



REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

Voice of the
Revolutionary Communist
Party, U.S.A.

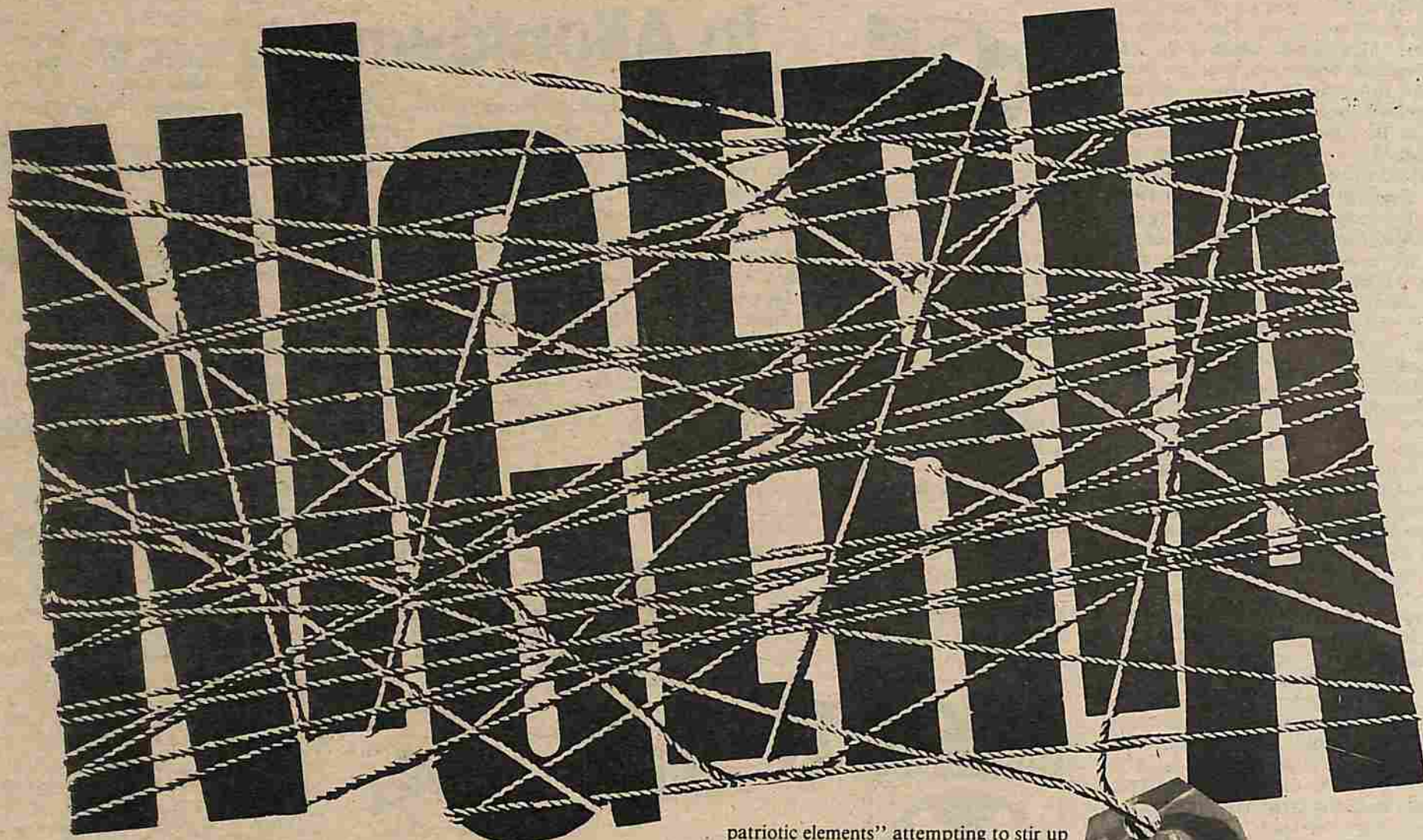
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Lagos Coup

Decay of the African "Showcase"



1983 ended with a bang in Africa. In the early morning hours of December 31st the Shagari government in Nigeria — which only three months ago was re-elected by a wide margin to a second four-year term in office — was overthrown by the Nigerian military in a quick, quiet, and bloodless and very smoothly executed coup. Before dawn soldiers burst into the homes of a few key Nigerian government officials in Lagos, the capital city, and arrested them. Shagari himself was arrested in Abuja, the new capital city currently being built 360 miles northeast of Lagos, and was brought into Lagos in handcuffs. By 8:30 a.m. Lagos radio began to broadcast a message from the Nigerian military which declared that they had taken over the country in order to resurrect the Nigerian economy and cleanse the government of pervasive corruption and inept management. As the airwaves were taken over by martial music, soldiers in full combat gear and tanks began patrolling the streets, setting up roadblocks and searching for officials from the overthrown government.

In the course of a day the military just as quickly and easily assumed power throughout the rest of the country. By midnight the entire country had been secured and a General Buhari emerged as the leader of the coup. Buhari announced that the constitution was suspended, that the new government would be a Supreme Military Council and said that it was with "humility and a deep sense of responsibility that I accept this challenge and call for national unity." A few choice measures were humbly effected in order to secure this national unity — all ports, airports and borders were closed, all telephone and communications were shut down and a dusk-to-dawn curfew was enforced. Officials from the Shagari government were given seven days to turn themselves in to the army and one week later more than 4,000 had either done so or were arrested, with at least 400 being put under indefinite detention. Corrupt officials, troublemakers and "un-

patriotic elements" attempting to stir up the youth were warned that they would be dealt with summarily and without the "nonsense of litigation." Along these lines, the infamous mobile police — whose emblem is a winged club and whose actions have earned them the nickname "kill and go boys" — launched a campaign against "blackmarket currency dealers" and other such troublemakers.

Trouble in the Showcase

Thus ended Nigeria's "second republic" — or what Reagan referred to just a few short months ago as "the miracle of Nigerian democracy." Actually, the main value of this "miracle" to the imperialists was a political showcase for the U.S. in Africa. The combination of economic prosperity and "U.S.-style democracy" was meant to contrast with the state of affairs in Soviet-backed countries like Angola and Ethiopia and help to counter the influence of the Soviets in Africa. All the more so given Nigeria's history of military coups and the fact that such a "miracle" emerged in spite of the fact that Nigeria was ruled by military regimes for 13 of the 23 years of formal independence....in this manner did the



General Buhari

U.S. imperialists sing the praises of their client state.

In this light the response of the Western imperialists, particularly the U.S. and Britain (the main imperialist powers in Nigeria), to the sudden demise of democracy in Nigeria is both interesting and very revealing. In a phrase it has been: "easy come, easy go!" All in all, these imperialists were quite subdued and gentlemanly in terms of their response to the coup and the new government. As could be expected, there was an initial moment of hypocritical hand-wringing about the "loss of democracy." One week after the coup the *New York*

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Part II: The Adventures of Superdog

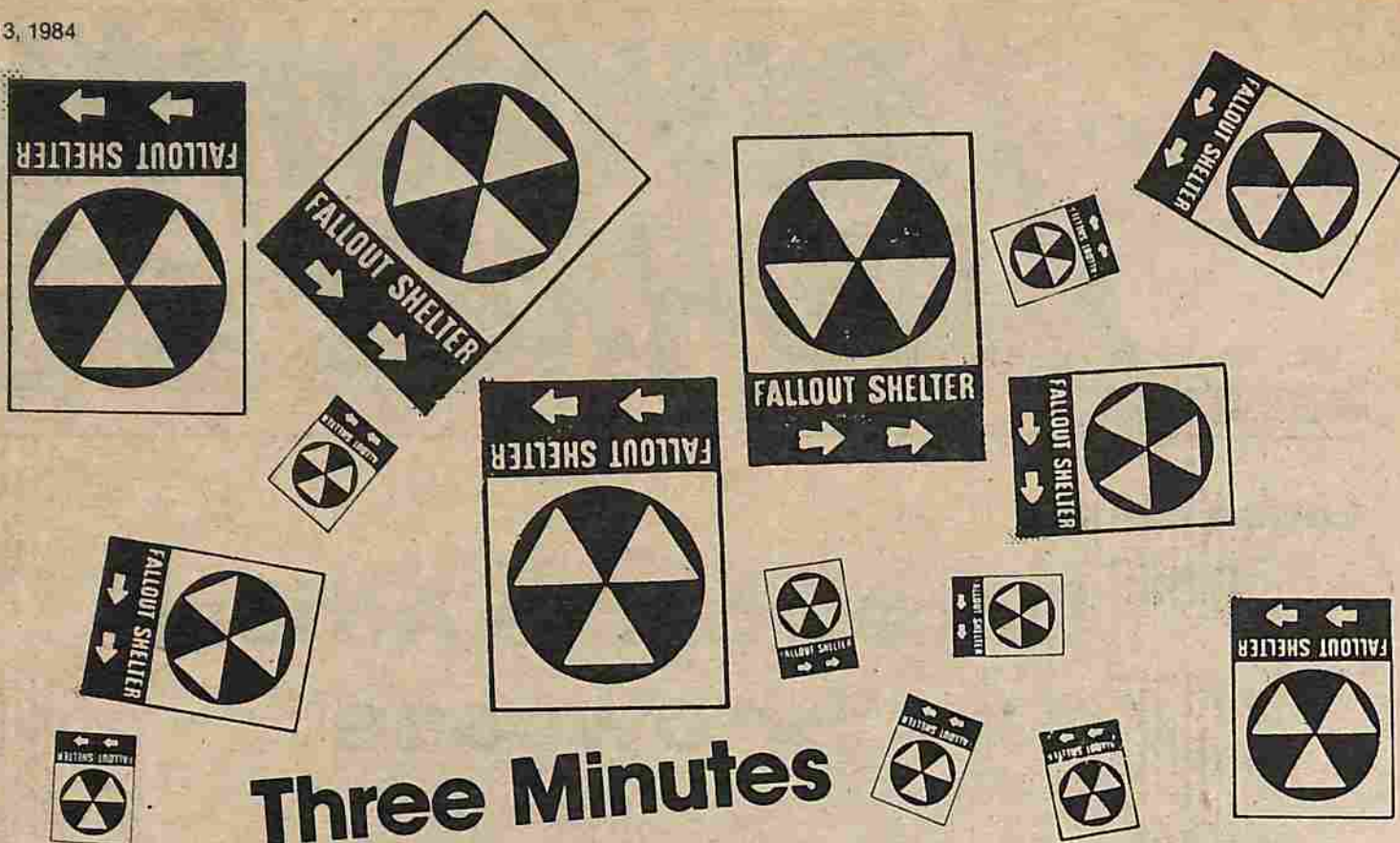
Fort Apache, The Mideast

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Wednesday, January 4th, 11:14 a.m., Allentown, PA. The daily routine of the two men in the Lehigh County Civil Defense Unit is suddenly interrupted by the clickety-clack of the teletype, and by a message never before seen by them, or for that matter, by anyone, a message said to be "unthinkable" — and yet there it was, terse, precise, unmistakable: "URGENT ALL STATIONS. THIS IS AN ATTACK WARNING. REPEAT: THIS IS AN ATTACK WARNING. SUPPLEMENTARY INFORMATION WILL BE SENT TO YOU AS SOON AS IT IS AVAILABLE. THIS IS AN ATTACK WARNING. TAKE APPROPRIATE ACTION." The men's duty was simple, and clearly spelled out: They were to instantly hit a button sounding the Civil Defense air siren throughout the county and transmitting the message to all Civil Defense units, police radios and fire stations. But this was *not* how tests were conducted — the men hesitated, then decided to bend the procedure and call the Regional Office of the Pennsylvania Emergency Management Agency (PEMA) for verification. While one rang on the emergency line, the other stood with his finger poised over the transmission button — if there was no answer after two or three rings, he would hit it. They had been drilled for years: in a situation like this, moments meant lives.

But almost immediately, someone did pick up the receiver at the other end. Any relief the men felt was cut short: state headquarters had indeed transmitted warning of a national nuclear attack. The men jabbed the transmission button: the message went out, the sirens sounded.

In the offices of the *Allentown Morning Call*, the police monitor printed out the message. As the news spread through the office there was a moment, as one person put it, of "tremendous reflection," where a feeling took hold that maybe they really had done it this time, that perhaps in 32 minutes (the figure gained currency but, like much else that morning, no one knew where it came from) they would all be incinerated. Images of wives and husbands, kids, friends, where they were, what they might be doing in 30 minutes, began to run through their heads. And then, as suddenly as all this had been turned on, it was over. State headquarters in Harrisburg transmitted another message: PLEASE DISREGARD THE PREVIOUS TRANSMISSION. It arrived three minutes after the attack warning had been broadcast.



Three Minutes in Allentown

The above might sound like an old *Twilight Zone* plot, but it did occur as described, based on phone interviews with various people in Allentown. It all started when pre-arranged warnings were sent over the PEMA civil defense communications network, reaching units in forty-four counties. However, every county except Lehigh disbelieved the initial attack warnings and never took any action. Even worse, in the view of the authorities, where the erroneous attack warnings did go off in Allentown, few people actually *did* anything. Some took the sirens for fire alarms.

The head of the Lehigh County Civil Defense Unit was widely quoted saying that he "had hoped that most people were taking shelter," but that they hadn't, and few had even called the police or other emergency numbers. An official delegation from state headquarters of PEMA is coming to Allentown this week; their purpose: to hold an inquiry into

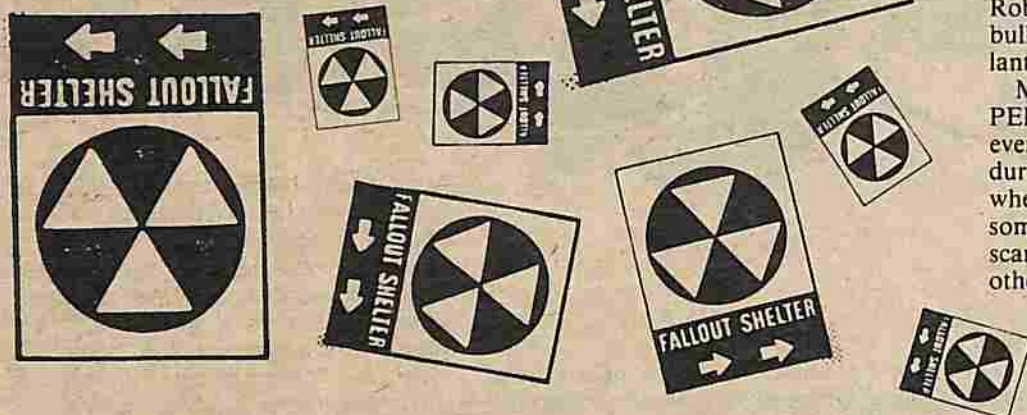
"the charge" that the people there failed to take the warning seriously. They've already come up with a name for it, *Time* magazine says: "the Allentown syndrome."

The media is thus milking the incident for all it can get in the way of raising nuclear consciousness. Why the "Allentown syndrome?" the papers ask. Why didn't the townsfolk dutifully run to the library basement? Why did some of them report to the volunteer firehouse instead? But beneath the scandal about the masses' glaring lack of enthusiasm for civil defense lies the message: "Wake up. This stuff is for real and not a television movie!"

Which raises a question that bears

some educated speculation. The official account of the incident states, of course, that the attack warning was an accident, produced when two Harrisburg AT&T technicians made a mistake as they installed new county teletype equipment. Frankly the incident smells strongly like something else: a controlled experiment by the planners of nuclear war. Certainly such "accidents" occur with regularity in the military, where computers (or flocks of geese) are said to produce erroneous attack patterns on nuclear attack warning systems, producing various states of alert. Several such "accidents" have occurred in the last two years. These incidents obviously have value to the military in testing out the technical and psychological reactions of their units in this field. That such "accidents" might be transferred to civilian populations is not the wildest proposition imaginable. But whether accidental or not, a demonstration has been made, a message delivered. In the film *The Deerhunter* the people from this area were shown steeling for the fight in Vietnam, fighting and dying there, and singing "God Bless America" when it was over. Now the sirens in Allentown are being used to jolt some people into realizing that another, bigger battle is brewing and closer than you think. As the character played by Robert DeNiro shouts out, pointing to a bullet and trying to wake his somnambulant buddies to their duty: "this is this!"

Meanwhile, you can bet that the PEMA-types are collecting evidence on every action and reaction in the system during the incident — the way you do when you know you're going to use something very soon. For PEMA the scare has been a gift from heaven... or other high-level locations. □



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OVERRULE THIS, MOTHERFUCKER

Just Who is Being Unrealistic? *by Bob Avakian*

Interviewer: You're on the air now.

Caller: Hi. The comment I would like to make on Mr. Avakian's speech is this: I am not exactly surprised that what he says seems rather detached from reality. I think it is abundantly clear that there is really very little relationship between what he is saying about the political situation in our country and what the political situation actually is. Now, one thing I want to emphasize, I really do not want people to get the impression the kinds of things he is saying represent the thinking of all leftists and all organized political leftists in this country. I think there are a lot of people, for instance in the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee or the New American Movement or the Common Sense Coalition right here in Madison, who have a very different perspective. We are trying to unite all democratic socialists behind some kind of platform or organization, trying to build a broader progressive movement that includes sections of the labor movement, citizens groups, environmental groups, the feminist movement, and so on.

Bob Avakian: You mean like Doug Fraser? Is that what you are referring to, people like that?

Caller: I certainly would not rule out Mr. Fraser and his union being part of any kind of progressive formation coming into being in this country. I certainly do not think it is feasible at this point to ignore labor leaders like Fraser simply because they might not agree with us on all issues.

Interviewer: Would you do me a favor and just point out a couple of things that Bob Avakian said which you think are out of touch with reality.

Caller: I think one thing that is out of touch with reality is the allegation that millions of people in this country are going to be hurled into struggle in the '80s and hurled into the kind of struggle that Mr. Avakian seems to think has some likelihood of happening; i.e., struggle organized around the politics of his party, politics that is primarily in the streets, politics that seem, according to him, to be very soon approaching a kind of insurrectionary peak. I just think this is really far from the reality of politics in the United States today. I think it is also very unlikely that people are going to get very interested in a kind of politics that takes China, even yesterday, as a model because I do not think people in this country are interested in a socialism that essentially was and still is today a one-party state. I think that people are interested — if they are interested in socialism and if they can be interested in socialism — in a multi-party system, in a democratic kind of socialism, in a kind of socialism that extends political and economic and social liberties instead of restricting them.

Bob Avakian: I would say after listening to you that you are the one who is completely out of touch with the reality of this society, with the reality of the things that millions of people go through, and most fundamentally, with the reality of what this system is all about. You are talking about a socialism that has been tried for a couple of hundred years which is essentially a reformist and bourgeois socialism that relies upon bourgeois leaders like Doug Fraser and...

Caller: I beg your pardon...

Bob Avakian: Wait a minute, I didn't interrupt you when you were talking. I listened very patiently and I think that you owe it to the listeners out here to do

the same. You aren't dealing with the reality of the system that, first of all, is a dictatorship of the capitalist class which is enforced by force of arms. If you don't believe it, then explain to me what happened to Fred Hampton; what happened at Kent State; what happened at Attica; what happened back through the history of this country to the Wobblies or anybody who seriously posed a threat to this system? What happened in Vietnam; what happened in Chile? What were U.S. arms doing in Iran shooting down people? You are talking about a fairyland — what you're really doing is ignoring the fact that there are classes in this society. The "reality" you are talking about is the limited reality of sections of the middle classes, intellectuals, and others who recognize no potential among and, by your own admission, think that the masses of people are too dumb and stupid to understand and support what went on in revolutionary China. Therefore, you have to turn to figures like Doug Fraser who peddle chauvinist blame-OPEC-for-all-the-problems lines, who are open servants of the U.S. ruling class, and who are now talking a little bit of weak-kneed socialism to try to keep the anger and frustration of people within acceptable bounds.

I would suggest to you that you read an essay by Lenin — even if you don't believe Lenin, at least you know that Lenin's party did prevail in Russia; that is an historical fact that cannot be denied — called "A Lecture on the 1905 Revolution." It is in volume twenty-three of his works. It was written just before the 1917 revolution when he summed up the lessons of 1905, where he takes on exactly the same viewpoint that you are now expressing. All the reformists, pseudo-socialists, bourgeois reformists, and hangers-on of the system at that time denounced and ridiculed the Bolsheviks as being a tiny sect out of touch with reality. They said there would never be a revolutionary situation in Russia. They said that as late as the early 1900s. But then 1905 came along and blew them all out of the water, and the Bolsheviks' influence grew tremendously. I think the thing that you are not dealing with is this: What is your stand on the growing developments toward world war? What do you think is necessary to prevent that war? How other than revolution can this world war be prevented and do you think that people are incapable of grasping that and acting upon it?

Caller: May I say something?

Bob Avakian: Sure, go ahead.

Caller: I have essentially two comments on what Mr. Avakian just said. The first comment is that I defy anyone who is listening to this tirade just launched by Avakian to find any similarities between what I said previously and what he then proceeded to allege that I said.

I did not say that the socialism that I was in favor of was, for instance, the society that they have in Britain or Sweden. I did not say that I was in favor of piecemeal reforms to increase the benevolence of the system. I did not say any of those things. I certainly did not say the capitalists do not dominate this system. But I certainly would not say that it is of no significance that there are democratic rights in this country; that you can have organized political parties that are independent of the control of the government; that it is of no significance that people have free speech, freedom of religion; that it is of no significance that the working class can organize itself into independent trade unions. Now Mr. Avakian evidently thinks that these rights are of no significance. I can't agree. I think that is precisely why the kind of socialism that Avakian poses and the kind of socialism that I (and I think many other people) would pose are fundamentally different. Because I have a vision, and I

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*Doug Fraser was then the head of the United Auto Workers (UAW) — ed.

Just Who Is Being Unrealistic?

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think other people share it, of a democratic kind of socialism. When you come down to what Avakian's vision is, it is not of a democratic socialism. It is of a socialism where the state basically controls the entire social life of society and essentially what it says goes — as it did in China and as it did in the Soviet Union. Now, that is not to deny the important reforms or advances that were made in the conditions of people in those countries, but it is to say that those countries cannot really be a model for the United States. Indeed, it is not what I think the people in this country are interested in.

Now, my final comment would be that I think Avakian's analogy to Lenin's article in 1905 and to the Bolshevik Revolution once again shows that really his analyses are not based on a consideration of U.S. reality, using the Marxism that he talks about so much, but rather on lifting wholesale various so-called lessons from other people's revolutions like the Bolsheviks or like the Chinese. And that, in fact, I think is the root of a great deal of the error and unreality that I think most people listening will agree is evidenced by Mr. Avakian's remarks.

Peaceful Revolution?

Bob Avakian: Let me ask you a question. Do you believe that even in order to achieve the kind of socialism you are talking about — and we can discuss more of what that is in a second — do you believe that it is necessary to have a violent revolution or not to abolish capitalism in this society?

Caller: I believe it is certainly necessary to have a revolution. The nature of it — violent or peaceful — is something I think will be decided by the situation as it develops, most particularly by the responses to whatever reforms or steps or structural changes are made by the capitalists and the people allied to them. I don't think it is something we can judge in advance, as indeed I don't think Marx or Lenin or Rosa Luxemburg or Antonio Gramsci or a number of other competent analysts did.

Bob Avakian: In other words, you think it is not clear at this point that the capitalists will forcibly and violently resist any attempt to abolish capitalism in this country?

Caller: No, I do not think that necessarily follows. I think we should strive to make it a peaceful transformation and if it appears that there are going to be problems, well, then those will just have to be dealt with. But I think that at this point to run around screaming, essentially at the top of your lungs, about the necessity for a violent armed conflict is simply to...

Bob Avakian: Would you like it any better if I said it in a soft voice?

Caller: No, no. I would prefer it if you didn't say it at all!

Bob Avakian: Right, I know, because the point is that you are the one who is obviously out of touch with reality, with a ruling class that will shoot down people in Attica prison demanding a few reforms — not even demanding revolution. They murdered them in cold blood for the simple reason that they had to make an example out of people even demanding reforms. Look at the whole history of this country. You are quite wrong on what Marx, Lenin, every Marxist in fact has said — Marx said that force is the midwife of every old society pregnant with the new. Lenin wrote a whole book, *The State and Revolution*, and a number of other things like *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*, making precisely the point that there could be no abolition of capitalism without a violent revolution and without the violent suppression of the overthrown capitalist class and reactionary elements. This is a lesson of history. Even Allende — who tried to do in Chile basically what you're talking about and was calling it socialism, who tried to carry out a number of reforms with capitalism still intact — look at what happened to him. How do you sum that up?

Interviewer: Let's just have a timeout for a second here in case anybody has tuned in. I don't think they will quite be able to figure out what the hell is going on this evening on WORT. Bob Avakian, the Chairman of the Revolutionary Communist Party of the United States, is here discussing with one of our listeners various perspectives on the nature of revolution in the United States and the possibility of a socialism arising out of the current political and economic conditions, if I could in the most abstract sense sum up their argument. So far as I have been able to hear, neither one of them has been terribly specific about what they think is going on or what they think is going to happen, but they both have put forward a good deal of theoretical argument.

Bob Avakian: See, I don't think the question — when you're talking about world war — is at all abstract or lacks any specificity, if you look at the events around you. The U.S. is all of a sudden making a big fuss about Russian troops in Cuba which for years they have known are there. Very clearly this is yet another thing that is part of their propaganda arsenal to condition people to get prepared for world war. If you look at this phoniness of the SALT agreement and at the propaganda and the whole debate being done around it, it is clearly to whip up sentiment toward war. If you look at China and Vietnam or at Ethiopia or at almost any part of the world, you can see these two forces lining up, heading toward war. You see the SALT agreement and then the MX missiles are developed immediately after it. You have to be blind or fearful not to face up to the fact of what is going on in the world.

We can go into innumerable specifics on that front or on the front of this economy being in deeper crisis. That's rather obvious. But the question is this: why are these people like Doug Fraser and others all of a sudden doing what they are doing? It was very revealing that this caller said "Doug Fraser and his union," because that is precisely the view of Doug Fraser and the whole strata of bureaucrats. Lenin rightly called them labor aristocrats and we think that is a good thing to learn from Lenin. These people make large salaries and openly identify their interests with the U.S. ruling class. They whip up this chauvinist stuff against OPEC and try to blame them for the economic crisis in this country. These people have, in fact, treated the union like "their" union. Even when the workers in that union have waged wildcat struggles, it was Doug Fraser who only a few years ago (and he hasn't changed his nature) organized a goon-squad of a couple thousand union hacks just like him to go out with brickbats and physically assault workers on strike against Chrysler. This is the kind of person that our caller here wants to rely upon and wants to work with or try to work with to build some kind of so-called democratic socialism.

Interviewer: Would our caller like to make some kind of comments, I suppose in defense of himself and his beliefs?

Caller: Several comments. I think, first of all, with regard to Mr. Avakian's contentions about the violent and peaceful nature of revolution and what people have previously said about it in the past, I think an old biblical Marxist exegesis like Mr. Avakian should realize that there are places in Marx and Lenin and most everybody else where they speak about the possibility of a more or

less peaceful transition to socialism. I guess the point I would make is simply that you cannot solve arguments like this by citing chapter and verse from some particular theory. Second of all, I think the question of Mr. Avakian's political strategy and the relationship it bears to reality is not encapsulated in the question of the violent or peaceful nature of a revolution, whenever that revolution might occur, and so on. Because I mean, his political strategy is not based around the idea that the transition to socialism might be more or less peaceful; it is based around a whole series of other ideas.

Take Doug Fraser as an example. The idea that one can simply ignore the fact that Fraser is the leader of a large union, he has a lot of power, and the United Auto Workers are making important moves toward breaking out of the trade union consensus that has existed hitherto at the top levels of the American labor movement — he, Bob Avakian, sees that as completely insignificant; he does not want to work with these people. Indeed, he denounces them in the most extreme terms and I think, to my mind, reduces the chance of any possibility of working to get a section of the labor movement that is part of a more progressive left-wing movement. I think concretely in Madison he would certainly oppose strategies like the Common Sense Coalition which tries to bring together a lot of unaffiliated leftist progressive people to work in elections, work on things like the Municipal Gas and Electric increase, work for a broad coalition, and things like that. I mean, I think these are really the kinds of things that people do respond to — elections, issues at the community level — and you have to have a significant amount of unity among all activist forces to be able to reach people. You have to talk to them in their language and let them learn.

Interviewer: Well, don't you think the — I would almost call it — violence, but certainly the aggressiveness with which Bob Avakian approaches his political position is in itself a positive thing and something which would jar people out of their complacency?

Caller: I think the proof is in the pudding on that. I think that history has shown fairly conclusively that people — if they do adopt a radical political perspective — are brought to it through their own experiences, through talking with people they know and organizations with which they have had contact for a long time and that they trust. In fact, extreme rhetoric, a very high-pitched rhetoric, has generally been very ineffective. I think that was shown in the history of numerous sect groups like Mr. Avakian's, the Trotskyist movement, a lot of various Maoist formations. This goes all the way back to certain periods in the evolution of the communist movement when rhetoric was very extreme. For instance, in the 1928-1934 period the communist movement shrank to a shell of its former self. It did not really get big until the era of the popular front and the resistance when they took a rather moderate line and emphasized the unity of all progressive forces. I do not want to get too deeply into the historical examples, but I think the contrast is there between the approach that emphasizes unity and people learning through their own experiences and an approach that more tries to tell them what they should think.

Interviewer: Thanks very much for calling. You've really been a very enlightening caller and you posed some good questions to Bob Avakian. I just want to go on so that perhaps some other people who might want to call can have their chance, okay?

Bob Avakian: Let me just say that I think the very comments he makes — like saying that people relate more to elections — reflect exactly the period we have been going through. There has been an ebb in the upsurge of the '60s and early '70s when millions of people learned lessons and people like him would not have been able to peddle those ideas among them any longer. They learned about the fruitlessness of trying to work with people like Doug Fraser or with people like the head of the Machinists' union, Wimpy, or whatever he calls himself. They learned about the fruitlessness of trying to work with people who, as the previous caller put it very openly, "have power," because those who are in power (meaning the bourgeoisie) gave it to them to exercise on their behalf. Millions of people learned that the only way to make any change in this system was to rise up and fight tooth and nail, without compromising against it. But because there has been an ebb in that struggle and the strength of that mass movement has not been there, some people have become temporarily discouraged and have even forgotten some of the lessons that were paid for in blood in that period.

The revolution is precisely not a religion. It is a science and that means we should also scientifically sum up what we have learned here as well as around the world. People paid for these lessons in blood — the blood of more than two dozen Panthers, the blood of people at Kent State, as well as through the history of this country and all over the world. In fact, trying to work in and with this system cannot bring any fundamental or lasting change and only strengthens the hold, politically and outright militarily, that the system has over people. History has proven this and that is the lesson people are again going to be learning in their millions. □

Radio interview, WORT, Madison, Wisconsin



Why is the Pope Picking on the Archbishop?

The Most Reverend James A. Hickey stepped off his plane in Seattle early last month and found himself in the eye of the storm. Reporters besieged him with questions, most of which he was not about to answer, at least not directly. A letter signed by 300 Catholics was thrust into Archbishop Hickey's hands, while parishioners of St. Francis of Assisi Church held up a large sign proclaiming, "We love our Archbishop." A few weeks later, others in the Church would be attempting to organize a boycott of offering plates, in opposition to the same Archbishop.

The occasion for Hickey's visit was a Vatican-ordered investigation he was conducting of the Archbishop of Seattle, Raymond Hunthausen. Such investigations are supposed to be conducted quietly, behind closed doors. In this case, however, news of the Vatican's probe was quickly leaked to the press. Then, both the investigator, Hickey, and the subject of the investigation, Hunthausen, released brief statements officially announcing the investigation, and soon everyone concerned seemed to be publicly expounding their views on the whys and wherefores of the Vatican's motives. At the same time as the announcement of the Hunthausen investigation, another bishop who is known for his outspoken views on nuclear disarmament, Bishop Sullivan of Richmond, Virginia, was also the target of a Vatican-ordered probe. Along with a handful of others, these bishops have formed a kind of left-liberal voice in the discussions within the hierarchy on the Catholic Church's stance on nuclear war.

The Said and the Unsaid

Taken at face value, the papal investigation did not raise the issue of Hunthausen's position on nuclear war but instead focused on matters of Church discipline, such as the position of women in the Church and homosexuality. Hunthausen has, for example, made it clear he feels women should have a greater role within the Church; at another point, he allowed a gay Catholic organization known as Dignity to hear mass at Seattle's St. James Cathedral. But though the issue of Church discipline does have bearing on the investigation, it is the unsaid issue, the question of the Archbishop's stand on nuclear war, that is the immediate cause of annoyance in the Vatican and also, undoubtedly, in high circles in the U.S. hierarchy as well. The Church's basic statement on the war issue, the U.S. Bishops' Pastoral Letter on War and Peace, is about to become the focus of a sweeping educational program in every parish and Church school of the 50-million member U.S. Church and with a great many Protestant denominations as well. It has been adopted by the Democratic Party national committee as the moral adjunct to the Democrats' political program. The Letter is already being launched, in other words, into its intended role as a central moral authority on the issue of nuclear war. As this occurs, the Church leadership, led by Joseph Cardinal Bernardin of Chicago, is

plainly concerned that the content of this authority be what was intended as well: a "strong word for peace" which will simultaneously bless the hideous arsenal of weapons that the U.S. calls its "deterrent," bless America itself and thoroughly damn the evil empire of the East... this is a "peace church" positioned to sanctify a "just" nuclear war.

The Hickey investigation of Hunthausen seems to signal that in the eyes of the Vatican (which has continued to link itself closely with Bernardin) the Archbishop's views are out of this particular ballpark on certain critical issues. What gives this more than passing importance is the fact that Hunthausen has a worldwide reputation; for example, he has received hundreds of invitations to speak in Europe (although, so far as we know, he has never accepted them). The archdiocese, and this region of the country generally, contains something of a concentration of dissenting or controversial circles in the Church. Hunthausen, then, articulates the views of many in and outside the Church and so the message is directed quite widely. At the same time, the attack is noticeably restrained — investigator Hickey made a point of saying, as he stepped onto his departing plane, that he would be "very, very surprised" if anything changed in the archdiocese as a result of the investigation. The softness of the Vatican probe seems to indicate that not only does the hierarchy want to bring Hunthausen back into the fold, but believe that this can be done.

What Is, And Isn't Allowed

Hunthausen is a supporter of the Pastoral Letter... but a critical supporter; his view, shared by certain other Church forces, appears to be that the Letter is a good word but not the last word. He has stated he views any possession of nuclear weapons to be immoral, and has called for the U.S. to unilaterally disarm while framing this with an explicit patriotism. He has stated that he was considering withholding taxes as a form of protest. The best sense of all this, perhaps, is given in Hunthausen's speech during the 1982 Target Seattle demonstrations against the first Trident nuclear submarine, in which he said that: "We must demand that time and effort and money be placed first of all toward efforts to let everyone know that the United States is *not* primarily interested in being the strongest military nation on earth but in being the strongest peace advocate." In the speech at Target Seattle Hunthausen elaborated some of his political views of how the U.S. might go about achieving his vision of disarmament. He suggested that if the U.S. were to begin to disarm unilaterally, then perhaps the USSR might respond by disarming as well. He went on to say that if the Soviet Union did not respond to unilateral disarmament by the U.S., then the U.S. should still disarm and even accept the possibility of being militarily defeated by the USSR. In doing so, the U.S. would be sacrificing itself, Christ-like, in order to save the world from

nuclear holocaust.

Hunthausen has also linked the issue of nuclear war to a broader condemnation of some of the crimes of U.S. imperialism: He says that "U.S. economic policies toward other countries require nuclear weapons. Giving up nuclear weapons would mean giving up more than our means of global terror. It would mean giving up the reason for such terror in the first place — our privileged place in the world."

Hunthausen's accurate portrayal has not, however, translated into any fundamental collision with imperialism as a system, but into an attempt to reform it. Recently, Hunthausen joined in the formation of a local task force with the object of working out "an ethical alternative" to U.S. foreign policy. This task force was officially described as believing that "a moral position can be harmonized with policies that are both feasible and in the long-range interest of the United States."

But Hunthausen has transgressed certain political boundaries. No matter how it is cast, a pacifism that extends as far as capitulation to the Soviets simply cannot be allowed as is into the polite intra-bourgeois debate — of which the Pastoral Letter is a part — on how best to justify the war machine.

Pastoral Letter

The Pastoral Letter, as we pointed out in *RW* No. 205, contains the groundwork for an argument sanctifying the future inter-imperialist conflict as a just war, while coloring this with abundant horror and skepticism (but never outright condemnation) at the morality of obliterating perhaps all of civilization. It finds possession of nukes "morally acceptable"; upholds, in a roundabout fashion, such a thing as just imperialist war; approaches verbal violence in its denunciation of the Soviet Union and waxes luxuriant in the glory of the West; and specifically states that nonviolence is an *option* for individuals while organized violence by the state is held to be acceptable and necessary in this imperfect and sinful world of ours. In a recent speech to the Washington Physicians for Social Responsibility (WPSR), Hunthausen takes exception to just these points. While his more abrasive positions, like capitulation to the Soviets, are notably missing, Hunthausen does find a way to suggest criticism of the Letter, such as questioning the "just war" theorem.

The Pastoral Letter is essentially a Freeze document, holding that America's nukes are already sufficient to confront the Soviets and fulfill the national interests of this imperialist power quite adequately. Hunthausen does not quarrel with the need to find a way to fulfill the national interests, still less with the illusions promoted by the Freeze that the imperialists can be somehow *convinced* not to go to war through elections and so forth. (During an exchange following Hunthausen's Target Seattle speech, one woman worried that "there may not be time to get the job done with voting and the political election process." Hunthausen replied that voting was only one way of changing the government's policy, citing the nuclear freeze movement as something that was having some success in his view. And he added "I can't believe that our leaders, world leaders, are not going to hear that.... There are changing attitudes at every level of our society.")

Nonetheless, alongside these illusions, the Archbishop somehow cannot seem to find rationality in a war that could destroy all mankind, nor even in having the weapons to do this. And that's got Bernardin and the Vatican mighty ticked off.

This tension is further compounded by the fact that the intra-hierarchical debate on the Letter has allowed a platform for

Hunthausen and others of similar views. Constructing the new "peace church" with the Pastoral Letter as its groundwork has not been a simple matter, with the Letter first kicking around as an idea in various Catholic convocations and commissions starting in 1980, and taking a year and a half to produce even after the first draft was made public in 1982 (eventually there were three drafts). During the debate and initial publicity on the Letter, the platform given to Hunthausen and others was not entirely unwelcome to Church leaders since it gave some credibility to the "peace church" idea. Now, however, there is plainly an effort to call in the cards, consolidate the Church around a position that will be of use to the building of a loyal opposition; an effort to say: "this far and no farther."

Bernardin Speech

This was signaled in a recent speech by Bernardin at Fordham University in New York City where Bernardin laments that an increasing number of Catholics have been adopting the view that a life may never be taken, a position which he allows has had an historical precedent within the Church. But, he says, it has not been the dominant view in Catholic teaching, and "it is not the principal moral position found in the Pastoral Letter." This lambasting of pacifism was linked to a larger theme of calling for a return to the discipline of the moral authority of the Church, and of traditional moral theology. This call is in direct and deliberate opposition to the Church trends, born especially in the 1960s, which describe themselves as seeing the primacy of individual conscience in making moral decisions and not being bound by infallible dictates of the organized Church. The view has influenced various dissonant trends, including Hunthausen, and obviously works to the detriment of more centralized and coherent Church authority. In a period where the Church is being called upon to play an active and concretely political role for U.S. imperialism worldwide, this authority must be strengthened and not subverted. So the effort to consolidate right now in the U.S. Church is being marked by this emphasis on Church discipline and traditional teachings. And this has a political program attached, as Bernardin made clear in his Fordham speech, one which links the "peace church" stand with other more traditional Church political positions such as anti-abortion. If one is against nuclear war, one must be "pro-life," so the gist of this runs. In this way, the liberal "peace church" stance is to be used to strengthen the more traditionally reactionary role of the Church in society.

Bernardin gave this speech on the same day as the speech by Hunthausen to the WPSR, and even if this was a coincidence it is clear that the investigation of Hunthausen carries precisely Bernardin's message. Hunthausen is being told to straighten up, principally on his nuclear position but also insofar as his controversial positions lead away from the central control of Church authority. The fact that Hunthausen has a large audience in Europe cannot but add to the concerns of the Church leadership on this score. Hunthausen's views are notably out of synch with the West German and the French Catholic Bishops who have released Pastoral Letters diametrically opposed to that of the U.S. bishops in spirit and program, far more explicitly supporting the Pershing/cruise deployments and war preparations. ("Is it necessary for the sake of peace to give up our liberty, or dignity?" the French bishops ask in their Letter published last month.)

Both Sides of the Fence

In the wake of the investigation Hunthausen, unfortunately, has been playing both sides of the fence. While his speech to the WPSR continued to suggest some key criticisms of the Pastoral Letter, he also used the speech to publicly campaign against abortion. In late November he spoke at a reactionary rally called by the Knights of Columbus outside the Everett Feminist Women's Health Center, which has been targeted by right-wing groups for a concerted campaign of violence and terror. The WPSR speech, which came only days after the Everett clinic had been firebombed, devoted about a third of its

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"I believe strategic cooperation between Israel, the U.S. and other pro-Western countries in this area headed by Egypt, with which Israel has now been developing a new system of relations, endorsed by a peace treaty, is the only realistic way of preventing further Soviet conspiracies. This cooperation could provide a central incentive for the consolidation of the security of the area and for increasing the chances of peace between Israel and her Arab neighbors, which, for considerations related to their own national security, are being obliged to take measures to curb Soviet expansion...."

"Israel's security interests are affected by developments and events far beyond the area of direct confrontation upon which Israel has concentrated her attention in the past... we must expand the field of Israel's strategic and security concerns in the '80s to include countries like Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, and areas like the Persian Gulf and Africa, and in particular the countries of north and central Africa." (Ariel Sharon from a speech printed in *Ma'ariv* December 18, 1981, and cited in *RW* No. 174, page 4.)

What happened in Lebanon was concentrated and extreme but not out of character for either Israel or the U.S. The two nations have developed a *modus operandi* since 1948 in which Israel operates as the U.S. enforcer in the Middle East in return for continued U.S. sponsorship — what is referred to in Washington and Tel Aviv as "the special relationship." Israel's very existence is inextricably bound up with its place in the U.S. imperial constellation.

For one thing, Israel literally could not exist without U.S. aid. Tourism and arms are the leading industries of its incredibly artificial and distorted economy, but one whose consumers must be maintained at something approaching European levels for political reasons (principally to keep them in the country). The U.S. government supplies Israel with massive infusions of both military and economic aid (fundraising among American Jews also plays an important part). From 1978 to 1982 Israel received 48% of all U.S. military aid and 35% of all U.S. economic aid. In 1983 this amounted to \$2.5 billion, including \$500 million in grants and \$1.2 billion in very low interest loans. In late 1983, after Reagan and

Part II: The Adventure

Shamir publicly stressed the deepening of the U.S.-Israeli strategic alliance, the U.S. announced a change in the way Israel would receive aid in the future, due to the severe weakness of the Israeli economy. Henceforth Israel will receive all its military aid *gratis*. While this is expected to mean an immediate slight drop from the 1984 totals of \$1.7 billion military aid (to \$1.4 billion), the U.S. *guaranteed* future raises and Israel felt that the fact that the aid would now come in outright grants rather than loans more than made up for any short-term reduction. (Incidentally, total Israeli debt to the U.S. government for military aid stands at over \$10 billion.) Further, the \$1.4 billion figure did not take in additional economic aid, forecast to be somewhere between \$850 million and \$1.2 billion, which is lent at 3-4% — an interest rate that compares quite favorably to the usual 11% charged for loans in the aid program.

To look at it from another angle, with the exception of South Vietnam, Israel has received more U.S. military aid than any other country in the world since World War 2. And its capital investment is the result of aid or donations from abroad. (All aid figures from Chomsky, *The Fateful Triangle* [Boston: South End Press, 1983], pp. 9-10, except for 1983-84 figures from the article "U.S., in New Policy, Makes Aid on Arms a Grant to Israel," *New York Times*, Dec. 16, 1983, p. 1.)

Regional Doberman

The U.S. hasn't done all this just because of the "strength of the Zionist lobby," and those who hold to such views have their causal arrows running in the wrong direction and tend to let the U.S. off the hook. The "strength of the Zionist lobby" — which is indeed real enough — derives from and serves the overall U.S. policy in the area. (This lobby also has its domestic uses to the U.S. ruling class, particularly in cementing a Cold War outlook among a section of U.S. intellectuals and fighting for it broadly in the superstructure; *Commentary*, *The New Republic*, *The New York Times Magazine* and the general phenomenon of neo-conservatism are examples.) Nor is this Zionist lobby leading the U.S. away from its "real national interests." The state of Israel has been key to U.S. prosecution of its national — i.e., imperialist — interests going back to Israel's formation (more on this later).

The Middle East, with its abundant oil reserves and strategic location, forms a crucial link in the postwar order set up by the U.S. in the late '40s, and was the greatest of the prizes the U.S. wrested away from Britain in World War 2. But the U.S. network of rotting feudal monarchies and debt-ridden compradors sits atop a volcano of the suppressed revolutionary energies of 100 million Arab masses. Hence, the U.S. requires a keen-eyed watchdog to safeguard this key jewel in the Yankee crown. That's where tiny democratic Israel comes in.

Some examples:

1956 — Britain and France seize the Suez Canal while Israel invades Gaza and Sinai. The U.S. moves immediately to oppose the invasion, but in so doing treats its imperialist rivals (France and Britain) rather differently from its protégé (Israel). From the former the U.S. demands a pullout within 24 hours, and Suez ultimately comes to symbolize the juncture when they are finally and definitely subordinated to U.S.

Fort Apache, The Mideast

es of Superdog

hegemony in the Middle East. Israel, on the other hand, keeps its troops in Sinai and Gaza for four months and only pulls out after UN forces are landed to guarantee Israeli demands. Why the difference? Egypt's Nasser, in 1955, had begun what was to become his famous (and disastrous) strategy of trying to play the U.S. off against the Soviets, and had purchased a consignment of Czech arms from the Soviets. The U.S. was outraged, and according to the diaries of Moshe Sharett — Israeli foreign minister and later prime minister from 1953 to 1956 — the main CIA link to Israel immediately told his Israeli contact that "if, when the Soviet arms arrive, you will hit Egypt — no one will protest." Sharett also recounted how Ben-Gurion declared at a Cabinet meeting nearly a year before Suez that as far as the U.S. is "concerned we have a free hand and God bless us if we act audaciously. . . . Now. . . the U.S. is interested in toppling Nasser's regime. . . but it does not dare at the moment to use the methods it adopted to topple the leftist government of Jacobo Arbenz in Guatemala and of Mossadegh in Iran. . . . It prefers its work to be done by Israel. . . ." (Livia Rokach, *Israel's Sacred Terrorism* [Belmont, Mass.: Arab-American Association of University Graduates, 1980], pp. 54, 55.) Nasser is not overthrown, as it turns out, but the punishment is administered.

1970 — with U.S. backing, Hussein of Jordan undertakes his Black September offensive against the Palestinians, killing an estimated 5,000 fedayeen during the first month alone. When Syria hints it may intervene on the side of the PLO, Israel clearly informs Damascus of dire military consequences and the Syrians back down.

1976 — leftist Moslem rebels, supported by the PLO, appear on the verge of winning a civil war in Lebanon. While Syria (acting with U.S. approval in this case) sends in its army to crush the

rebellion in the north, Israel acts in the south with extensive military operations to support the right-wing Phalange. Israeli arms flood into Lebanon and, as Ariel Sharon revealed during the political infighting with the Labor Party following the Sabra/Shatila massacres, IDF (Israeli Defense Forces) advisors "help out" at the infamous massacre of Tel-el-Zataar, a Palestinian refugee camp where several thousand people are estimated to have been slaughtered. Later, Israel will create, outfit and train the army of Major Saad Haddad in southern Lebanon and carry out a series of air strikes and "mini-invasions" from 1978 to 1981, in which over 1,000 Palestinians and Lebanese are killed. Thus the rebellion is crushed, a regime either revolutionary or perhaps pro-Soviet is forestalled, and the way prepared for the U.S.'s "historic opportunity."

Beyond these concentrated incidents are the periodic reprisal raids and air strikes, also documented in Sharett's diaries as preplanned actions for which any pretext will do, pretexts which themselves are often occasioned by intentional Israeli provocations. The ongoing fact of Israeli military power and their clear willingness — eagerness — to exercise it serves both to constrain Arab governments from straying too far from the U.S. fold and, more importantly, serves as a bulwark against revolutionary struggles in the area.

Global Role

Israel's invaluable and essential role in the Middle East far from exhausts all the dimensions of the "special relationship"; Israel plays its part for the U.S. in other parts of the Third World as well.

One element of this is the Israeli arms trade. A 1981 pamphlet by Hebrew University professor and Israeli human rights activist Israel Shahak — *Israel's Global Role* — details the growing importance of this trade. By 1980 Israel was

the seventh largest arms exporter in the world, selling \$1.3 billion worth. This amounted to 40% of Israel's export revenues. The volume had risen 341% in just two years, and a further increase to \$2 billion was projected for 1981.

Who got these arms? Well, Somoza for one — Israel supplied 98% of his arms in the last bloody years of his reign. Today Israel plays an important role in supplying and training the *contras* and the Guatemalan army for action against the Sandinista regime. Israel did well in El Salvador, too, supplying 83% of that regime's arms in 1980. Arms exports to Latin America and the Caribbean — including Guatemala, Chile, Honduras, Haiti and others — totaled \$1 billion, third only to West Germany and, of course, the U.S. itself. (Israel Shahak, *Israel's Global Role* [Belmont, Mass.: Arab-American Association of University Graduates, 1982], pp. 15-16.)

In some cases — most notably Guatemala, where an ongoing genocide has been conducted against the Indians in the countryside since the late 1970s — IDF advisors and technicians accompany the arms, causing the Chief of Staff of the Guatemalan Army to remark that "the Israeli soldier is an inspiration to us." To-

day it's common knowledge that when Congress or the administration makes a show of cutting military appropriations to El Salvador or similar regimes, Israel obligingly fills the gap, often acting as little more than a middleman between the U.S. and the regime in question — a fact which says something, incidentally, about those congressmen who combine denunciation of various Latin American regimes with demands for increases in military aid to Israel.

Those who think that Israel is competing with the U.S. in this, or even — when Israel sells guns to some regime officially on the U.S. human rights shit-list — that Israel is undercutting U.S. attempts to get a Chile or Guatemala to change its policies, miss the point. The peripatetic Israeli arms traders enable the U.S. to distance itself from a particularly exposed regime, while ensuring that regime's unimpaired capacity to get on with its slaughtering.

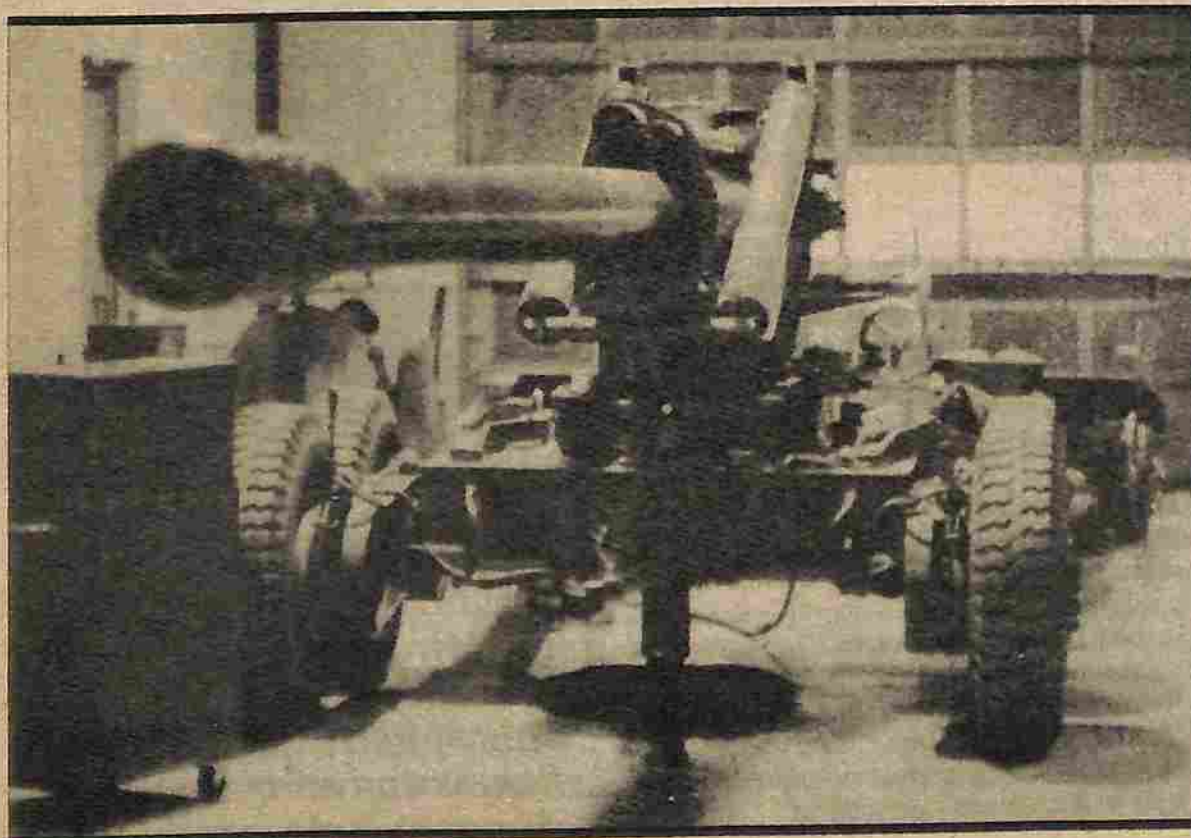
Yaacov Meridor, a member of Begin's cabinet, said as much in an August 1981 speech reported in the *Boston Globe*. "Meridor said Israel hopes to work out an arrangement with the U.S. to sell arms 'by proxy' to nations that Washington

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Above: Building KFIR fighter bombers at an Israeli Aircraft Industries plant.
Below: Assembling 120 mm mortar shells.

The GC-45 155 mm howitzer, sometimes called "the world's most advanced howitzer." Made by a U.S. company, shipments of these guns and Extra Long Range Full Bore shells were shipped to Israel, who then re-routed them to South Africa. The GC-45 is the suspected delivery system in the infamous "mysterious" 1979 joint South African/Israeli atmospheric nuclear test.



Fort Apache

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feels uncomfortable dealing with directly. "We are going to say to the Americans, 'Don't compete with us in Taiwan, don't compete with us in South Africa, don't compete with us in the Caribbean or in other countries where you couldn't directly do it.'" Meridor said. "Let us do it." ("Israel and Arms Exports," August 18, 1981, cited in Shahak, p. 45.)

One place where Israel has been "doing it" lately is in the Islamic Republic of Iran. Fast friends with the Shah, Israel also finds much to like in the Khomeini regime: its right-wing fundamentalism (the Palestinian movement is relatively secular and many Palestinians are Christian — hence Israel views Islamic fundamentalism as a potentially splitting force among the Palestinians); its attack on Iraq, which fits Israel's particular long-term strategic ambitions to dismember the various Arab states and "re-Ottomanize" the region; and finally Khomeini's reliance on the Shah's old army — Israeli aid allows the West to keep its ties to the army fresh, at a time when larger political strategy constrains the ability of the U.S. itself to do so.

Israel's role in the Third World goes well beyond arms sales. In Africa, in particular, its activities have earned it the sobriquet of "America's Cubans." There it's a matter not only of arms exports but of extensive use of technical and administrative personnel, with a special emphasis on the services of the Mossad (the Israeli intelligence service). It was the Mossad which engineered the overthrow of Milton Obote in Uganda and the installation of Idi Amin; which, along with the CIA, helped the Shah to set up SAVAK; and which now advises Mobutu of Zaire in tightening his grip. Military advisors help out in places like the Ivory Coast (where the Israeli Trade Union Federation — the Histadrut — has significant investments), and "individuals" like General Shmuel Gonen also do their bit — "retired" from the Israeli army in 1973, he became chief advisor to the infamous Emperor Bokassa of the Central African Empire. (Shahak, pp. 46-7; see also Chomsky)

Finally, there is what Israeli journalists have taken to calling the Fifth World — the grouping of the world's pariah states, South Africa, Taiwan and Israel. Israel has always had ties to the apartheid regime — the close friendship and working relationship between Jan Smuts of South Africa and Chaim Weizmann of the Zionist movement during and after World War I, for instance, is documented in their correspondence of approximately 140 items. (See R.P. Stevens, "Smuts and Weizmann: A Study in South African-Zionist Cooperation," in *Settler Regimes in Africa and the Arab World: The Illusion of Endurance*, [Wilmette, Illinois: Medina Press International, 1974].) Things took a leap, though, in 1975 when Henry Kissinger requested Israel to send troops to Angola during the clash between the Soviet/Cuban-backed MPLA and the U.S./South African proxies of UNITA and FNLA. Israel declined the invitation to direct intervention but did begin to explore increased military cooperation with South Africa. The English weekly *The Economist* detailed the cooperation:

"[E]ventually [the Israelis] sent South Africa some military instructors specializing in anti-guerrilla warfare plus equipment designed for the same purpose. In return, the Israelis took Mr. Kissinger's request as the green light for an Israeli-South African partnership. In May, 1976, South Africa's Prime Minister, Mr. John Vorster, arrived in Israel for an official visit. He signed a row of economic and military collaboration agreements that centered on South Africa's willingness to finance some of Israel's costlier military projects. Israel was to reciprocate by supplying weapon systems and training."

The Economist neglected the trip's highlight — the visit of Vorster, interned during World War 2 for his Nazi leanings, to the Yad Vashem memorial to the Holocaust victims. But back to *The Economist's* meat-and-potatoes account:

"South Africa will for its part put up



the money for the next generation of Israeli warships. As a return on its investment, South Africa will cream off the first four or five new boats as they are produced in 1979-80. Forty South African engineers and technicians are now watching over the work at the Haifa shipyards.

"The two countries are also collaborating in armor development. In earlier years, Israel had ransacked world markets in vain for the rare type of steel it wanted to sheath its Chariot tanks. Then, in 1976, along came Mr. Vorster and offered Israel not only the steel it wanted, but also the most advanced technology in steel manufacture to enable Israel to renovate its old-fashioned steel industry. Israel in return undertook to modernize 150 South African Centurion tanks, something that Britain, the manufacturer of these tanks, had refused to do...."

Israel is not pursuing its South African connection against the wishes of the U.S., of course; as *The Economist* concludes:

"Israel entered into this expansive partnership on the strength of a nod from the Ford Administration. It feared trouble when Mr. Carter became president.... Delicate Israeli probes drew out the half-spoken response that the Americans do not expect Israel to change course.... The Americans may be wanting to use Israel as a clandestine conduit to South Africa." (*The Economist*, Nov. 5, 1977, cited in Shahak.)

Since that time the relationship has deepened to the point of likely collaboration between Israel, Taiwan and South Africa on the technology to produce cruise missiles and nuclear weaponry. And in September 1979, both Soviet and U.S. spy satellites detected a suspected nuclear explosion over the Indian Ocean which is widely thought to have been a joint Israeli-South African test of a highly advanced tactical nuclear shell fired from a cannon. (The CIA estimates the Israeli nuclear stockpile at 200, with missiles capable of hitting the southern USSR.) (Chomsky, pp. 464-69.)

Indigenous Democracy

The diplomatic, military and economic



Top: Israeli jail in the occupied West Bank.

Center: The town of Kuneitra, Syria. Occupied by Israel since the 1967 war, the homes have been systematically bulldozed and dynamited by Israeli soldiers.

Bottom: A typical scene in the occupied territories: massive Israeli settlements overrunning centuries-old Palestinian areas.

convergence with South Africa over the past decade has inevitably raised the specter of "birds of a feather" among some of Israel's liberal critics, and the worry is voiced that Israel may actually "become like South Africa." Despite some obvious differences — Israel is not outnumbered by the indigenous population it holds within its borders on the order of 5:1 and South Africa has not principally pursued a policy of total extermination of the original inhabitants, preferring Bantustans — the possibility of Israel becoming "like" South Africa was settled long ago. Israel for instance has its own apartheid laws that maintain the "Jewish character" of the state, including laws forbidding the sale of land under the covenant of the Jewish National Fund (i.e., 94% of the land in Israel) to non-Jews, laws forbidding

employment of Palestinians in certain industries and jobs, laws denying them the rights to serve as officers in unions, etc. Shlomo Barak, head of the Tel Aviv workers council, explained the status of Arab workers from the West Bank in the Histadrut for *Al Hamishmar*, a Hebrew daily: "Within the trade union Arabs cannot be members of the workers' council. They must receive full rights (sic), but they cannot represent workers. I cannot be sure that workers from the territories won't incite the public, and it seems to me that the Arab worker is not particularly interested in developing Israeli industry; in any case the Jewish worker wouldn't accept the Arab as his superior." (From *The Journal of Palestine Studies*, No. 48, [Summer 1983], p. 186) Further, there is the *de facto* way in which water rights,

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African "Showcase"

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Times woefully declared in an editorial entitled "What was lost in Nigeria?": "Africa's biggest democracy became Africa's biggest dictatorship last weekend. The military overthrow of any popularly elected government is a setback for freedom but it is especially grievous coming in Nigeria." The *Times* then went on to talk about "endemic corruption" in Nigeria, a proposed austerity budget, the oil glut, high interest rates and recession as the causes of the coup only to declare, "that is not an environment in which a democracy can flourish, no matter how well laid the plans." The *Washington Post* took a similar editorial line, only it ended up with a plea for the new government not to wreak too much vengeance on the old government officials since after all they were "the people's choice." But the U.S. State Dept. itself takes the cake in this category. According to a State Dept. official, the new government in Nigeria is "unconstitutional" but the U.S. is "looking towards" working with them. The British, on the other hand, adopted a "wait and see" attitude. Within three days they had seen enough and loudly declared that the new regime seems to be working.

To the imperialists, while the "democratic showcase" of Africa was nice while it lasted, Nigerian stability is too important, and time is too short, to insist on such matters. Nigeria is the third largest oil supplier to the U.S. and is a major sphere of interest for the other imperialists in the U.S. bloc, especially Britain. And Nigeria (and up until the coup, Shagari) figures prominently in the U.S. bloc's strategy for fighting and winning world war both because of its strategic location and for the political role it plays as frontman for U.S. interests in Africa and internationally.

Neocolony in Shambles

Given all this, it is quite obvious that a few things about the Nigerian coup stink — and the stench is distinctly characteristic of U.S. imperialism.

First, there is the matter of the unbounded hypocrisy that has literally dripped from all the imperialist reports and editorials on the coup. According to the U.S., the coup was brought on by the sad state of the Nigerian economy. General Buhari said so himself: "Nigeria has become a debtor and beggar nation." And supposedly it was rigged elections, corrupt politicians, economic mismanagement and the oil glut that brought on this condition, all of which the General has admitted and promised to remedy. For anyone buying that, rumor has it that the good General was also selling a bridge in Brooklyn.

Certainly the Nigerian economy is in a shambles, and the ruling bureaucracy is noted for its corruption. But what the U.S. and its Nigerian henchmen are naturally not saying is that this is the outgrowth of the working out of the relationship between an oppressed nation and imperialism — the disarticulation and dispossession of the neocolony and the intensified misery of its people that is typical of this relationship. All the tut-tutting in the Western press amounts to the thief calling foul.

In the 1970s Nigeria was known as the "economic miracle of Africa." Its economy boomed as the imperialists tapped into its massive reserves of oil. Oil quickly became the mainstay around which everything else in Nigeria rotated. By the 1980s it provided 90% of all foreign exchange earnings in the country and at least 80% of the total government revenue. While Nigeria quickly became, in one sense, one of the most developed nations in Africa — in terms of development of the oil and related industries — other important sections of the economy like agriculture wallowed in stagnation. By 1982 Nigeria had to import around \$2 billion per year of basic foodstuffs and even had to begin to import crops that it had once grown for export. By 1983 the Nigerian people were living under the constant threat of famine. Overall, in 1983 Nigeria was importing more than \$1 billion per month worth of goods.

For a while Nigeria's oil income was



The forced expulsion from Nigeria of tens of thousands of immigrant workers in February of 1983.

able to cushion its ride on the imperialist rollercoaster. In fact, Nigeria became a sort of "land of opportunity" in west Africa and millions of landless peasants and impoverished workers from the surrounding countries streamed into Nigeria in search of work — in most cases they ended up living in slums and unemployed or working in the most menial and lowest paying jobs. But by 1982 the bottom fell out of the Nigerian economy. As the imperialist crisis deepened worldwide, oil prices and production plummeted. Nigeria's production and revenues dropped 50% from 1980 to 1983. The cost of imports quickly outstripped the revenues Nigeria was getting from exports and debts began to pile up. The oppression of the Nigerian people and the millions of immigrant workers intensified dramatically. Inflation fluctuated between 100-250% in 1983 alone. Unemployment became massive with at least one-third of the "official labor force" unemployed. For those employed, especially in state-owned industries, it was not uncommon for a payroll to go unmet for six weeks at a time and sometimes for six months straight. The situation among the masses of people has become very volatile and outbreaks of rebellion are becoming more and more frequent.

By 1983 the foreign debt added up to \$14 billion, making Nigeria the largest debtor nation in all of Africa. Every measure taken to alleviate the situation only intensified it. Billions of dollars more were borrowed to just reschedule the already existing debts. More loans required more austerity measures which meant further oppression of the masses and the intensification of the volatility among the masses. By mid-1983 British, French and American commercial banks cut off all new emergency loans to Nigeria and the International Monetary Fund refused an emergency loan unless Nigeria took up and implemented a strict IMF-directed austerity program — freezing wages, ending government subsidies and drastically cutting all other government spending as well as import quotas. This was the austerity program that Shehu Shagari began to unveil two days before he was overthrown. And this, the overall situation, is what created the conditions for Shagari's overthrow.

Dealing with the "Tanker Worm"

The theme General Buhari has repeatedly emphasized by way of explaining why the military had to seize power was the need to deal with the "tanker worm" of corruption. What Buhari is referring to here is by no means limited, or mainly concerned with, everyday cor-

ruption. Nor is it mainly a question of millionaire government officials and businessmen "inappropriately" accepting favors from imperialist businessmen and flaunting their Mercedes. Certainly all of this exists, and in fact is an everyday product of how imperialism functions in every part of the globe. Actually, it is somewhat ironic that General Buhari could come into power even claiming that he would set the economy right again and end the system of corruption, especially since Buhari, who served as Nigeria's petroleum minister and the head of the Nigerian state-owned oil company from 1975 to 1979, presided over the tightening up of imperialism's grip on Nigeria and its oil (and no doubt arranged a good bit of raking-off himself). It is also more than a little ironic that the U.S. would echo Buhari's claims since over the last year or so the Shagari regime had hired outside help as its main economic and investments counselors. These advisors were none other than a collection of British, French and U.S. investment bankers known collectively as "The Troika" and included Lehmann Brothers, Kuhn, Loeb of New York; Maison Lazord of Paris; and S.G. Warburg of London.

But the corruption that Buhari has to attempt to deal with and contain has much more to do with the particularities of how Nigeria developed under imperialist domination. Nigeria was pieced together as a nation-state by the British and consists of a very large land area and many competing and contending regions and tribes. When Nigeria became formally independent in 1960 the major regions and tribes each formed political parties to contend for their various interests. This cutthroat rivalry between these groups actually played a major role in the demise of the "first republic" — the civilian government overthrown by the military in 1966.

The development of the oil industry and the sudden accumulation of tremendous amounts of oil wealth made the stakes in these various rivalries much higher as each group competed for a larger share of the loot. So long as the "oil boom" lasted the friction between the different groupings within the ranks of the ruling elements in the country could be somewhat contained — although it still remained very sharp.

Whoever controlled the state, the federal government, actually controlled the distribution of a massive amount of wealth and power throughout the '70s — from the granting of import licenses (from which numerous Nigerian businessmen became overnight millionaires) to the

allocation of funds to the various 19 states.

Even the control of these states was a hotly contested issue. Each of the states was almost an individual empire which aligned with one or another of the major ethnic and regional political parties. These states almost literally functioned as individual entities, even taking out massive foreign loans on their own; of course the federal government had to issue a guarantee on these loans, which only added to the heat of the contention involved over who controlled the federal government. And there was even fierce rivalry between the different geographic regions in the country — for example, between the north and the south and between the north and west. Nor was the military free of contention. There were even different groupings inside the military aligned with the various political interests throughout the country — a fact which was pointed to in the attempts of various sections of the military to overthrow the military governments that had existed in the past. General Buhari pointed to the existence of these factions recently when he claimed that his group had only acted when it did in order to preempt a coup by a group of junior military officers.

While the oil money was there most of the contradictions could be fought out within the arena of bourgeois democracy. From 1979 until 1982 there were even various alliances formed between competing groups in order to advance each group's own individual interests through the elections. Shagari's party, the National Party of Nigeria (NPN) which controlled the federal government, was touted as the first successfully functioning national political organization. But these alliances were only temporary and very, very tenuous. Shagari's party itself offered evidence as to just how fragile these alliances were — the whole system of nominating candidates in Shagari's party was based on a zoning system, that is, since Shagari was from the northern part of the country, the next presidential candidate nominated by the NPN had to be from the southern part of the country or the party would fall apart.

Bottom Drops Out

When the bottom dropped out of the Nigerian economy the temporary alliances began to disintegrate and the competition of the various tribal and regional interests began to come to a head. Some of this contention was evident in the elections of August and September 1983. Although the Shagari regime ran the elections with an iron

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Fort Apache

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development money, housing decisions and so on are all decided against Israel's sizeable Arab minority (one-sixth of the population, not counting the West Bank, Jerusalem and Gaza). Sympathetic Western sources have admitted that per capita government spending on education, health, infrastructure, etc., for the Jewish suburbs north of the predominantly Arab city of Nazareth, for instance, is roughly three times greater than for the city itself, and they have acknowledged that this case is quite typical.

West Bank and Gaza, however, are the sites of the starkest oppression. Ruled by a military administration, denied even the most rudimentary rights, subject to pogroms by a reactionary paramilitary force of settlers and to collective punishment by their military occupiers, the 700,000 Arabs on the West Bank and the nearly half a million more in Gaza can give compelling testimony on the internal democracy of Israel, whether under Labor or Likud regimes.

REVOLUTION

SPRING 1984

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Since 1967 Israelis have either bought up or outright grabbed some 55% of the land.* Twenty-five percent of Israeli exports go to the West Bank — a total of \$600 million. Tourists from Scarsdale or Bel Air wishing to see their historic homeland in Judea and Samaria plow another \$500 million into the Israeli economy, while agricultural exports from the West Bank to Jordan and the Gulf states draw in another \$100 million, this in badly needed hard currency. (See Chomsky, pp. 46-47, 114.)

Meanwhile, Israel now draws one-third of its water out of the West Bank. Their gutting of the indigenous agriculture through both water thievery and land seizure has generated a cheap labor force for Tel Aviv factories and

*Actual Israeli holdings in the West Bank are in fact open to question. Palestinian lawyer Jonathan Kuttab has estimated that non-Palestinians own close to 70% of the entire West Bank, maybe more. He points out, however, that "It is difficult to estimate with any precision because land records are no longer open to the public as they were under Jordanian law. To ascertain precisely who owns a plot of land you must now prove that you have a direct interest in knowing who owns that land." (Cited from *The Journal of Palestine Studies*, No. 48 [Summer 1983], p. 65.)

nearby Israeli-owned farms. But this creates problems for a state that some worry may become apartheid. Amos Hadar, Secretary General of the Moshav (cooperative farms) movement, waxed eloquent on the contradictions involved: the Israelis should not allow the Arab workers to live off the West Bank near their worksites because "after a short while the workers from the territories will bring their families and house them in camps. That would be Arab settlement on land of the Jewish National Fund. That cannot be." And yet, the employment of these workers who have been driven off their own lands and forced to work for practically nothing can't be passed up: "It is hard, it is costly, it is problematic from an economic standpoint [i.e., transporting the workers] — but there is no other solution, if Jews in the State of Israel are unable to pick the oranges and grapes." (Chomsky, p. 141.)

"Jews in the State of Israel" also apparently find themselves unable to tolerate unions among these Arab workers — Chomsky cites the shutting down of a Ramallah trade union and the arrest of its secretary by order of the military governor in December 1982 as

"only one recent case"; likewise, "Jews in the State of Israel" force themselves to put up with child labor by Arab children on Zionist collective farms, where 20-30% of the Arab workers are children of 12 or younger. Some try to get around the strict Zionist principles — like the factory owners in Tel Aviv who "allowed" their West Bank workers to sleep in the factory at night, a practice only disclosed when three were killed because they couldn't escape the locked-from-the-outside factory during a nighttime fire. But these are problems that face any good Westerner of conscience: the South African mine foreman, the Los Angeles garment manufacturer, the French Renault manager... all of them.

Meanwhile some government officials project 1.3 million Jews in the West Bank by the year 2010 and plan for the emergence of a new "Silicon Valley" there. While such projections are ridiculously optimistic — Israel fell short of its 1983 goal on the timetable of 100,000 Jews in the West Bank by 1986, and one might assume that the Palestinians themselves may yet weigh decisively on the matter — they reveal Israel's inten-

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Africa

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hand, a number of the opposition parties hotly contested the results and rioting over "rigged elections" broke out in at least two states.

Everything in Nigeria's foreseeable future promised to heat these contradictions up to the explosion point. Even the immediate prospects of implementing the IMF-demanded austerity budget — especially the need to cut federal spending by 30% and cut import quotas by 40% — brought Nigeria's immediate stability to a very precarious point. (Recall, for example, that the country now depends upon imports for its food supply.) In addition to these contradictions the worsening situation in Nigeria also fed the volatility among the Nigerian people. The prospect of these contradictions exploding all at once, or in some combination — such as the different competing warlords playing on the volatility of the people and using this to battle with each other — made speculation about civil war in Nigeria more than just idle chatter. Indeed, the civil war over Biafra in 1967-70 had already set this kind of precedent. It had become painfully clear that bourgeois democracy could no longer mediate, but now only inflamed, all these warring interests. And out of these fires emerged General Buhari and his military government. One indication of what Buhari is all about was provided by the fact that one of his first moves upon coming to power was to immediately ban all political parties and organizations and thereby hope to quell the contention in Nigeria at least for a while.

Even a quick glance shows that General Buhari's claims of pulling the coup in order to cure the economy ring hollow. First, when Buhari came into power he openly admitted that not only did he not have an economic program to advance, but he wasn't even quite sure of the precise problems in the economy — he just knew it was an all-around bad

situation. Secondly, when Buhari did emerge with the program it was remarkably similar in every aspect to Shagari's — rescheduling of debts, IMF loan, austerity budget and everything else.

Even the highly touted anticorruption platform in Buhari's program is not all that different than what Shagari was about to implement. Following his massive electoral victory in August and September 1983, Shagari replaced all but seven of his government ministers, warned them all that corruption would not be tolerated and would be severely dealt with and even launched a new Ministry of the Ethical Revolution. Actually, as a sign of just how similar Buhari and Shagari's programs and governments were, Buhari even opted to keep in place the entire judicial structure and all top civil servants of the Shagari regime, including the permanent secretaries of the various ministries who are to act as his civilian advisors. The difference in the new government is rather in the possibility that, of any social force, only the military might be able to clamp together, even temporarily, Nigeria's fast-fragmenting political scene.

The Imperialist Stink

But Buhari didn't seize power on a flight of fancy. Indeed, the coup was a well planned and purposeful action. And it's here that the smell of the U.S. imperialists is even more evident — if the U.S. didn't directly pull the coup itself, then it certainly gave a hearty nod of assent and encouragement beforehand. General Buhari was far from being an unknown soldier when he came into power. Trained at the Mons Officer Training School in Aldershot, England, Buhari was a member of the first Supreme Military Council in Nigeria under a General Gowon, which ruled Nigeria from 1966 to 1975. In 1975 Buhari joined with other officers to overthrow Gowon and replace him with yet another ruling military clique. Under this government, which lasted until 1979, Buhari held a number of posts including various military gover-

norships, the minister of petroleum and the head of the Nigerian Oil Company — posts which made him very well known in Western imperialist circles. In 1979 Buhari attended the U.S. War College in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. And as recently as last summer, when Nigeria had a small border war with Chad, Buhari, who commanded the Nigerian forces in this war, was under careful observation by U.S. "foreign affairs analysts" who waxed ecstatic over his "tough line."

General Buhari was well groomed and carefully chosen for his new position. As a former high-ranking Western diplomat, cited in the *New York Times*, declared just two days after Buhari came into power, "If you had to go into battle with somebody, you'd be delighted to go with him. You could count on him for sound judgment and disciplined leadership." Finally, the real meat of the matter has surfaced. Buhari's government cannot do anything more than Shagari's could in terms of fundamentally curing what ails Nigeria. But that isn't the reason he came to power in the first place. The facts of the imperialist world today dictate a very fragile and explosive reality in Nigeria. And the prospects of an explosion in Nigeria — especially given its position in the U.S. war bloc and the role it has to play in pulling together the African contingent of that bloc on a war footing — is more than worrisome to the U.S. and its allies. Above all it is the time factor that stands out here — the U.S. is in quite a hurry to establish this war footing in the bloc in different parts of the globe and some of the most loyal U.S. frontmen like Shagari have been feeling the heat.

The Buhari government was brought into power in Nigeria because the material conditions that once allowed Shagari and democracy to keep a stable Nigeria on the U.S. war cart have disappeared due to the very workings of the imperialist system itself. To do what the Shagari regime and the democratic process was incapable of dealing with in Nigeria, the U.S. is banking on the ability of the Buhari regime and its military

government, its relative coherency, its "disciplined leadership," and its firepower, to accomplish — to clamp the lid on an imperialist created time bomb....

Archbishop

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remarks to the subject of abortion without once mentioning the Everett fire-bombing. "The American Catholic Bishops can hardly maintain credibility with the Catholic community, much less the American public, by raising their voices in an outcry against abortion, without addressing the violence wrought by racism, poverty, prejudice, economic greed, capital punishment, or war. Can the physicians of America, do you think, be any more credible with the American people (or the world) by raising their voices against nuclear war without acknowledging the violence to the unborn? ... We are being called to be consistent about the issues of life and death."

By taking this reactionary stand so prominently at this time (though not for the first time), Hunthausen has clearly moved in tandem with the Church leadership, although no one is predicting that the matter will end here. More interestingly, the Archbishop's problems with the Vatican reveal some of the maneuvers and machinations by which the U.S. hierarchy is constructing its pro-American "peace church." With the Pastoral Letter complete, the Church is moving as fast as its medieval robes will allow into its center seat on the official panel of loyal American dissent... a voice that will speak to the outrage at nuclear war now in order to credibly sanctify it in the future. With such an important role for the imperialists, it's no wonder that there's some tidying up to be done in the ranks.

Fort Apache

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tion to even more thoroughly integrate the West Bank and Gaza into a Greater Israel (even as the process is now being repeated in Lebanon south of the Awali River).

Meanwhile the hard-core settlements — drawn in large part from fanatical right-wing immigrants from the U.S. — continue. The summer of 1983 witnessed a particularly vicious settler assault. Following the killing of a settler (presumed at the time to be a victim of a Palestinian, although the Israeli paper *Davar* later raised the question as to whether a settler may have carried out the murder), a gang of kaffiyeh-clad settlers attacked Hebron University with American M-16s, teargas and a hand grenade. After seven minutes the attackers left behind four Palestinian students dead and 33 wounded. In Nablus, where a demonstration was organized on the evening of the massacre, Israeli settlers opened fire and killed 20-year-old Ilham Abu Za'rur, a young woman who had just finished distributing the invitations to her upcoming wedding. At Bir Zeit University Israeli soldiers broke up a large demonstration, wounding five students and arresting dozens of others. Dani Rubinstein, writing in *Davar* three days after the massacre, stated that "It is important to emphasize that the mystery of the attack on the mayors (referring to the car bombings of five West Bank mayors in 1980 — *RW*) and the Islamic college does not grate. The security forces know the address quite well." Rubinstein went on to add the obvious: "The members of this underground have strong political backing which prevents the security forces from exceeding routine methods of investigation and so it seems they will continue to act again and again, illicitly though not publicly, sympathy from certain circles." (From *The Journal of Palestine Studies*, No. 49 [Fall 1983], pp. 189-90.) The outrage of Hebron occurred in a context where Jewish settlers are allowed to openly brandish sub-machine guns, where no Jew has as yet been tried for the murder of any Palestinian, and where the settlers routinely fire at — and

often kill — Palestinian children who throw stones at their cars.

But it's not as if the settlers are "out of control"; all this is coordinated with the policies of the military government in the Occupied Territories. The Israeli journalist Aharon Bachar, in an article entitled "Do not say: We did not know, we did not hear," described a meeting between leaders of the Labor Alignment (i.e., the mainstream Zionist parties which ruled prior to 1977) and Begin. Here the collective punishment of the town of Hahlul was described:

"The men were taken from their houses beginning at midnight, in pajamas, in the cold. The notables and other men were concentrated in the square of the mosque and held there until morning. Meanwhile men of the Border Guards broke into houses, beating people with shouts and curses. During the many hours that hundreds of people were kept in the mosque square, they were ordered to urinate and excrete on one another and also to sing *Hatikva* [the national anthem of Israel] and to call out 'Long Live the State of Israel.' Several times people were beaten and ordered to lick the earth. At the same time four trucks were commandeered and at daybreak the inhabitants were loaded on the trucks, about 100 in each truck, and taken like sheep to the Administration headquarters in Hebron.

"On Holocaust Day, the 27 of Nissan [the date in the Jewish calendar], the people who were arrested were ordered to write numbers on their hands with their own hands, in memory of the Jews in the extermination camps." (Chomsky, p. 131.)

The publication of the report created little stir in Israel, where these practices are now routine. The ghoul practice of forcing the Arabs to write their ID numbers on their forearms is apparently widespread. The goal of such collective humiliation, as experts from Andrew Jackson to Adolf Hitler knew, is to attempt to break the spirit and morale of an oppressed people; it is a spiritual torture, a vicious and unspeakably ugly practice, the complement to the physical torture of leading political activists (which, according to Amnesty International, is

systematically carried out in Israeli prisons) and in some cases their assassination.

Cultural suppression also plays an important role in this. The military authorities constantly harass and periodically shut down Bir Zeit University, and drive intellectuals into exile through denying them the right to work (including the attempt to force professors to sign anti-PLO oaths). The Palestinian flag is outlawed, and merchants who even dare to display bolts of black, green and white cloth together are arrested. Censorship is widespread, especially of any books pertaining to Palestine and of the Palestinian press generally. The Israeli looting of the major Palestinian cultural resources center in Beirut — in which everything from land documents and local historical records to important cultural artifacts were stolen and/or destroyed — is of a piece with this policy.

The internal character and global role of Israel cannot be separated; they condition each other. This became concentrated during the invasion of Lebanon, when Israeli society became polarized with untenable contradictions. In reaction to the significant revulsion to the war among sections of Israeli society, which included the refusal of some reserves (a key component of the Israeli military) to report for duty in Lebanon, right-wing trends and tendencies which had been carefully fed and encouraged over a period of years were fully unleashed; the streetfighting between demonstrators, culminating in the murder of an Israeli protester against the Sabra/Shatila massacres, recalled Europe in the '30s for more than one Israeli (the letter printed last week in this essay typified a whole wave of such statements).

The Nazification of Israeli life is widespread, full of momentum and, in the end, unsurprising. When demonstrators chant "One people, one army, one government" in an eerie echo of "Ein Volk, Ein Reich, Ein Führer"; when phrases like the "new order" are bandied about by Begin in reference to Lebanon; when an IDF officer tells his men in the West Bank that ultimately it will be necessary to "turn the Arabs into gas"; when the director of Israeli state broadcasting offhandedly refers to the "scientific fact" of white supremacy — things have devel-

oped to a pretty advanced stage. The increasing force of these trends flows out of the exigencies faced by Israel in carrying out its end of the "strategic alliance."

Israel, after all, has been built by U.S. aid into the fourth strongest military machine in the world; now when the U.S. needs it to hammer together the "anti-Soviet regional consensus" the U.S. must prepare for war, it eagerly sets itself to the task. When the dynamics of U.S. political life are conditioned by the needs of what top government officials call a "prewar" period, it makes sense that Israel should follow suit, and with a vengeance.

The future will not be shaped by the imperialists or the Zionists alone, however. The *Revolutionary Worker* in June 1982, at the outset of the Lebanon invasion, carried a report from a Finnish researcher noting that out of a sample of 128 Palestinian children on the West Bank, 87% had been involved in some kind of violent confrontation with Israeli troops. Two-thirds of the children, mainly 11-year-olds taken from five schools, had a family member in prison and 40% had a relative wounded. Then the article concluded:

"During the widespread disturbances of March and April [1982] on the West Bank, over 2,000 youngsters under the age of 14 were arrested by Israeli troops for throwing stones, setting up street barricades, or otherwise defying the occupation. Of the 16 Palestinians killed by Israeli soldiers during the riots, all were under 21. The youngest was seven years old. A story of a youth in the occupied city of Nablus has already acquired legendary significance among the Palestinians both within and outside the occupied territories. A seven-year-old boy was sent home under armed guard by Israeli judges at his trial to bring his brother Nafez, who was also to be accused of stoning Israeli troops. An hour later, the boy returned with Nafez, who turned out to be only four years old. The Zionist judge, adopting a smiling mask, chortled and wondered aloud whether this 'mere baby' could be the culprit. Other officials in the court chuckled too. Then Nafez spat back, 'Yes, I did it, you bastards, and I'm going to get you all.'" (*RW* No. 159, p. 15.)

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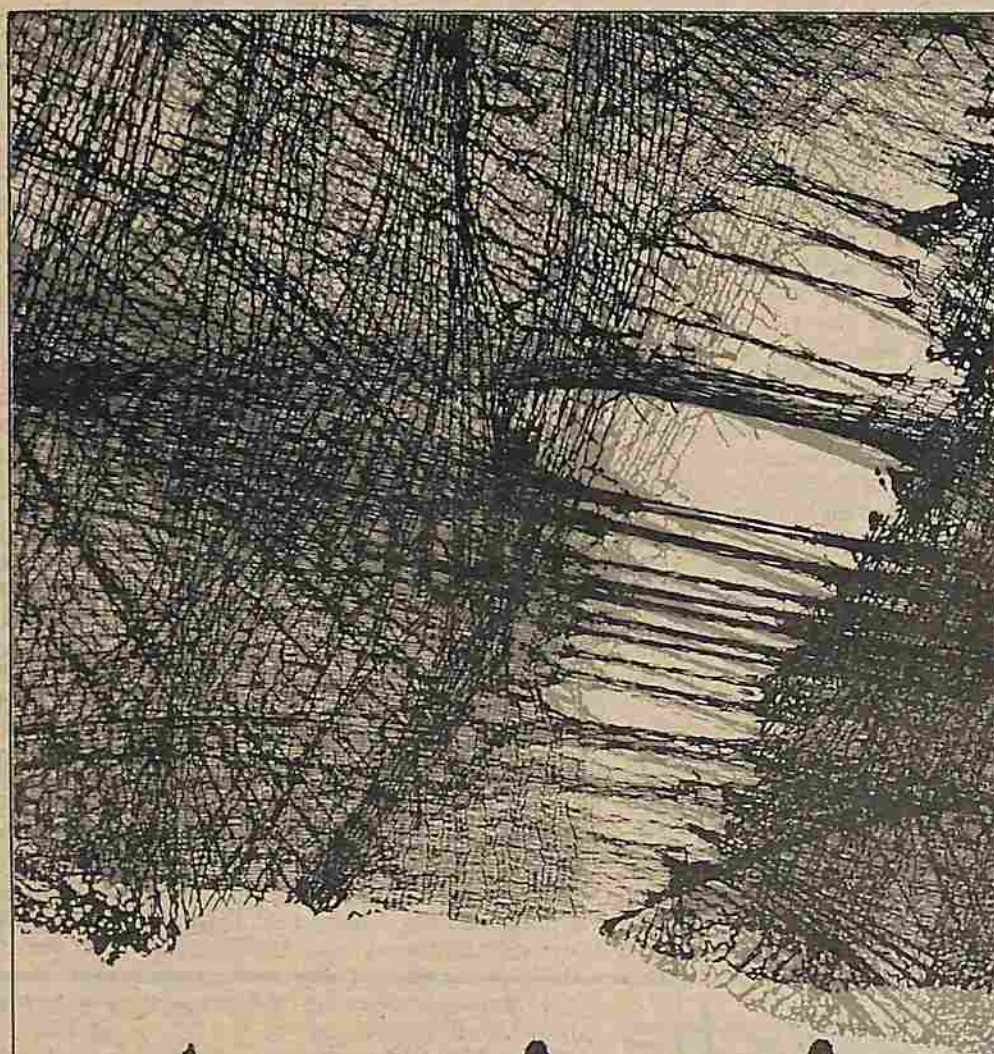
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