of the principle of "one country, two systems" which can be applied all over the world.

- In November, the Chinese revealed that they had agreed in principle to a visit to a Chinese port by a U.S. warship. This would be the first time since the U.S. Seventh Fleet fled Shanghai in 1949 in the face of the advancing revolutionary army that a U.S. warship will "show its flag" in a Chinese port. Overall, there have been big leaps in military exchanges and contacts between the U.S. and China, including the visit of the U.S. armed forces chief of staff to China this month.

- On December 7, a front-page article in the official *People's Daily* declared: "There are many things that Marx and Engels, even Lenin, had no experience of. We cannot expect the works of Marx and Lenin in their day to solve the problems of today." The passage was amended the next day to read "... to solve *all* the problems of today," but the point that Marxism-Leninism is "out of date" had been made clear enough already. In any case, the significance of the whole affair was not so much the passage itself — Deng, after all, is already well known for his personal slogan extolling pragmatism, "it doesn't matter if it's a black cat or a white cat, as long as it catches mice" — but rather the fervor and the relish with which the pundits in the Western press took it up as ammunition in taking jabs at the Soviets. Columnist Flora Lewis of the *New York Times*, for example, contrasted the "extraordinary Chinese candor" with the way Russians "cling to their dogma... frightened of losing control without the ideological security blanket that covers their brute security forces."

- At a congress of the Chinese Writers' Association held in late December, a high-level revisionist official was greeted with loud applause for declaring that "literary creation must be free." A widely publicized statement by one leading novelist at the congress gives an idea of what this "free literary creation" is all about: "We are dreaming, we are thirsting for the early appearance of a modern Li Bai, a Du Fu, a Guan Hanqing, a Cao Xueqin." Conspicuously absent from this list of major writers that are to be emulated is the name of the revolutionary artist Lu Hsun. Mao said of Lu Hsun: "He was not only a great man of letters but a great thinker and revolutionary. Lu Hsun was a man of unyielding integrity, free from all

sycophancy or obsequiousness; this quality is invaluable among colonial and semicolonial peoples." It seems that, as their capitulation to imperialism gets more and more rank, the revisionists are finding it difficult (and perhaps too dangerous) to even attempt to cynically use Lu Hsun's name as they have in the past.

- And let us not forget the chopsticks controversy. Hu Yaobang, secretary general of the Chinese Communist Party, who is known as one of the first Chinese officials to switch to Western-style suits, created a stir last month by urging that, "We should prepare more knives and forks, buy more plates and sit around the table to eat Chinese food in the Western style." By doing so, Hu said, people will be able to avoid contagious diseases. Whatever the merits of chopsticks versus silverware, what is so disgusting here is how, even in matters of personal hygiene and public health, "the Western style" is extolled as the ideal to shoot for. In fact, the KMT reactionaries in Taiwan have been able to make some hay out of this whole affair by claiming that they will never give up their sacred chopsticks and thus were more Chinese than those in Peking. It is truly a case of two asses braying at each other. But, without falling into nationalism, it must be said that any Chinese with a modicum of pride and anti-imperialist sentiments is surely gagging by now at such pronouncements by the Chinese revisionists.

This intense rush of activity by the Chinese revisionists has been accompanied by optimistic pronouncements about how China will quadruple its national output by the end of the century and enter among the ranks of the "leading countries." But beneath this gaudily painted facade is a grim reality of an economy wracked by intensifying dislocations and a social fabric being stretched thin and beginning to tear at certain places. In the countryside, the breaking up of communal agriculture is leading to sharp polarization among the peasantry, with a minority of "model" peasants showing off new houses, cars and appliances, while many more fall rapidly into poverty. The privatization of the economy and the unleashing of bourgeois ideology has led to neglect and even plunder of public property and public works projects. While grandiose talk of "quadrupling national output" blares out, the heightened disarticulation between different sectors is leading to, for example, severe energy shortages. Among the ugliest developments has been the return of female infanticide in the countryside and prostitution in the cities. There are reports of growing disaffection among the youth who see no future ahead of them because of the return of the elite system to the schools and universities.

It is not surprising that under the thin veneer of optimism, there flows a definite undercurrent of desperation on the part of Deng and his cohorts. The headline in a *Newsweek* article on recent developments in China captures this duality: under the bold-faced heading "China's Year of Rejuvenation," the subheading reads "Deng Xiaoping, at 80, rushes to institutionalize his reforms before time runs out." Consider, for example, the "retirement" of forty senior military officers holding the ranks of a

three-star general or above in late December. While this has been advertised as a sweeping move to "streamline" and "modernize" the military, it is at least in part a major effort by Deng to clear out opposition to his policies (for example, from those among the revisionists who think that the interests of the ruling class as a whole would best be served by closer ties, if not an outright alliance, with the Soviets) in the top echelons of this critical area of the state machinery before he himself drops out of the scene. But such a drastic move is sure to create ripples throughout the military and in other areas, and it would not be surprising if other factions of revisionists were to take some countermeasures to defend their own positions.

It is also interesting to note that, even as he let loose with the recent barrage of "reforms," Deng has had to come out and declare that "to sprout some capitalism... cannot harm us," and that a "new bourgeoisie" will not spring up. After years of attacking Mao's line on the danger of restoration of capitalism and the rise of a new bourgeoisie under socialism, that Deng himself must still utter such assurances, and in such terms, is an indication that there is considerable opposition to the present regime. How much of that opposition comes from genuine revolutionaries upholding Mao's line, or from other revisionists cynically using Mao's words in an attempt to put themselves in power, is difficult to say. But whatever the case, things do not bode well for prospects of "stability" that the ruling clique craves so much.

The flood of recent commentary and articles on China in the U.S. press makes it clear that the U.S. imperialists are keeping a keen eye on developments there. *Time* and *Newsweek* both ran two-page spreads focusing on Deng and his "reforms," and a January 4 *New York Times* editorial said that, "The biggest news of 1984 and perhaps even 1985 may turn out to be the piecemeal revolution that is transforming China." But for every commentator that exudes confidence that Deng's "innovations" are "irreversible," there is another who predicts darkly that the further unleashing of market forces will lead to uncontrollable inflation, and that such things as the port call by a U.S. warship would result in a backlash of nationalism in China. While China's closer ties to the U.S. are applauded, there is an unmistakable air of concern in U.S. analysis over the political implications of the recent economic agreements between China and the Soviets, the biggest since the Sino-Soviet split. And no article or commentary fails to mention the fact that Deng is definitely getting on in years and has little time left to solidify the position of the circle around him and "institutionalize" his policies.

This sense of foreboding and desperation, not far beneath the surface optimism, on the part of both the U.S. imperialists and the Chinese revisionists, is another indication of the fact that as the imperialist system rushes toward an explosive conjuncture, the imperialists and other reactionary classes are fundamentally in a weak position and fighting for their very lives, while opportunities will open up for the revolutionary proletariat and oppressed masses. □

Not This Neocolonial Junkie!

Bernhard Goetz:

New Messiah For Backward Bigots and Morons

The following leaflet, put out by the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA/New York District, is being distributed in the New York City area.

If what has been unleashed weren't so reactionary, it would be a joke. Bernhard Hugo Goetz, a social misfit, a guy so scared of life that his best friends are security guards, a guy who burned down the corner newsstand because it brought

that "frightening element" — people — too close to his home, has been declared a hero! If we wanted to be kind, we might say Bernhard is a trigger-happy anti-social nerd. More likely, he is a racist psychotic. At any rate, he is a fitting hero for those Americans who "won't be bullied anymore." And isn't it interesting that electronics expert Goetz has a top-level security clearance and according to some media reports worked for govern-

ment intelligence agencies, performing electronics calibrations involved in nuclear weapons.

Unfortunately, two-bit misfits aside, the formerly suppressed reaction of the Archie Bunkers has been having a hey-day. AND IT AIN'T ABOUT CRIME! There's an ideal being fought for here. Remember the "good ol' days," when beatings and murder, and lynchings of Black people (especially the young ones who don't know their place) was right and fine and part of the way things were supposed to be? Well America is restoring its rights, the right to be number one rapist and plunderer on the globe. That means preparing politically and ideologically, as well as practically, for nuclear World War 3.

And so it has become chic, in some circles, to be proud of America, of oppression and degradation and preying upon the oppressed of the world. So why not this? It's all part of the same campaign. After all, these youth do not fit in so well with the born-again American/Aryan order.

Let's be clear. We can and should talk about solutions to problems in society, including crime. But, ANYONE WHO GIVES ANY QUARTER TO GOETZ'S ACT OR THE SUPPORT FOR IT IS COMPLICIT IN THE PROMOTION OF OPEN SEASON ON BLACK YOUTH. It is like saying that whether at the hands of the cops, the Klan, or any other reactionary scum, such racism is fine, is the way things should be, and have to be, and all that goes with that!

To those whose stomach turns at such a picture, we have some things to discuss. This is the big city. Those who would prefer to see all the youth sitting on the subway with hands folded, reading "A Power for Living," can go write their checks for Nerdo's defense. Like him, what terrorizes these people is not crime and brutality. It is the city youth themselves, being youth, being "unruly," getting "out of line," not heeding authority. Break-dancing drives these people to visions of the firing-squad.

Goetz and his kind are not about crime and self-defense. If they were, we might ask, where was their righteous anger at the brutal beating murder of Black transit worker Willie Turks by a rabid gang of racist whites. There is no need to ask. These people are about racism and social order. About the ideals of the old South with all the trimmings, just another part of America's rightful place.

The call for more police has been made

before. But especially this time, with the excuse that it will prevent either more "crime" or more Goetzes, it is more laughable than ever. Wake up! Do you read the papers? Has a day gone by in months without the police shooting of an unarmed youth or some Black person being bragged about? Can anyone argue that the actions of this loser Goetz weren't given the go-ahead through this already existing atmosphere? Already since this incident, the cops have made another hit. And this time protest was put on the defensive. Who is all this serving?

Besides, anyone who has ever lived in any ghetto area in this country knows that the police are not there to stop crime; least of all when it involves poor people preying on poor people. No. Crime is to be contained in the ghetto, with the police as full participants, getting their share. You can believe in Tony Baretta and Barney Miller if you want (and Santa Claus too), but as the cops are so fond of saying as they bust heads, "This is the real world. You watch too much TV."

Crime and brutality, just like poverty and decay, are built into the existing social order. Any serious thought on the question will reveal this. Only those who dare to dream of overthrowing the whole sick thing can really envision the possibilities of living together without fear.

The thought that Bernie Goetz can fittingly — yes fittingly — be made the Premier American Hero of 1985 is another good reason to go from dreaming to active preparations.

Those who share that dream should take a good hard strategic look at these youth the Bernie Goetzes so hate and fear. Their unruly spirit, the breaking, the blasters, graffiti, too loud, too bold, and even — yes — messing with "upstanding citizens" (an attitude, by the way, which was once expressed by more than a few who are now in their thirties), is fine. It is not enough, this spirit. It needs to be joined with revolutionary training, revolutionary science and vision. But without that fuck-authority attitude, we can never make it. The future would be pretty grim if the cities were made up of little wind-up boobs like Bernie must have been.

Sorry Bernie, the future and the cities belong to the proletariat, and most especially, the youth. And we'll take them over you any day!

The Revolutionary Communist Party is issuing a call. To all those who hate what Bernhard Goetz stands for, most especially, to youth of all nationalities, and to those who look to a bright revolutionary future. To launch a counter-offensive against this reactionary offensive. To find bold and creative ways to publicly and wildly puncture the sick racist atmosphere that has been created in the wake of this shooting. Form together, in multi-national groupings when possible, to challenge, expose, ridicule and go in the face of the Bernie Goetz syndrome in every possible way.

"... To those whose life is lived on the desperate edge, whether or not they find some work; to those without work or even homes; to all those the system and its enforcers treat as so much human waste material.

"Raise your sights above the degradation and madness, the muck and demoralization, above the individual battle to survive and to 'be somebody' on the terms of the imperialists — of fouler, more monstrous criminals than mythology has ever invented or jails ever held. Become a part of the human saviors of humanity: the gravediggers of this system and the bearers of the future communist society." (From *A Horrible End, or An End to the Horror?* by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the RCP, USA)

Revolutionary Communist Party, USA
New York District

The Revolutionary Communist Party and the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade in New York can be contacted through Revolution Books at 13 E. 16th St., Manhattan. (212) 691-3345. Also available at Revolution Books: *A Horrible End, or An End to the Horror?*; the *New Programme and New Constitution of the Revolutionary Communist Party*; the *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper and *Red Flag* magazine (magazine of the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade).



A High-Level Clearance

On Thursday, January 10, a New York hospital announced that Darryl Cabey, one of the four Black youth shot in a subway by new All-American idol Bernhard Goetz, had lapsed into a coma and was listed in critical condition. Cabey was shot in the back by Goetz, his spine severed, and was left paralyzed from the waist down. Goetz had calmly opened fire with a .38 when the youths apparently hassled him for five dollars.

On the very same day, Ronald Reagan made his contribution to keeping alive the reactionary call to arms sounded around the Goetz shootings. In a news conference that hit front pages because of Reagan's comments on arms control talks, Reagan answered a question about the shootings, saying he could "understand the feelings of people who are constantly threatened by crime and feel that law and order is not particularly protecting them." Without mentioning Goetz by name, Reagan sympathized with

someone who was "tested beyond his ability to control himself." Reagan also repeated the obligatory phrases about the dangers of people taking the law into their own hands, etc., etc.

Earlier, the district attorney's office in New York announced that if the youth were called before a grand jury considering charges against Goetz, they would not be granted immunity from prosecution on the basis of their testimony. In New York, such immunity from prosecution resulting from grand jury testimony is almost automatic, and is rarely waived as it now has been in the Goetz case. (The D.A.'s action should be compared to the Michael Stewart case recently, where eight pigs told a grand jury how they beat, choked and clubbed the Black youth to death in a subway, but were most assuredly granted the usual immunity from prosecution for these acts.)

The D.A.'s action forced the youth to decline to testify to the Grand Jury and

left hanging certain ominous possibilities. One is the very likely possibility that grand jury testimony, lacking that of the youth themselves, will now be weighted very heavily in favor of America's reactionary hero Goetz. The other is that the state might move to charge the youth!

Meanwhile, more and very suspicious material concerning Goetz's background has surfaced. According to WNBC-TV News in New York, Goetz, who has till now been described as a "self-employed electronics engineer," is said to hold a government-connected position with an "Astro" — or top security — clearance. The *NY Post* added that "Sources say Goetz worked as a contract employee for government intelligence agencies performing sophisticated electronic calibrations involved in nuclear weapons." Be it gunning down Black youth, helping fine-tune the nuclear weapons, or who knows what else, Goetz's services to imperialism are unmatched. □

From the Revolution in Peru
to the Streets of San Francisco

From the Formation of the R.I.M.
to the Origin of the Galaxies

From the Firestorm in the South Bronx
to the Specter of Nuclear Horror
-And the Urgent Drive to
Prevent



The Secret Upsurge

... YOU CAN'T AFFORD TO MISS A SINGLE ISSUE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKER!

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These are high-stakes times for those who want to change the world. If you went through 1984 without a subscription to the RW, don't make the same mistake in 1985.

Here is only a sample of what you missed:

- 1984 saw a qualitative leap in the revolutionary preparations of the international proletariat—the formation of the **Revolutionary Internationalist Movement**. The *RW* carried the Communiqué of the Second International Conference of Marxist-Leninists announcing the formation of the RIM; full text of the March 12 Press Conference held in London; May 1st announcement of the publication of the *Declaration of the RIM* in 22 languages; the full-color RIM poster; and coverage of May 1st activities around the world.
- The Convention story they wouldn't tell: report on **The Secret Upsurge** of youth protesting at the Democratic Convention and its significance for the future.
- Between 1968 and 1980, 80,000 apartments in the South Bronx were destroyed; in five years, 43,000 were gutted by fire. Fall of 1983 saw the city of New York put tin-panel curtains on abandoned buildings. The workings of capital behind this situation, exposed in **The Fire Storm and the Tin-Panel Tulips**.
- From the thousands mobilized against war games in **Fulda Gap, West Germany** to the Brown students' "suicide pill" protest; on-the-spot coverage of actions against nuclear war; featuring special correspondence on the mass protests against Pershing II missiles in **Notes from the Müllangen/Frankfurt Express** and a history of movement against Stahthahn West.
- **Report from Peru** featured a report from the Communist Party of Peru, often referred to as Sendero Luminoso, to the RIM on May 1st armed actions and the military campaign launched in June as part of their strategy to win revolutionary base areas.
- As women at Seneca, New York, pierced the air of destruction around the Army Depot there, not only did their actions come to international attention, drawing fire from local reactionaries and the government, but they became the focus of debate and attack within the antiwar movement. In **The Seneca Debate**, the *RW* looked at why this protest was under fire and what is the way forward.
- **A Look at the Big Bang**: a concise summary of the big bang theory and a critique of different views of the Universe. 
- A young worker from Mexico recounts the treacherous border crossings evading the Migra which brought him to the day-labor line in Los Angeles and tells of his life in **Hell's Waiting Room**.
- Women who have been compelled to literally live in the streets tell how they got there and what it's like, revealing not only America's social relations but a deep rebellious spirit in **What's a Woman Without a Home**.
- **Excerpts from A Horrible End, or An End to the Horror?**, the newest and most important work to date by **Bob Avakian**, chairman of the RCP, USA. Plus a series based on Avakian's speaking tour in 1979, which was his last public tour due to international political persecution which continues to this day. 
- Ripping dissection of the "no first use" doctrine of **Robert McNamara**; exposure of the **Secret Alert** in the Pacific; the British plan to use nuclear weapons in Argentina; and week-to-week analysis of U.S.- and Soviet-bloc war preparations.

- At the ocean, the glittering hotels of Monterey, down the road, the barracks of the lettuce workers who reveal the hardships of life in the fields and the aspirations behind the internationalist posters on the walls of their shacks in **A Fierceness in Salinas**.
- On the occasion of International Women's Day, three proletarian women tell how and why they became revolutionaries in **The Fury Unleashed**.
- What were the stakes for the people in the **1984 Election Trap**: Reaganism and "Reaganism without Reagan" in the presidential contest; the election of an American Hitler as the U.S. prepares for World War 3 and how the politically aware should respond.
- Controversial analysis of the role of Jesse Jackson as the "right stuff" for U.S. imperialism; his international travels; his role in the election and at the Democratic Convention as covered in the *RW* by Carl Dix, Anti-Candidate 1984; and the aftermath of the **Jesse Jackson Hangover**.
- First-hand account and analysis of the **Uprising in the Dominican Republic** against austerity measures imposed by the IMF.
- A series tracing the forging and promotion of the Christian Right from a racist, antiwoman backlash in the early '70s to an organized frontline social base for nuclear war in the 1980s.
- **On The Contemporary Relevance of Lenin's Theory of Imperialism** by Raymond Lotta, author, together with Frank Shannon, of *America In Decline: An Analysis of the Developments Toward War and Revolution, in the U.S. and Worldwide, in the 1980s*.
- **Bhopal, Poison and Progress**: From the effects of pesticides in the Third World to the disarticulation spawned by imperialism in these countries; from the criminal disregard for life to the attempts at cover up: the atrocity in Bhopal was examined in depth.
- **Peter Tosh: Steppin' Razor... Dangerous**: a review of the album *Mama Africa* with an eye toward the complex of political and artistic questions involved in the history of reggae, including the impact of the Rastafarian outlook on Jamaican politics and these "outlaw" artists.
- **The Dinosaur Follies**—a major piece dragging into daylight the history and politics of the Olympics. Ongoing discussion centered on the Games as an ideological note in American war fever. Oppositional activity was covered, like the "Run to Clear the Air" and "Chauvinist Free Zones" in L.A. 

- **The Persian Gulf as Flashpoint for World War 3**. Posed against the "interpretation" of events by the great powers was discussion revealing imperialist prewar maneuver and U.S. military preparations in particular.
- **The Politics of Famine**: how the U.S. government is using the famine in Ethiopia and food aid programs to advance its own global interests.
- Review of the controversial book *Not In Our Genes: Biology, Ideology and Human Nature* examined the significance of this important critique of sociobiology and biodeterminism.

- The use of **Agent Orange** defoliant in the Vietnam War destroyed up to one-fifth of the land area in south Vietnam, spreading disease and death everywhere, and contaminating thousands of America's own troops. A massive class-action suit brought by Vietnam vets threatened, with exposure pregnant in a public trial, to open wounds officially declared healed. Testimony by vets and how the state averted the hazard with a settlement was explored. 
- A humorous and telling exchange between editors and readers of an official Soviet youth magazine on the question of elitism was examined in **Revisionism and the Soviet Me-Generation**.
- A vivid account of the turmoil surrounding the 1968 Chicago Democratic Convention: from the infighting in U.S. ruling circles faced with defeat in Vietnam to the radical minority who took the initiative in **The Whole World is Watching**.
- What's really behind the "gang violence" and the stepped-up police attacks in the barrios and ghettos of Chicago and what does America offer the Puerto Rican youth **On the Street in Humboldt Park**. 
- An Interview with Joe Strummer and correspondence from *RW* readers on **Clash Break-up** Poses Important Political Questions on Culture and Revolution.
- The election of the "sad-eyed butcher" Duarte revealed as "democratic" cover for new infusions of U.S. military support; the Contras added new notches to the butts of their yankee-supplied weapons, with tutorial guidance of the CIA manual; a manufactured "MIG crisis" augured direct U.S. intervention and potential U.S.-Soviet confrontation, spawning active opposition; land policy tiffs in elite U.S. circles were revealed as debates not over *whether* but *how* to bring U.S. domination to bear in **Central America** in the face of impending global conflict.
- **Grenada: Anatomy of a Cheap Fix**: an examination of U.S. complicity in the coup and murder of Maurice Bishop and preplanning of the invasion since 1981.
- In **The Krefeld Affair**, correspondent Clark Kissinger penetrates the controversy surrounding the youth protests in Krefeld, West Germany, against the visit of George Bush, the clashing political trends in the antiwar protests and the stakes in correctly summing up these events.
- **Fort Apache: The Middle East**. A four-part series examines the history and present-day role of Israel as gendarme for U.S. interests.
- One-third of the city of Chicago is suffering from malnutrition. In **The Hidden Hunger**, doctors speak with horror of the increase of starvation-related diseases; residents of the West Side ghetto tell of conditions which compare with the slums of Honduras; and a Vietnam vet on a food line says: "Death is all around us. I used to be afraid of death. If something would jump off right now—give me a weapon. It's better to die for a cause than *because*."

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AIRLIFT TO HELL

Cluster bombs and massacres, shootings of teenagers, and the demolition of the homes of those who dare to protest the occupation of their lands... the country that brought you these, and so much more, this week announced a... humanitarian gesture:

"With all modesty and humility, [it is] one of the most daring and wonderful acts of self-redemption that our country — and not only our country — has ever known," said Prime Minister Shimon Peres.

The Prime Minister was speaking of the story this week which revealed that for ten years, the Israelis have been gathering up Ethiopian citizens who practice a fundamentalist Judaism and flying them via Europe to "absorption centers" in Israel. The Israelis have already airlifted about seven thousand of the twenty to thirty thousand Ethiopian Jews, who are mainly very poor artisans and potters, living in villages in the northern Gondar province of Ethiopia.

The evacuation, said Peres, is "enwrapped in ancient splendor and secret heroism." Actually, the operation is woven into a sordid nest of political intrigue and drips with the most arrogant white-man's-burden chauvinism. The Israelis have made a fine display of the "Western values" which bind the U.S.-led war bloc into one repulsive whole.

In the first place, what kind of humanitarianism is it, with millions starving and diseased in the sub-Sahara, for the Israelis to secret out a few thousand and trumpet that it takes care of its own — let the rest of humanity rot in hell?!

In the second place, there is the sick racism which has been heaped on the Ethiopian Jews, and other black Jews, for some time and shows itself in the very

process of "welcoming" the new arrivals. The U.S. press has been flooded with accounts about how dazzled are the incoming Ethiopians as they marvel at the wonders of Western civilization at the absorption camps.

"It's very important to see how they look when they arrive and how they look the day after...," says Haim Aharon, the head of the Jewish Agency's immigration department to the *New York Times*. "They are completely different people. We teach them how to use hot water, how to use the bed sheets."

Another Israeli at the camp tut-tuts that the Ethiopians watch TV but "don't seem to understand the concept of scoring goals."

In these and other accounts, the Israelis just can't help but effect the swagger of the white man "civilizing the natives."

Lurking just beneath these attitudes is the ideology of Jewish racial superiority, especially that of white European Jews, which infests Israeli culture and is written into law (the land laws for example). Until 1975, the Ethiopians were not officially Jewish in the eyes of the state and so were barred from the dual-citizenship status accorded other Jews. Other non-white Jews also faced this — in the mid-1960s, for example, a group of Indian Jews were denied entrance after a rabbi stated they were "unclean." This discrimination was matched within Israel by oppression against black Jews from other countries who were allowed to enter. Israeli authorities delicately refer to this as their "color problem"; from first-hand observation by this reporter and others, it is the crudest racism, complete with slurs as disgusting as those common to the USA.

Then, in 1975, Israel's Chief Rabbi had a vision. Rabbi Ovadia Yosef with wide

legal powers in these matters, found that the Ethiopian Jews were actually descendants of the tribe of Dan, unknown to the world for 2600 years. The Ethiopians were certified real Jews, the door to immigration opened.

However, it turns out that the source of this vision was not heavenly, but the very secular calculations of realpolitik. Only months before, in September 1974, Emperor Haile Selassie had been overthrown by a group of military officers, the Dergue. By 1977, the pro-Soviet leanings of the Dergue were becoming evident, and it was in that year the evacuations began, the legal ground having been prepared by the Chief Rabbi's timely vision.

Still, today, Prime Minister Peres assures the world that things are different. The Israelis, he says, "must meet the thrilling challenge of befriending and absorbing their brothers and sisters out of utter respect for their customs and ways of life, for the uniqueness of their heritage, and for the depth of their feelings."

To see how truly laughable this is, change the scene over to the absorption centers. Here the arriving Ethiopians have been put through the cultural and religious wringer. For a starter they are dressed in identical Western-style jogging suits (so much easier than sizing clothes for everyone, say the authorities). Next, a "quick screening process": they are required to give their genealogy for generations back, and answer questions about Jewish customs and holidays. Those that don't pass are weeded out. Then — they are "converted" to Judaism! For despite the Chief Rabbi's 1975 ruling, the Israelis have decided they just can't stomach the Ethiopians' heathen beliefs and have required rituals

known as "renewing Judaism." The Ethiopian women must undergo a baptism-like ceremony called a mitzvah bath, and the men are circumcized or if already circumcized then given a rabbi-directed ritual initiation. Welcome to Western society, free of feudal superstition! And this demeaning religious gauntlet is doubtlessly just the beginning of what life holds in store for the black Jews in Israel.

Israeli political motives for the evacuations are about as humanitarian as the commando raid on Entebbe. At the very least they are a slap in the face at the Soviet client Ethiopia, as part of the pressure being mounted by the West around the famine there. Consider the revelation by Peres, in the speech cited above, that he personally authorized the news leaks which publicized the evacuations. The reason for the timing of this leak, after years-long silence, seems clear.

As of this writing, the evacuations have been halted, though Peres vows they will continue to completion. The Ethiopian government accuses the Israelis of mounting a "sinister operation" and "trafficking" in Ethiopian citizens. While this is quite true, it's also the case that the Dergue has certainly known about the operation for some time but failed to protest, and moreover, made purchases of spare parts for weapons and aircraft from the Israelis. The U.S., working through Sudan, has also been implicated. A complicated game of provocation and backdoor intrigues is involved here, the full dimensions of which are not yet clear.

But Israel's overriding aim of helping pressure the Dergue is plain. And equally disgusting are its honeyed "humanitarian" words, which amount to nothing but the leger of the vampire. □

Falwell

Continued from page 5

Newsweek's special report this week on abortion, with its "objective" coverage of the various terms of the abortion debate, was applauded by Joe Sheidler himself! (leader of a major reactionary antiabortion organization, the Pro-Life Action League). Sheidler's telephone hot-line this week focused entirely on this

article, encouraging people to read it and write a letter to *Newsweek* congratulating them on a job well done. Suddenly these people who think the world was made in 6 days have discovered science! *Newsweek's* coverage not only included a short piece on Sheidler himself (picture and all) but also, as noted in the telephone message, gave a plus for his coming book, *CLOSED: 99 Ways to Shut Down the Abortion Industry*.

Question of Women's Liberation

One University of San Diego sociologist, Kristin Luker, pointed out in another part of *Newsweek's* coverage that "The debate over abortion is in fact a debate over motherhood and its place in society." Luker also sums up, based on her study of women involved in pro- and antiabortion activities, that the average antiabortionists "believed in traditional sex roles and saw motherhood as her highest mission in life." The study showed, meanwhile, that the average women who supported the right of abortion "saw herself more as her husband's equal and viewed the unavailability of birth control and abortion as limiting her competitive chances in the world."

In a perceptual way, this study does reflect that the issue of abortion *does not* raise morality questions "in the abstract" and that the demand for abortion cannot be understood apart from the social and political dynamics and the class relations in society. Further, it has been not, as the Right likes to claim, some "breakdown in morality," but the struggle of women against their oppression, against their stifling and confined roles as tenders of the home, that has given rise to the need and demand for the right to abortion. And in fact, it was only in the context of the broader women's liberation movement in this country, specifically in the '60s and early '70s, that the right to abortion was fought for and finally conceded by the bourgeoisie. It is exactly this broader significance of the abortion issue which the so-called right-to-lifers also recognize and are acting upon. (Note here that the conscious effort by the ruling class to use this issue according to given political needs is demonstrated by the fact that the king of the antiabortionists, Ronald Reagan himself, was governor when the abortion law was signed in California!)

In this sense, building the antiabortion movement, for the Commander in Chief on down, has been an important part of the overall prewar political and ideological program. The abortion issue, as Viguerie pointed out, has provided a doorway for many into the organized Right. But abortion has also been an important issue in its own right exactly because it has come to concentrate some

overall things around women's role in society. The enforcement of traditional American imperialist values has been at the heart of Reagan's "resurgent America" and this reverence for tradition, which includes upholding the oppressive, traditional and subordinate role of women in the home and the American family as a loyal, patriotic and obedient socializing unit — all this is pointedly meant to bolster and activate that section of society that materially benefits from imperialism and needs to be relied on as a firm prowar foundation.

It becomes clear that these vicious anti-women campaigns by the Right are in fact unleashed and directed, in subtle and less subtle ways, by leading imperialist political figures themselves. For example, throughout 1984 and into this year the antiabortion forces certainly seem to have taken the instruction by their Command in Chief to heart: to "never rest until abortion is outlawed." The three bombings of abortion clinics on Christmas Day and the one on New Year's Day were only the latest and most blatant expressions of a concentrated offensive by the so-called right-to-lifers in this last period, an offensive that the bourgeoisie has given a clear green light to. Reagan commanded those forces to go forth, "enjoined by the scripture," and indeed, as Kay Wiggins, who was one of the four arrested for the bombing in Florida, said, they picked Christmas for the bombing because the attacks were to be a "gift to Jesus on his birthday." This is not the case of the tail wagging the dog!

Falwell's armbands are indeed a sign of the times. The stakes revealed in the unleashing of this movement by the highest authorities should indicate to all those opposed to putting women in chains and the planet in jeopardy that appeals to reasoned authority and defensiveness in the face of such madness are not the order of the day.

Falwell and his ilk will be passing out armbands. And the oppressed should be giving our answer with creative and biting ways that will politically pierce these puffed-up reactionaries, and sharply express the determination of the oppressed to liberate women and all humanity.

Break the Chains! Unleash the Fury of Women As a Mighty Force for Revolution! □





Geneva Doggerel (with apology to real poets everywhere)

Two days this month the clanking stopped,
the constant threats forgotten,
two rivals paused to kiss and shake,
and prove they weren't so rotten.
"It's been a year since we have met,"
said eagle to the bear,
"We have so much to chat about."
A frenzy filled the air:
The klieg lights gleamed, the cameras rolled,
the beasts they pose and grin,
but yet before they'd slammed the door,
the eagle started in:
"I've come with plans," said beak to claw,
"so we can talk for real.
I want your gullet, hoards and lands;
your vassals, skies and fields."
The bear, he tensed, and cursed again,
that fate which made him sit
in mirrored halls to listen to
a throat he'd rather slit.
"I too have plans," he ventured out.
"I too have cherished visions,
In which your circling empire falls,
and my star shines arisen."
"My terms are clear," the eagle said,
"For years, they've stood unfaltered,
I want my systems fortified,
and all your systems altered."

"I quite agree," the fur mass growled,
"Your attitude is reasoned.
It's my stance too, my charge, my goal,
and has been such for seasons:
I want your Pershings all withdrawn,
your plans for space abandoned.
My nukes, you know, are sacred stuff,
just like the soil they stand on."
"I comprehend," the bird replied,
"How could one not defend
such weapons systems dearly bought,
these means to final ends!"

Their talking done, their terms defined,
the real task had arrived
to stage some public huggery,
effusive yet contrived.
"I toast with Caribbean blood!"
the eagle offered first.
The bear had brought an Afghan skull,
as cup, to slack his thirst.
"To peace! To peace!" they both agreed,
and drank their formal vows.
Then arm in arm the two emerged
to face the waiting crowd.
"We have resolved," their voices chimed,
"to meet and talk again."

Our views are matching faultlessly,
though neither one can bend."
"What peace-makers, our leaders be!"
the newsmen all announced,
"and scoundrels all, those foes of ours.
They surely must be trounced!"
Thus each has shown some noble side,
and proved his will to barter,
to paralyze the gullible
and smooth the way toward slaughter.

The deed was done; the show performed;
and so they all departed,
these peaceful souls of fang and claw,
with "dialogue" restarted.
"We'll meet again..." their parting words
for which the whole world waited.
And talk they might, but not for long,
since meets of steel are slated.
For those who still believe the tale
that lamb can sleep with lion,
these predators will spew the pap
that all such dreams rely on.
But listen close to muttered words
that leak from beaks and maws.
Beneath that crap on "swap and thaw"
lurks glowing fireballs!

The Resurrection Of A Butcher

Continued from page 3

rorists (sic) and a small PLO office remain in Beirut" (this "PLO" office, in fact, was the Palestinian Research Center, the destruction of whose archives had long been an Israeli objective. This they did shortly after taking over West Beirut). No, the Israeli entry into West Beirut was not based on an assessment that further "terrorist" nests remained to be cleared out; it was the manifest absence of organized armed resistance which in fact urged the Israelis on.

Back in Israel, top leaders, from Prime Minister Begin on down, announced that the Israeli action was aimed at "preventing bloodshed and acts of revenge." In reality, it was precisely such a bloody act of revenge that the Israeli command was commencing to prepare. At 3:30 a.m., Wednesday, September 15, before the Israeli assault on West Beirut was fully underway, a meeting was held at the Lebanese Forces headquarters. Israeli Generals Eitan and Drori were present. The Lebanese Forces was represented by Bashir Gemayel's successor as militia commander, Fadi Frem, as well as Elie Hobeika, chief of intelligence for the Lebanese Forces, who had long served as a contact point between the Christian militia, the Israeli Mossad (Intelligence Service), and the American CIA. Together they worked over the details of the Lebanese Forces' role in the takeover of West Beirut. And, as Ariel Sharon himself reported to the Knesset on September 22, "the principle of Phalangist entry into the refugee camps of Beirut was discussed." At the meeting's end, a Phalangist commander enthused to the Israeli's present, "We have been waiting for this moment for many years."

There could not possibly have been any doubt on the part of the Israeli leaders as to just what the Phalangists had "been waiting for." It was precisely the Phalangist propensity for the pogrom and massacre, along with their intense hatred for the Palestinian "outsiders," which had endeared the Phalangist leadership to Israel in the first place. The Phalangists made no secret as to their designs. Indeed, only fourteen days earlier, on September 1, the official weekly newspaper of the Israeli Army — *Bamahaneh* — contained the following report: "A high-ranking Israeli officer heard the following words uttered by a Phalangist officer: 'The question we ask ourselves is, what should we start with? Rape or murder? ... If the Palestinians have any common sense, they should try to leave Beirut. You do not have any idea of the slaughter to befall the Palestinians, civilians or terrorists, who will remain in town. Their attempt to blend into the local population will be futile. The sword and gun of the Christian fighters would pursue them everywhere and will exterminate them once and for all.'" Such Phalangist pronouncements were commonplace; everyone in Lebanon, most of all the Israeli leadership, knew of their intentions.

Preparations for the Phalangist entry into Sabra and Shatila were made throughout Wednesday. Signs and arrows were painted on the sides of buildings, marking the route the militiamen would travel into the camps the following day. As early as noon, Sabra and Shatila were surrounded by Israeli tanks, their gun barrels pointing inwards. Shortly afterwards, Israeli troops set up checkpoints around the camps, restricting anyone from entering or leaving. For the rest of the day, the camp's residents were subject to intermittent Israeli shelling and sniper fire. For them, it was the 104th day of war; the camp population, overwhelmingly women, children, and elderly men, was beginning to suspect that the worst was yet to come. Prevented by Israeli guards from leaving, they returned to their homes and waited.

By early Thursday, September 16, the whole of West Beirut was firmly under Israeli control. A military communiqué declared "Tzahal (Israeli Army) is in control of all key points in Beirut. Refugee camps harboring terrorist concentrations remain encircled and closed." With Israeli orchestration, the Christian militias were making final preparations

to enter the camps. After a conversation with Ariel Sharon, Rafael Eitan asked Amir Drori to evaluate the Phalangists' preparedness. At 8:00 a.m., Eitan and others met at Israeli headquarters to review the tasks assigned the Phalangists in the camps. At 3:00 p.m., Israeli Brigadier General Amos Yaron met with Elie Hobeika and Fadi Frem from the Lebanese Forces. Poring over aerial photographs provided by Israel, they coordinated the details of the operation. The Israeli commander promised the militia leaders all the help they might need, "to mop up the terrorists in the camps." It was after the conclusion of this meeting that Major General Drori called Sharon to announce, "Our friends are marching on the camps."

Around 5:00 p.m. the Lebanese Forces entered Sabra and Shatila. As the militiamen raced through the camps' alleyways in their Israeli-supplied jeeps, the Israelis set up a command and observation post in an apartment building about 200 meters from one of the Shatila intersections, where bodies were soon to be piled up in the streets. In the forty hours which followed, during which the massacre continued without interruption, a steady stream of Israeli officers came through the temporary headquarters. From the roof of the 7-story building, it was impossible not to have observed the carnage below; it was, in the later account of one Israeli officer present, like watching "from the front row of a theatre."

Mention should be made about the size of the original Phalangist force which invaded Sabra and Shatila. If, as Israeli leaders later claimed, the operation in the camps was aimed at rooting out "terrorists" — that is, if they had anticipated even the possibility of any semblance of armed resistance in the camps — they would certainly have provided for a much larger force than the 150 Phalangists sent in initially. For the Lebanese Forces were as notorious for cowardice and military ineptitude as they were for their bloodthirstiness against unarmed civilians. (A typical Phalangist "military operation": when the Israeli Army, with government approval, allowed the Phalangists to enter the Druze village of Souq el-Gharb earlier that summer, the Phalangists had killed fourteen of the villagers at a wedding ceremony.)

Once inside the camps, the militiamen began their slaughter immediately. Hundreds were killed in the first few hours alone. The few that came out into the alleys were shot down instantly. More often, doors were torn off their hinges and whole families gunned down — at the dinner table, in their beds, or after being dragged out into the alleys. Not satisfied with simply "liquidating" their enemies, many of the militiamen first dismembered their victims. They smashed the heads of children and babies against the walls. Women, and little girls, were raped before they were set upon with hatchets and knives.

The massacre continued throughout the night. As darkness fell and the Israelis cut off all power to West Beirut, Israeli units outside the camps set off illuminating flares, on the order of two every minute for several hours, so as to enable the Phalangists to continue to track down their prey. At 1 and 2 a.m., Friday morning, the military correspondent of "Galei Tzahal," the Israeli Defense Forces radio station, would report that "the IDF will not operate tonight to purge the areas of Sabra and Shatila. ... It was decided to entrust the Phalange with the mission of carrying out these purging operations."

By Thursday evening, reports of the massacre began to arrive at the Israeli headquarters from observation posts near the camps; the reports specified "terrorist and civilian" casualties. At 11:00 p.m., the Phalangist commander in the Shatila camp reported to the Israeli command, "Thus far we have liquidated 300 civilians and terrorists." This report was sent immediately to military headquarters in Tel Aviv, where it was conveyed to more than twenty high-ranking officers. It is worth noting that, ordinarily, this type of report is transmitted to the Defense Minister's (in this case, Sharon's) office. It seems that even the

normal military lines of communication were rewired so as to insulate Sharon from verifiably receiving any direct information about the massacres as they transpired. Here we have a commander well known for taking an active personal role in his campaigns, who had arrived in Beirut Wednesday morning to personally supervise the invasion of West Beirut, who is now suddenly suspended, for almost forty hours, from a specific place in the command and communication structures of the Israeli Army. Indeed, throughout the entire operation, Sharon seems to be both nowhere and everywhere at the same time. In observing the gaps and incongruities of the Kahan Commission's report (the Israeli commission of inquiry, from whose reconstruction of the events surrounding the massacres much of this account is drawn) it is clear that only Sharon's personal authority, transmitted through signals and felt by prior arrangements, could have held everything together throughout this period.

There is on record at least one revealing account of Sharon's being told what was happening, though it took place almost at the very end. A little before midnight, Friday, September 17, the military correspondent for Israeli television, Ron Ben-Yishai, was able to reach Sharon by telephone (Sharon, as it happens, was conveniently hanging out at his farm at this time). According to Ben-Yishai's later testimony, he told Sharon, "Something must be done immediately to put an end to this. ... IDF soldiers had witnessed executions and murders. ... In a few hours, the entire world press will know the news, and then we'll be in a big mess." Sharon listened intently, asking the reporter if he could provide further details. Ben-Yishai told him of some of the things he himself had learned in overhearing Israeli officers discuss the "horrors" they had witnessed. According to his later account, "Sharon hardly spoke. ... My impression is that he was rather aware of the developments in the camps."*

At Sabra and Shatila, the slaughter continued until 10:00 a.m. Saturday. Well after news of the massacres had already begun to spread throughout the world, the Phalangist forces finally left the camps, but not before putting some final touches on their work. Using bulldozers provided by the Israeli Army, they hurriedly dumped hundreds of corpses into mass graves. Using the same bulldozers, innumerable Palestinian homes were leveled, with hundreds more bodies buried forever in the rubble. The carnage was too vast to cover over, however — according to official Lebanese sources in October 1982, an additional 762 bodies were buried by the various organizations who then came into the camps. The same sources estimated an additional 1,200 recovered and buried by their families. (Israeli journalist Amnon Kapeliouk, in his extensive study, judiciously estimates a total of 3,000-3,500 men, women, and children killed during the massacre. "Responsible" figures, meanwhile, continue to parrot the official Israeli estimates of 600-800.)

In one sense the carnage was not intended to be covered up. As should be readily apparent by now, this was no simple, spontaneous act of revenge on the part of the Phalange. Rather, as the Israeli newspaper *Ha'aretz* suggested days later, the massacre bore all the marks of "an operation planned in advance aimed at effecting a mass exodus by the Palestinians from Beirut and Lebanon." If anything, it had been all too successful in its execution, so much so that the ensuing horror had become far too big, far too monstrous, to conceal from the rest of the world. For Israel and the United States, it became "a big mess" indeed.

The carnage at Sabra and Shatila, the bestiality of images which could not be concealed, intruded violently upon the whole framework of lies and apologia which had marked not only U.S. government pronouncements but most of the

American news coverage concerning Lebanon. The murderousness of the Phalangists, whose slain leader, Bashir Gemayel, had just been ensconced as Lebanese president-elect by Israel and the United States, abruptly upended the U.S. government's remarkable claim that, with "Sheikh Bashir's" ascendancy, "democracy" and "sovereignty" were being restored to the Lebanese people. Gemayel's rise to power had been facilitated through abundant Israeli aid — financial, military, and intelligence — and punctuated by a series of pogroms and assassinations too numerous to mention. He took no pains to conceal his own pathological hatred of the Palestinians, nor that of his followers (in the Middle East, Gemayel proclaimed in June 1982, "there is one people too many: the Palestinian people"). His ascendancy to presidency, the crowning achievement of his political career, and the seeming fruition of Israeli plans for a post-invasion "New Order" in Lebanon had only been accomplished through the murderous, devastating "shock treatment" administered by an Israeli juggernaut. But not to worry! Most of this reality was nowhere to be found in what passed for U.S. news reportage. If the media provided images of Beirut under siege, it nonetheless labored mightily to obscure the real inner logic of events, the actual political machinations and objectives underlying both Israel's actions and America's compliance. Instead, the media provided to dinner-table America a steady stream of extremely selective observations, a pattern of lies and distortions which would lend a dubious credibility to the incredible claim of the U.S. government that Gemayel's election, by a jerry-rigged Lebanese parliament held under the duress and blackmail of Israeli bombardment of Beirut, could somehow represent a triumph for "democratic procedures" and augured a rosy dawn for Lebanon's future.

Now the rosy dawn had risen, stained with Palestinian blood. The indelible images of Sabra and Shatila cast a severe light on the already seriously fractured premises underpinning the official line coming out of Washington and threatened to explode them altogether.

More damaging still was the clear fact of Israeli complicity and involvement. Never mind the massive death and destruction already wrought by Israel's invasion. The 18,000 dead, these were statistics, if even recognized as that, and the official Israeli line that its operation was only aimed at killing "terrorists" was good enough explanation for many. The media, after all, was not concerned with discerning the truth of the situation so much as it was with providing a reasonably "plausible" record of events, a tissue of selective "facts" and apologetics which could provide continued underpinning for the U.S.-Israeli official line — that Israel, in laying siege to Beirut for two and a half months, was only trying to secure its northern borders from attack; that the IDF, in laying waste to vast chunks of Lebanon, was in fact waging a purely military, "surgically precise," campaign against terrorists who, as we had all been told, "refused to recognize Israel's right to exist." Ad nauseam.

Sabra and Shatila burst upon this already shaken edifice of lies, knocked against its foundations, screamed in refutation. How could the massacre have continued, for forty hours, in an area surrounded and controlled by Israeli troops, without their knowledge and connivance? Who were the "terrorists" of Sabra and Shatila, where among the corpses of women and children could such terrorists be plausibly found? The Israeli government responded typically, revealingly. "Goyem kill goyem, and still they come to blame the Jews," spat Menachem Begin. And there were many "friends of Israel" who clung to this line. But for larger numbers, the old, well-rehearsed demagoguery — if only in this instance — just wouldn't wash.

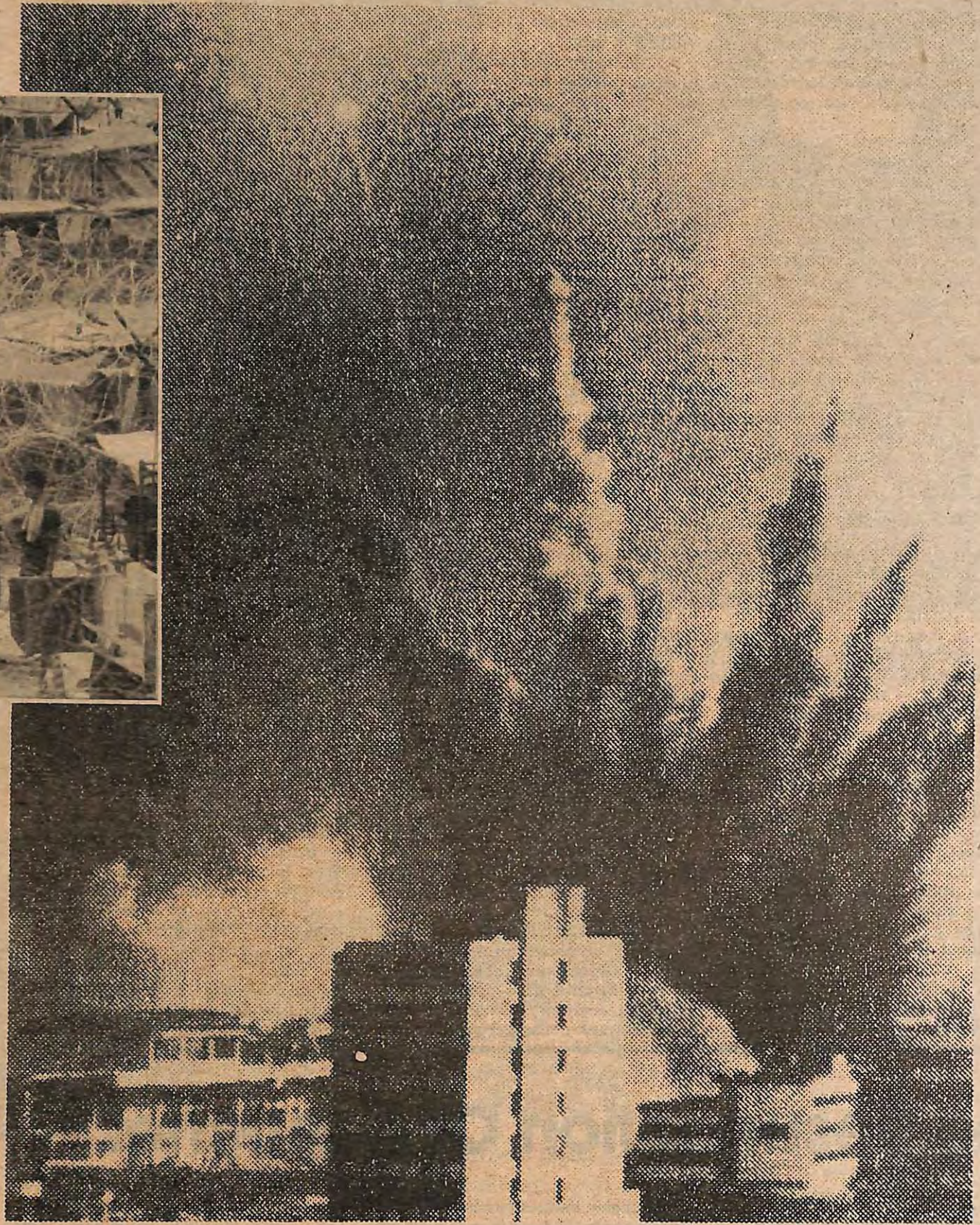
A similar set of problems confronted the United States, which throughout the summer of 1982 had maintained its transparent distancing act between itself and the mounting atrocities "over there." Its

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*Kapeliouk, *Inquiry Into A Massacre*, p. 48.



Ansar concentration camp in southern Lebanon, built to hold thousands of Palestinians.



Beirut under Israeli artillery and air bombardment.

The Resurrection Of A Butcher

Continued from page 3

negotiators had engineered the PLO evacuation from Beirut only through guaranteeing the safety and security of the hundreds of thousands of Palestinians who were to be left behind in Lebanon. Its own original "peace-keeping" force had left Beirut conveniently, suspiciously, just days before the crimes commenced. As late as Friday, September 17, its leading representatives had continued to provide diplomatic cover for the slaughter in the camps — Ronald Reagan himself issued a statement expressing his conviction that Israel "was forced to advance into West Beirut because of an attack by a leftist militia still on the scene"! Now, as news of the massacres spread explosively around the world, the old, well-rehearsed "distancing act" stretched the limits of all believability. Undaunted, Washington brazenly dispatched yet another "peace-keeping force" to Beirut. But the damage was unmistakable.

So it is that the Sabra and Shatila massacres threatened to explode at least some of the operative mythology surrounding Israel and the actual nature of U.S.-Israeli operations in Lebanon. Yet the massacres also became the object of an adroit political maneuver which, incredibly, provided a way out as well. As popular protest mounted, including amongst a section of Israelis themselves, as the Begin government found itself unable to extricate itself from the increasingly explosive matter, an official Israeli

commission of inquiry was, however reluctantly and belatedly, established. The Kahan Commission interrogated 221 officers, civilian officials, soldiers and others, and in February 1983 delivered its conclusions. Two lesser military officers were removed from their posts, while the principal architect and commander of the entire Israeli campaign, Ariel Sharon, was, along with a handful of others, reprimanded for "indirect responsibility."

Thus the towering crimes of Sabra and Shatila were whittled down to "acceptable" size. For the United States, the Kahan Commission's findings were no less a boon than they were for Israel. The question of guilt had been "resolved," to imperialism's abundant satisfaction, by charging the chief executioners of Sabra and Shatila with "indirect responsibility." In this country, hosannas of praise for Israel again filled the rafters. From conservatives to liberals, across the political spectrum, the "courage" and "genius" of Israeli democracy were hailed. In its moment of token self-censure, Israel had done more than defuse a profound governmental crisis — it had achieved self-exoneration. That Sabra and Shatila had, for a moment at least, provided the world with a far truer picture than before of the reality of the Israeli state and its historic victimization of the Palestinian people — any such notions were swept away before a sloppy wet tide of good will and admiration.

That the massacres were not isolated instances, but the inevitable culmination of Israeli actions, political imperatives, and ideology (as Begin had often remarked, after all, the Palestinians were nothing but "two-legged animals") — such a suggestion was once again beyond the pale of reasonable discourse. If the massacres were a terrible blot on Israel's record, they were nonetheless a singular "tragedy," and now Israel had redeemed itself. Or so imperialist ideologues and apologists reassured themselves and their audiences.

Thus the solution offered by the Kahan Commission served the Israeli and American interest. But not all were left happy. A significant section of Israelis, those who customarily greet Sharon with the chant "Arik, king of Israel!", found even the mild rebuke offered by the Kahan Commission an intolerable affront. For them, Israel had no business admitting to any such massacres in the first place. For them, Sharon's responsibility for the massacres — indirect or otherwise — was in any event no stain on his record, but a mark of honor. Sharon himself remained defiant and unrepentant, claiming that he was being made a scapegoat and that neither he nor Israel should be held accountable for Sabra and Shatila in any way. Removed from his position as Defense Minister, he remained in the cabinet as minister without portfolio; even at his moment of greatest censure, Sharon's umbilical cord to Israel's

inner political sanctum was never severed.

Today, as Israel sputters through its intractable economic problems, as its government bounds from one political imbroglio to another, as continuing resistance in Lebanon and in the occupied territories present the Israeli state with fundamentally irresolvable dilemmas, and as the Israeli press makes the ominous parallel between Israel's current situation and that of the (pre-Hitler) Weimar Republic, Sharon is enjoying a political resurgence. He remains, in the eyes of a substantial number of Israelis, "the man who gets things done," which in the Israeli context has less to do with getting the trains to run on time as with keeping the Arabs under an iron heel.

Yet Sharon's broader ambitions, and his ultimate usefulness to the Israeli state (and the U.S. as well), require that he mend his bridges and achieve greater "respectability." His authorship of what many Israelis still consider a disastrously failed policy in Lebanon continues to hang over his head. In Israel's fractious, bitterly contested political climate, Sharon remains a highly controversial figure. Yet it is this same fractiousness, threatening continued governmental stasis and impasse, which furnishes the logic underlying Sharon's reemergence as the kind of "strong man" who alone could break the Gordian knot. But in moving down this road, a certain juggling

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Jaws in Geneva

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destroy large numbers of their existing land-based missiles (which form the very heart of the Soviet strategic forces), the U.S. might abandon its Star Wars program (the newest and most lethal U.S. weapons initiative yet). Not too damn likely!

In fact, these "proposals" go so deeply to the heart of the arsenals of the opposing powers that insistence on them as a *pre-condition* by either side would have torpedoed the talks from the start. (For example, while the U.S. announced almost daily in the weeks before the meetings that it would not budge on Star Wars, Gromyko raised that exact issue as paramount... no less than seven times during the talks.) Which accounts for the great compromise. If the imperialists wanted to go ahead with their propaganda charade at all — and oh they did! — the preconditions would have to be dropped and they'd have to agree to talk. So they agreed to talk... and talk. "I'd say discussions might proceed for at least five years down the line before agreements are possible," Admiral Bobby Inman grinned on *Nightline*.

So flap their jaws the imperialists have agreed to do. They hold out the wisp of "hope" that some shred of humanity will assert itself and they will not do what the very logic of their system is compelling them to do, ever more powerfully. Meanwhile, the imperialists cling to another kind of "hope" — that the masses of people will be paralyzed with the illusion that these mass murderers actually mean what they say.

Stamped?

The Americans boast that they have "frightened the Russians back to the bargaining table." This, as we have said, is decidedly not the logic of a government looking for peace, but of one looking for a fight. It is equally part of a continuing campaign by the Americans to needle the Soviets about their "weak and aging leadership," about their economic problems and hassles within their Eastern bloc; an effort to depict the Soviet Union as... *defeatable*.

But is there some grain of truth hidden in the boast? Have the Soviets been stampeded to negotiations by the prospects of Yankees in space?

No, this is *not* what brings the Soviets to Geneva. If they *are* worried about the U.S. Star Wars program (and this is precisely an "if") the Soviets will, like any imperialist power, rely on equal military muscle, and not on diplomacy, to achieve their ends.

(The question of how threatening the Soviets actually do perceive the Star Wars program to be is one that cannot be answered here. The U.S. clearly hopes for at least some temporary window of advantage from the program based on its high-tech productive forces, but many liberal critics contend persuasively that the Soviets could fairly easily compensate for the new systems. In any case, again: if they are worried, they will not depend on Geneva to even things up!)

In fact, the Soviet aims in the current round of peace talks are essentially the same as those of the U.S.: to paint themselves as striving for peace and to blame the outbreak of war on their enemy.

Naturally, the terms of this are somewhat different for the Soviets, compared to the U.S. At home, for example, the USSR faces the legacy of the fact that it (like Japan, China and Germany, and specifically *unlike* the U.S.) suffered massive losses in the previous world war, and the Soviet government must politically confront the quite profound hatred of war among its own masses. Over the last two years, Soviet domestic propaganda has shifted into a new Reagan-style ideological offensive of its own, openly preparing the population for war, talking for the first time of the real possibility that the "peace-loving forces of the world" might fail in restraining international hostilities. In the midst of such frank war preparations, they face more necessity than ever to place the burden of hostilities on their enemy, the West, and even appear to be making major concessions by resuming talks despite the installed Pershing and cruise missiles. The recurring analogy of the pre-WW2 Soviet-German nonaggression pact stirs

ominous conclusions.

Echoing the U.S. commentators, the Soviet press hailed the Geneva meeting as a success and blamed their rivals for any obstacles.

Political Capital

In this arena, Star Wars does figure in the Soviet maneuvering. The Soviets do hope to make grand political capital out of this latest, most vicious U.S. arms initiative, which so openly smashes the highly symbolic 1972 ABM agreement and will indeed, one way or another, drastically step up the arms race. Much of this focuses on Europe — no accident that the Soviets prepared public opinion for the Shultz-Gromyko meeting with a high-profile visit by Gorbachev to Great Britain.

The European imperialists continue to have real difficulty rallying public opinion in Western Europe behind war preparations, despite their words of victory over the Euromissiles. Belgium and Holland have yet to deploy their quota of cruise missiles, and it remains unsettled whether these governments will be able to pull it off. Similarly in West Germany, powerful opposition to war festers, threatening to give rise to new obstacles to NATO war plans.

These problems mean pressure on the U.S. to at least go through the motions of arms talks, while the Soviets see in Europe a field on which to maneuver to put the onus of war on the U.S. For the European imperialists, it is one factor which makes for caution in embracing the Star Wars plans wholeheartedly.

In their public statements, the European imperialists have been less than captivated with the Star Wars program. The *Wall Street Journal* worries that France is "opposed, without excessive dramatization" to the plan; West German officials have expressed distance from it; even Margaret Thatcher of Great Britain, expressing the political stance of most of the West European powers, says she supports the research phase of Star Wars but is reluctant about the actual testing and deployment of the systems.

It remains to be seen how deep or real this difference within NATO actually is. Western European imperialists are notoriously willing to prove, and use to advance their own interests, an "independ-

dence" from Washington by criticizing policies that don't require their approval anyway.

But there are hints of some real worries — hints that are exposures in themselves. The far-right *Washington Times* claims that "the French (have) expressed more graphically what the British had been saying to their close U.S. allies more quietly — that if the Americans develop space weapons, the Russians will do the same and that would make the independent French and British nuclear missiles useless." The *Wall Street Journal* similarly quotes a British think-tanker concerned that Star Wars would "negate... the European deterrent." Which all goes graphically to show that these imperialists are — imperialists! Far from concern about the militarization of space, they fret that *their own nukes* couldn't be exploded in a war!

It is also suggested that, since the Star Wars systems wouldn't efficiently cover Europe, the whole issue of "decoupling" the U.S. from its European allies in a war might arise once again.

Charade

The talks in Geneva are a highly cynical charade, carried out by ferocious enemies, where each uses that arena to its own specific advantage. Never before has the sterility of arms control talks been so transparent. The hour is now so late, the incredible pressures to seize even momentary advantage are now so powerful, that all that remains of "peace talks" is the most mechanical fact that foreign ministers meet in a room and move their lips.

But the game played by both imperialist superpowers, and by their various allies, is highly precarious. All the machinery of war grinds on full-steam ahead, undisturbed by the miracle at Geneva. All that is offered is the faintest, most insubstantial, even ludicrous, "hope" in order to paralyze the millions. And the imperialists offer it, knowing full well that most of all they must prepare the groundwork for people to accept the even more tenuous "hope" of winning some sort of victory in nuclear war itself. □

The Resurrection Of A Butcher

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act, a duality of national consciousness, is required: Sharon cannot fundamentally be severed from the memory of Sabra and Shatila, for it is in this — the promise of a "Final Solution" to the "Palestinian problem" in one form or another — that his underlying appeal to a large, potentially decisive, section of Israelis lies. Yet this same Israeli public must, at the same time, resolutely deny any responsibility for the massacre in the first place. It must

be thoroughly unrepentant in the face of Sabra and Shatila, and at the same time scornfully resentful that such accusations should have ever been made. Such a duality of mind has been endemic to the whole Israeli enterprise from the beginning; what we are seeing now, after the repeated shocks and revelations of the last two years in Lebanon, is its reemergence on an even higher level of cynical self-awareness. Thus, the effort

to bury the potent images, and lessons, of Sabra and Shatila — not only for Sharon's sake but, as he tirelessly points out, for the state of Israel itself. Hence, Sharon's suit against *Time*, to remove "the mark of Cain" from his record.

One hundred and thirty years ago, Karl Marx observed that "It is an old and historically established maxim that obsolete social forces, nominally still in possession of all the attributes of power and continuing to vegetate long after the basis of their existence has rotted away... that these forces once more summon all their strength before their agony of death, pass from the defensive to the offensive, challenge instead of giving way, and seek to draw the most extreme conclusions from premises which have not only been put in question but already condemned." So it is today with imperialism, and so it is with the state of Israel. And so we can see the underlying causation behind Sharon's libel suit, as well as the strikingly sympathetic response it has elicited.

For, as Sharon has stated, "there has already been a clear achievement from this trial for Israel in the field of public relations." Noting that he has given interviews or met the editorial boards of the *Los Angeles Times*, *Washington Post*, *New York Times*, and *Wall Street Journal*, the ever self-effacing Sharon claimed, "Israel has not had in many years so much coverage and publicity as it is getting through this trial, and that is a great accomplishment for Israel." Self-promotional considerations aside, the trial has marked a remarkable shift in the media's presentation of Sharon — the butcher of Sabra and Shatila is now shown as "a little guy" (just like General Westmoreland, whose own libel suit against CBS is taking place a few floors down from Sharon's in the same New

York court building), a sympathetic figure bucking the odds to clear his good name.

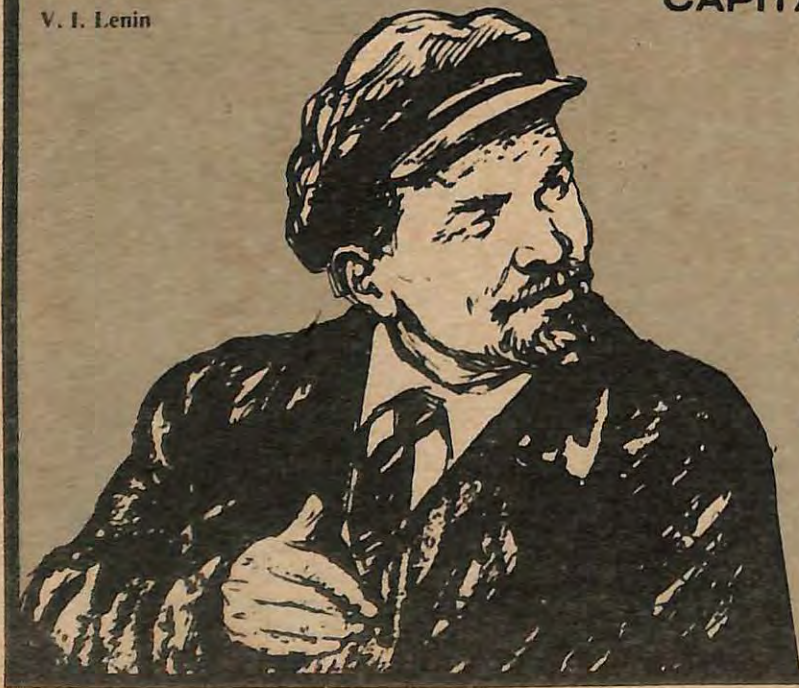
Inside the court an intense unreality has permeated the proceedings from the outset. The images of the horror that was Sabra and Shatila have all but been superceded, in the courtroom at least, by the fiendish countenance of one David Halevy, the Israeli journalist who provided *Time* with the information contained in the paragraph Sharon claims constitutes a "blood libel." Sharon's lawyers have portrayed Halevy as one consumed by a fanatical hatred for Israel, and thus as someone who deliberately, "with malicious intent," libeled Sharon. By early December the judge presiding over the case, Abraham D. Sofaer, had angrily, abusively, disqualified one juror, a Nicaraguan emigré who admitted that, as one who had grown increasingly resentful of the Sandinista regime (!), she could identify and sympathize with Halevy as an Israeli citizen who had become estranged from his government and critical of its policies! The attack on Halevy's credibility has since been amplified outside the courtroom through a major article in the influential *American Lawyer* magazine, in which Halevy is called a "near-fanatic" and Sharon is portrayed as having been clearly wronged. Meanwhile, *Time's* representatives, who seem to possess a good deal of institutional arrogance but very little inclination for taking on Sharon, have instructed their lawyers to rest their case without calling a single witness.

Whatever the trial's outcome (and at present, his chances look pretty good), Sharon has already gained a great deal. That this could be so says a great deal about late-imperial America and its ugly Israeli offspring, about the thoroughly warped sensibilities and debased morality which have been summoned forth by the times in which we live. More, it stands as a portent for the future. The rehabilitation of war criminals is squarely on the agenda for a system preparing for even greater crimes to come. □

"I trust that this pamphlet will help the reader to understand the fundamental economic question, viz., the question of the economic essence of imperialism, for unless this is studied, it will be impossible to understand and appraise modern war and modern politics."

V. I. Lenin

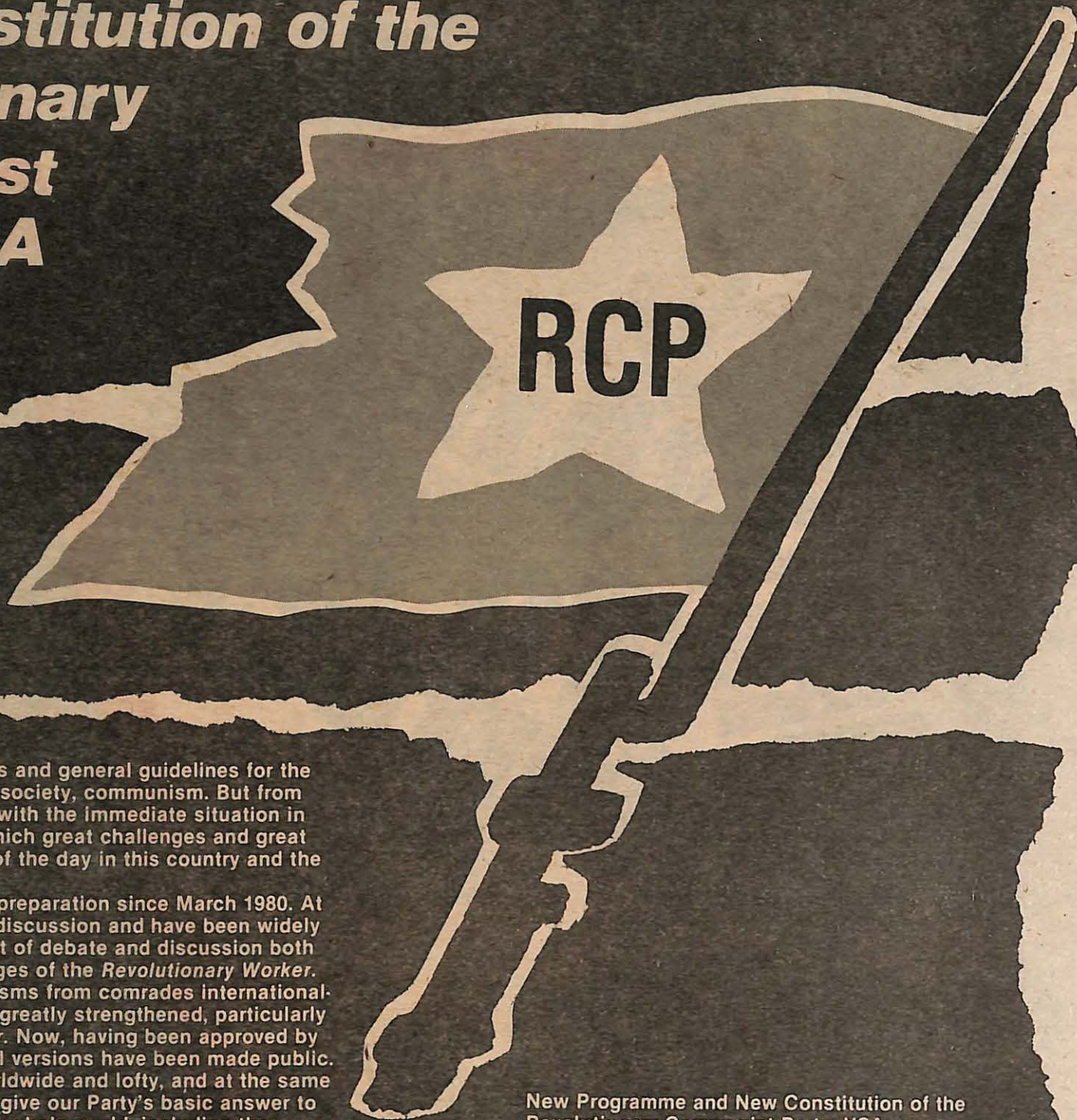
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If the rulers of this country can prepare for a global war of conquest against their Soviet rivals, a conflagration which has the potential to extinguish human life on this planet, then why cannot those who understand this fact and who aspire to a higher form of society prepare to overthrow these rulers before they embark on this monstrous enterprise? This is the profound challenge posed by Bob Avakian in his latest and most important work to date, *A Horrible End, or An End to the Horror?*

Avakian surveys the contemporary social and political terrain to reveal how and under what circumstances U.S. imperialism might be brought down. Yet what makes this such a compelling study is not merely its insights into revolutionary strategy but its insistence that these issues be viewed in the larger setting of the historical advance toward, and the problems attendant to, the achievement of socialism and communism.

Avakian casts his analytical gaze on the shortcomings of the movements of the 1960s, the recent assaults on Leninism, Marxist-Leninist military theory and experience, the enslaving essence of modern democracy, the role of dissent in socialist society, the centrality of the woman question to the revolutionary process, and the ideological roots of accommodationism and capitulationism within the revolution. Here, as in all his writings, Avakian articulates a Marxism for which revolution cannot be a halfway affair.

A Horrible End, or An End to the Horror? is not airy speculation but a lucid and riveting assessment of the problems, tasks, and opportunities that this critical historical period presents to revolutionary-minded people. It may be objected to but can no more be ignored than can the imperialists' plans for nuclear war: the world situation is just that acute and the approaching possibilities for the revolutionary seizure of power are just that real.