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## Assassination in Philippines

# Trigger Finger Steady ... But Not The Regime



The assassination of Philippine bourgeois opposition leader Benigno Aquino on August 21st had all the markings of a well-planned hit-job directed from the highest levels of the Marcos regime and the Marcos assassins did not make much of an effort to hide the tracks of blood that led toward Malacanang — the presidential palace in Manila.

Aquino was slain within moments of stepping off the plane that had brought him back to the Philippines after a 3-year exile in the U.S. According to the official government story, a "lone gunman" disguised in an airline maintenance worker's uniform walked up to Aquino as he got off the plane and shot him at close range, no more than two feet away. The assassin himself was then quickly shot down in the blaze of gunfire. But how had this alleged assassin managed to get through the supposedly airtight security cordon around the airport wearing a holster and wielding a .357 Magnum? How did he get close enough to Aquino, who was surrounded by armed guards, to shoot him at point-blank range? Why was this "lone gunman" not apprehended but instead riddled with bullets? And how could Aquino have been shot execution-style in

the back of the head, when he was being escorted from the plane by two guards directly behind him and one in front?

More damaging still is the eyewitness account of one Japanese freelance journalist on Aquino's plane. The journalist claimed that he saw the guards that escorted Aquino out of the plane shoot him. Then the rear door of a truck parked near the plane opened, and a man who tumbled out was also shot, falling beside Aquino. "It could only have been something that was planned, that had been rehearsed many times," said the journalist.

The slaying of Aquino is the latest bloody testament that the Marcos rule comes out of the not-so-hidden barrels of guns supplied courtesy of U.S. imperialism. The guns are aimed mainly at the masses of Filipino people; thousands who have dared to speak out and act against the regime have been imprisoned, tortured and brutally executed. Aquino's murder shows that neither is Marcos at all hesitant about pulling the trigger on those pro-imperialist opponents who harbor ambitions of replacing him as the U.S. caretaker in the Philippines.

The U.S. has been awash in professed shock and self-righteous condemnations of the killing. "A cowardly, despicable act," intoned the U.S. State Department. The Philippines "has now become a place of political blight, and an embarrassment for the United States," cried out the *L.A. Times*.

In fact, there is nobody with *less* reason to be embarrassed about the methods employed by Marcos to deal with his rival. It was the U.S., seeing its interests in the Philippines threatened by the political upheavals of the Filipino people in the '60s and the early '70s and the infighting within the ruling class, who welcomed and supported Marcos's declaration of martial law in 1972 that clamped down on the masses and iced out other bourgeois forces from state power. And it is the U.S. which has been behind countless bloody coups, invasions, and political killings all over the world. The U.S. can still teach Marcos a thing or two about highly sophisticated techniques in political assassinations, including their use at times to settle differences within the bourgeoisie itself.

No, what shook them about Aquino's murder was not that it went against some supposed democratic ideals or moral principles. The real concern of the U.S. imperialists is that the assassination has forcibly removed from the scene a political figure they had hoped would help stabilize the situation in the Philippines. And furthermore, the blatant nature of the assassination underscores the unstable state of the Marcos regime and could precipitate further destabilization and turmoil in the explosive situation in the Philippines.

While making it clear that Marcos is its main man in the Philippines, the U.S. has wanted to keep a less exposed figure like

Aquino in reserve as a possible "alternative" to Marcos should the need arise. Before martial law, Aquino was the head of the Liberal Party, the "opposition" party to Marcos's Nacionalista Party, and was being touted as the next president. As Amado Guerrero exposed in his book *Philippine Society and Revolution*, Marcos himself had switched from the Liberal Party to the Nacionalista Party to run for president in 1965, thus proving again, "The absence of any basic difference between the two puppet reactionary parties." Aquino spent 8 years in detention under martial law and was sentenced to death by the military courts in 1977. Even then, there was no bourgeois opposition figure of comparative stature, and Aquino ran against Imelda Marcos for a seat in the National Assembly in 1978, campaigning from jail. In 1980, Aquino was allowed to go to the U.S. for a heart bypass operation. He stayed in the U.S., receiving fellowships at Harvard and MIT. As Richard Holbrook, former undersecretary of state for East Asian and Pacific Affairs under Carter, revealed during ABC's *Nightline* program, the U.S. government

Continued on page 14

# The Rehabilitation of the Central America Gun Club

The scale of comprador cooperation in Central America seems to be on the upswing. First, the defense ministers of El Salvador, Honduras, and Guatemala held an important meeting with a representative of the U.S. Army's Southern Command. The next day, Guatemala's defense minister Generalissimo Mejia Victores, became its Chief of State, as he led the coup that replaced the "inward-looking" (as the U.S. press described him) Generalissimo Rios Montt. Then, Mejia Victores showed that he was looking "outward" by reaching an accord with El Salvador's generalissimos that provides for the

counterinsurgency training of Salvadoran troops in exchange for the funneling of U.S. weapons and ammunition from El Salvador to Guatemala. Now, there are new calls to take a leap in such coordinated activities and make it all official. The Honduran minister of defense publicly speculated that the coup in Guatemala could facilitate the reactivation of the infamous Central American Defense Council (CONDECA) — the organization that formerly encompassed all the leading U.S.-backed generalissimos in the region. A few days later, El Salvador's commander of the First Infantry Brigade piped up, saying

that CONDECA's reactivation "is necessary and indispensable..." Since Mejia Victores has already expressed his eagerness for such a development, CONDECA's official formation may be just a formality away.

CONDECA was first pulled together in 1964, with the U.S.'s Nicaraguan henchman Somoza playing the key role. Under the guidance of the Southern Command, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras — and to a lesser, but still significant extent, Panama and Costa Rica as well — banded together to standardize their equipment and training, make preparations for

mounting joint operations and integrate their command structures. Of course, the point of all this was to better wage counterinsurgency against all opposition in the region, including several significant national liberation struggles that were taking root at the time. Although various regional rivalries (such as a war between El Salvador and Honduras in 1969) prevented the defense pact organizations from working on the scale that the U.S. had envisioned, with Somoza as the central anchor, there were several instances of inter-generalissimo cooperation. In 1972, air support from the air forces of Nicaragua and Guatemala helped to knock down a coup attempt in El Salvador, and in 1976 CONDECA maneuvers were held in a region of Nicaragua considered to be a Sandinista stronghold.

But first Somoza's precarious position and then his overthrow tore CONDECA apart. As the U.S. had learned, there was little love lost between the oligarchies of the region, with all of them avidly competing to be the U.S.'s number one lackey; it had taken the existence of a "U.S. policeman for Central America" to keep the pact going, and with Somoza gone a new "policeman" would have to be found. Since all the others were in greater turmoil, Honduras was the U.S.'s choice. Although liberals are fond of complaining that Reagan is "militarizing" Honduras and threatening to drag it into the Central American maelstrom, they conveniently forget that the outfitting of Honduras for the new role began under "Human Rights" Carter. Between 1976 and 1980, there were three times more top-level Honduran officers taking "Command and General Staff" courses at the U.S. Army's School of the Americas than any other Latin American country. Honduras also became the largest arms importer in Central America in this period, and in the '78-'80 period, received more U.S. aid than any other country. Carter's Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, Viron Vaky, said that Honduras had a key role to play in putting the brakes on "regional conflicts and potential infiltration" into other countries in the region. In other words, Honduras had taken the place of Somoza's Nicaragua in the U.S. counterinsurgency scheme board in Central America.

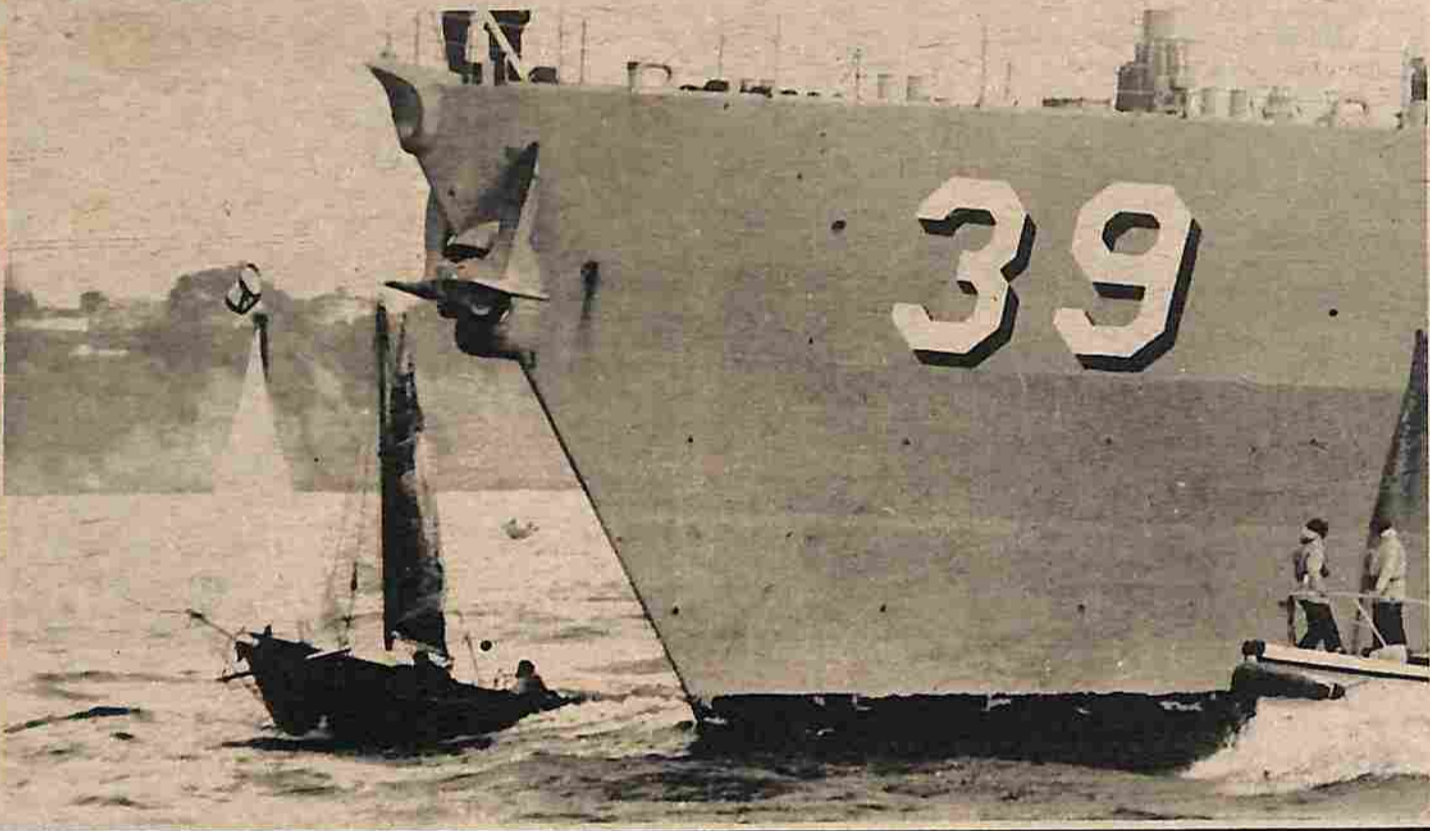
Although there were several attempts by various regional forces to reactivate CONDECA in 1980 and '81, the majority opinion in U.S. military circles tended to view Honduras as still not sufficiently beefed up to play the central role required. But over the past two years, the institution of a large force of *contras*, several huge radar stations, a plethora of military airfields and bases and a massive infusion of U.S. "aid," not to mention the largest U.S. spy mission (a.k.a. embassy) in Central America have all produced a suitable center for the much-needed unified operation. And when Rios Montt apparently was still too concerned with his own internal problems to fully jump on board, it was a relatively simple matter to have him removed. Indeed, it may well have been the new CONDECA's first unofficial act. [ ]

## Protests Greet U.S. Warship In New Zealand

As the nuclear-powered missile cruiser USS *Texas* sailed into Auckland, New Zealand on August 1st, it was greeted by an armada of anti-nuclear protestors who attempted to stop it from entering port in what the commander of the *Texas* admitted was the biggest seaborne protest he had seen in 19 years of sailing on nuclear warships. More than 100 boats closed in on the cruiser, which is equipped with Mark IV nuclear warhead launchers, as 50 police and navy vessels formed a protective cordon in an effort dubbed "Operation Texas." Despite the authorities a 7-meter dory, the *Mahatma Gandhi* (photo above), got through and proceeded to ram the *Texas* broadside, forcing it to stop for four minutes and

nearly swamping inflatable police dinghies that finally managed to tow it away with grappling hooks. Meanwhile, a small powerboat sped in and out of the police cordon as three men threw yellow paint-bombs, splattering the cruiser's stern before making good their escape. After police dispersed most of the Auckland peace fleet, about 40 big yachts continued to circle the *Texas* with people shouting anti-nuke slogans through bullhorns. "It was certainly uncomfortable at times," the U.S. commander told the press. And things got even more uncomfortable as on the anniversary of Hiroshima 30,000 people marched through downtown Auckland demonstrating against nuclear weapons

and the warship's visit which was part of bolstering the ANZUS (Australia, New Zealand, United States) regional alliance. The *Texas*'s troubles weren't over as a week later it headed into the Port of Wellington and was met by another, smaller anti-nuke flotilla braving choppy seas and 5-foot swells. 7,000 demonstrated in Wellington and harbor and ferry workers launched a series of rotating strikes to protest the visit that shut down the port for several days and forced the Royal New Zealand Air Force to initiate an emergency airlift over the Cook Straits that separate New Zealand's North and South Islands.



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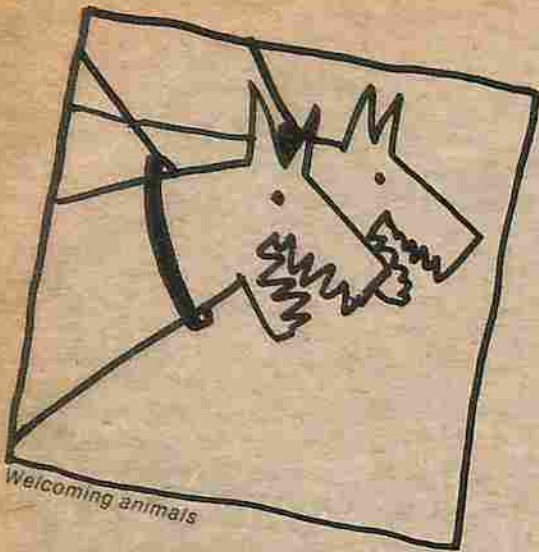
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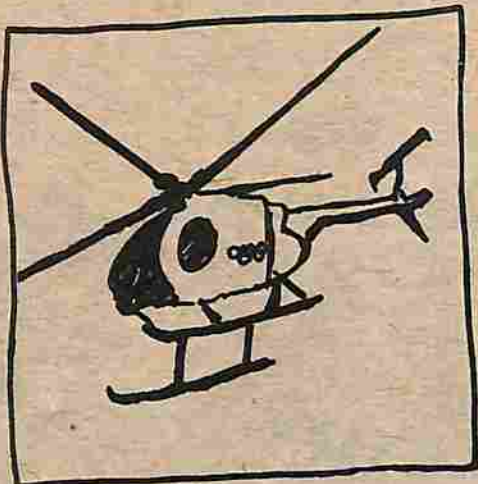
# Securing Territory for the Pre-War Games



Beginning one hot summer day next year it will be most difficult to tune in a TV or radio anywhere in the world and *not* catch the latest news on the Olympics in Los Angeles. Among the more than half million spectators who will pour into L.A. for the Games will be thousands from the media, broadcasting via satellite every feature of what is planned as an imperialist extravaganza, an orgy of warlike jingoism LIVE, FROM LOS ANGELES... All eyes will be directed to watch as the U.S. athletes "on their own soil" take on the Eastern bloc countries under the omnipresent red, white, and blue, and other powerfully charged symbols of free enterprise on the march, such as Snickers, the Official Snack Food of the Olympics, and so forth.

What may not be so evident in the news reports, but nonetheless unavoidably obtruding into the glittering picture, will be another major feature of America today... guns and pigs, thousands of them, in every shape and variety.

This, of course, points up a great problem for the Olympics organizers. It is difficult enough politically to stage such a chauvinistic circus, given the complex tensions of the international situation... but on top of this it becomes a major problem just to "clear the ground" militarily, in order to allow the Games to function with some semblance of order. What happens when, as seems inevitable, the Olympics become a magnet for outrage and protest of the

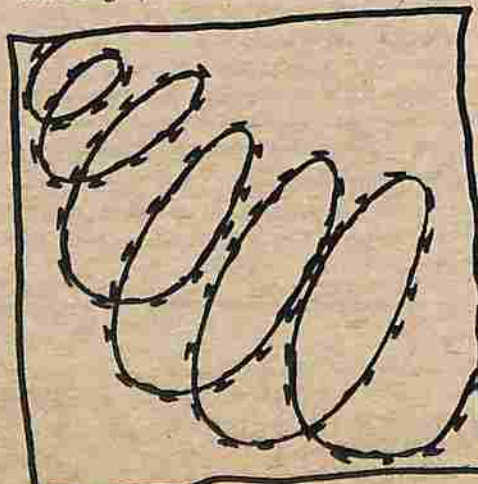


Official helicopters

well synchronized this will be remains to be seen, but security certainly is a main event, and its preparations are being paraded out for all — especially those who aim to protest the Olympics — to see. Altogether, some 17,000 police of various sorts will be fielded, including a specially created FBI SWAT Team, as well as the Delta Blue Light/Charlie's Angels Team (the one involved in the ignominious U.S. "hostage rescue" attempt). Fifty million dollars has been allotted to the Defense Dept. in case army units are needed. And high-technology is being piled on: new computers for 700 LAPD police cars, a dozen or more helicopters (provided by Hughes Aircraft — the Official Helicopter of the Olympics...), even the suggestion for satellite reconnaissance photos of L.A., to be taken and analyzed every fifteen minutes during the Games. Surveillance will also include Coast Guard reconnaissance of L.A.'s extensive face to the sea, and millions of dollars for 115 new La Migra agents.

And what is the object of all this, according to authorities? "We have to complete plans from the lone, deranged individual... to a really organized terrorist assault," states Edgar Best, ex-FBI official and chief of Olympic security. The Olympics, in the more pungent words of a soldier-of-fortune-type magazine, are "a countdown to terror." Terror, from... well, from about everywhere. From the KGB in the form of agents disguised as Jewish emigrés, so says LAPD Chief Daryl Gates. From U.S. radicals "trained in Lebanon," according to Congressional investigator Jeremiah Denton.

Of course, the U.S. imperialists are right to be paranoid about the breadth of the danger; there are millions around the



Sports area demarcation

world who do hate their system and its crimes. But, clearly, "terrorism" has become a kind of metaphor, a code word for any and all political problems that could arise... as well as an excuse for some preparations with an eye to future events. It should also be noted that the problem of terrorism is, in the imperialists' dictionary, spelled M-U-N-I-C-H and specifically *not* Mexico 1968, where four hundred radical students were gunned down in a protest around those Games — that was no "terrorist incident" but merely a security problem disposed of properly.

In quieter moments, Best himself admits that the terrorism is not the only concern but in fact "all kinds of causes could crop up," and Chief Gates wrote in a report on the Olympics-readiness of the LAPD, released in 1982:

"One of the major areas of concern in relation to terrorism is the large and



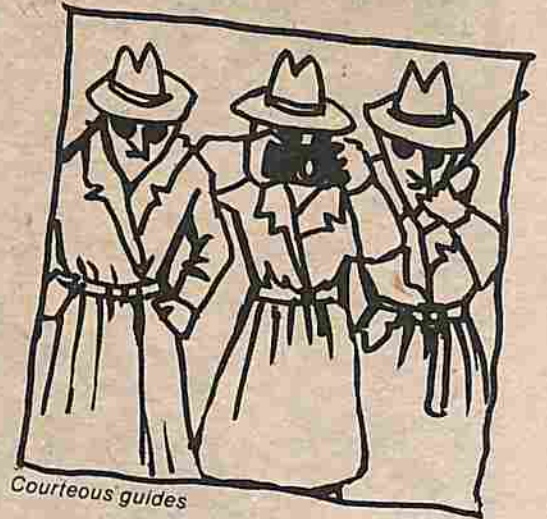
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diverse ethnic population of our community. The LAPD must be aware of events that occur anywhere in the world as it could trigger a response from the concerned ethnic bloc within the city arising from nationalistic, political, religious, or revolutionary sympathies."

This speaks much more honestly to the problems of staging the pre-war Games in a great imperialist citadel. The very tightening and sharpening of worldwide events, the increasing clash of empires which has caused the imperialists to stage this kind of Olympics, also makes for the great possibility that the Games will become a focus of protest and resistance. The Olympic planners uneasily consider events in Latin America only a couple of borders away, they worry about the Middle East, the peace movements erupting in West Germany and the rest of Europe, and wonder whether these or some other unforeseen events will crash onto the world scene as the Games are set to begin. They have cause to worry all right.

The situation is complicated still further by the fact that the Soviet Union, as an imperialist power in its own right, shares some of these same concerns and has demanded, according to the German magazine *Der Spiegel*, that "no political rallies or demonstrations will take place in staging areas or the Olympic Village." Following the Soviet lead, the Polish Olympic Committee, also according to *Der Spiegel*, has requested "a binding commitment that, in L.A., no political actions or demonstrations will take place in the course of which Olympic participants could be endangered." The U.S. was quick to reply that in its view the

Soviets and Poles were mainly concerned about "disturbances among their own personnel," implying that political protest could set the stage for defections from Eastern bloc teams. No doubt this is a concern of the Soviet-bloc countries; during the Montreal Games in 1976, one Soviet athlete and two Romanians did defect. But the Soviets also plainly mean to apply further pressure on the sore spot of security operations, with its potential for political embarrassment of the U.S., and since the Soviets swing weight in international sports, up to the possibility of a boycott, this is not something the U.S. Olympic planners can ignore. What's more if some of the anti-Soviet



Courteous guides

demonstrations are mounted by right-wingers, or if some are pro-Solidarity or in some way target the question of Poland, the U.S. would be caught between Soviet pressure and the prospect of suppressing political demonstrations by either its own patriotic pro-America types, or by anti-Soviet Polish groups.

## An Environment of Security

So it is not simply "terrorism," but the political hornets' nest being stirred by the Olympics which causes such intense concern among Olympics officials. The matter, however, does not end here either, for the security preparations in fact go much beyond, say, crowd control. As Peter Uberroth, president of the Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee (LAOOC) said on a recent *Nightline* show on ABC, "I think it is going to be a prototype for major sporting events. I think it will be a prototype for political conventions and other things in the future." Some idea of these "other things in the future" for which the Olympic preparations will be so useful, can be gained by looking more closely at the preparations themselves.

One whole aspect of security operations involves a restructuring and streamlining of many vital functions of the city, much as would occur in "civil emergency" situations. One committee — composed of the likes of the Chairmen of the Boards of the *L.A. Times*, Bank of America, etc. — is working on rescheduling the hours of workers in L.A. so as to eliminate rush hours. The freeways would be cleared further by another plan which would call for an odd/even license plate scheme coupled with the closure of one or more lanes on each freeway for use by emergency and official Olympic vehicles. Officials have also raised the possibility of cordoning off the whole densely populated section of town in the area of the L.A. Coliseum, barring traffic and issuing parking permits to residents. While heavy traffic obviously poses problems for access to the Games, it seems clear that longstanding problems in logistics in "emergency" situations are

Continued on page 11



Hospitality lodges

## Main Event — The Police

A recent *Newsweek* magazine proclaimed that "the main event at next summer's Games will be a two-week long exercise in synchronized policing." How

# War And Remembrance



In the August 5th issue of the *Journal of the American Medical Association* (JAMA), an editorial declares that "With this issue of THE JOURNAL, we commemorate August 6th, 1945, at Hiroshima. . . . Such an issue of JAMA is especially appropriate at this time." And how is Hiroshima "commemorated" in these pages? The editorial promptly refers the reader to the issue's "Commentary," an article by Taro Takemi, M.D., past president of the Japan Medical Association for 25 years and one of the scientists who confirmed at the time that Hiroshima had indeed been destroyed by an A-weapon.

After some personal reminiscences about how he analyzed "soil, metal and bones from the central crater" and showed the data to concerned Japanese government officials, Takemi gets directly to the point: "It was most regrettable that the bomb was used for war. The military had driven Japan to a stage that

if it could not win, it would not surrender. It surely would have lost the war and many people would have starved if the atom bomb had not been dropped. When one considers the possibility that the Japanese military would have sacrificed the entire nation if it were not for the atomic bomb attack, then this bomb might be described as having saved Japan."

"Most regrettable," this business of mass slaughter! But clearly necessary, and all the more credible, flowing, as it does, from the pen of a distinguished doctor. Takemi's historical summation is one up on that of Harry Truman, according to whom the bomb was dropped to "save American lives." The latter reasoning was as fallacious as it was chauvinist: it has been debunked time and again even by bourgeois historians and candid imperialist spokesmen who freely acknowledge that the war was over and surrender by Japan imminent, but

that the bomb had to be tested on *people* and, principally, that the Soviets (and the Chinese) had to be told *who* was going to run Asia (and the world). Yet now, by some perverse extension of the "Truman viewpoint," it is asserted that not only did the bomb "save American lives," but Japanese lives as well.

In this article, however, it is not past history per se which really concerns either the author, the American Medical Association, or America in general. These people are talking about the future. Takemi goes on to remark, "This is what I currently think, although I did think differently at the time of the bomb. It seems to me that the attitude of the Japanese toward the atomic bomb that was dropped on Hiroshima has changed dramatically since that day. I believe that the majority of the Japanese people now agree with my position." Translation: The attitude — and position — of the Japanese imperialist rulers has

dramatically changed since that day. Now they are not confronting the U.S. as the enemy, but allied with the U.S. against another enemy; as part of the Western bloc, they are preparing for war with the Soviet Union. And you can always expect a little "majority opinion" to reinforce that which imperialist necessity dictates.

If the bomb "saved Japan" once, maybe it can do so again! Isn't this what's being said by these medical lackeys, and more, by those to whom they answer? Aren't they saying that people should "live with" the horrors of Hiroshima since it may take a few hundred Hiroshimas to "save Japan" — and the U.S., and Europe, and the whole "free world" — this time around?

This is exactly what they're saying — and they're right! It is exactly such a future promised by imperialism, a future in whose service the American Medical Association "commemorates" Hiroshima. |

## Scientists Reveal: Nukes Are Good For You

The remarks of Dr. Taro Takemi (see accompanying article, this page) the recent issue of the *Journal of the American Medical Association* (JAMA) had to offer are certainly "appropriate" in their own right. But there's more. The reader is also referred to several "scientific studies" featured in the same issue: for instance, one called "Mortality and Cancer Frequency Among Military Nuclear Test (Smoky) Participants, 1957 through 1979." Its distinguished conclusions? Cancer rates for U.S. troops deliberately exposed to the "Smoky" nuclear test in New Mexico in 1957 were no more, and even slightly *lower*, than the average rates for all U.S. males! And supposedly the actual exposure of these troops to radiation during the test has now been discovered to be exceedingly low — i.e., "well within occupational safety limits"! Further, the study glowingly notes that "Deaths in this group of participants illustrated again the decrease in mortality, primarily from circulatory and respiratory tract diseases, found in previous studies of military personnel." Apparently, being nuked is not only *not* detrimental to your health. . . . it's downright good for you!

Interestingly, for this study the medical

records and records of individual soldiers' amount of gamma radiation exposure during the test (as measured by the troops' film badges) were obtained from such sources as the Veterans Administration, the National Personnel Records Center, the FBI, the DOD, etc. As the *RW* reported last year, ("How the U.S. Nuked its Troops and Why," *RW* No. 146, March 12, 1982), it is now common knowledge that many of the "atomic veterans" used as guinea pigs during nuke tests between 1946 and 1962 are dying from the effects. One, an Army medic, exposed how the government kept a set of false records for public and, apparently, scientific consumption on the amounts of radiation exposure while the *actual* exposure levels have been kept top secret to this day. You can imagine the accompanying falsification of medical records by the agencies responsible.

However, that this particular study is more than a case of naive scientists unable to see beyond the confines of their ivory towers is indicated by its comment on an admitted increase in melanoma (skin) type cancers among the participants: "Increased incidence of such cancers, however, has *not* been reported in persons exposed to radiation at Hiro-

shima and Nagasaki in 1945." Please, gentlemen, enough is enough! However, in the interest of evenhandedness, another study *is* included in the JAMA issue "on the other side of the question" in which it is concluded that the recent death of a 53-year-old Hiroshima survivor from acute lymphoblastic leukemia "may have been related to prior carcinogenic exposure." But what's to worry? — he lived 37 years after the blast!

Most pointed of all, though, is the contention of the authors of the troop study that "Although some units had an increased cancer frequency, most were not the field units that generally had higher mean cumulative gamma exposures, because the latter spent more time in the fallout fields on the day of detonation"

— i.e., conducting simulated post-nuclear strike mop-up operations while being evaluated by a battalion of Army psychologists for "attitudinal problems." The message here seems clear enough: whether you are victim, or victorious cannonfodder sent in to secure nuked areas, there's no need to get all worked up about it. Quite an interesting little package, this issue of JAMA. And it is definitely in the finest reactionary traditions of the American Medical Association which, as the issue's editorial notes, is mandated to "prepare appropriate informational materials to educate the physician population and the public on the medical consequences of nuclear war."

### CORRECTION

In *RW* No. 218 (August 19, 1983), in the article "Hunger Strike Hounds Turkish Junta" on page 4, the paragraph in column three should begin: "Since the September 1980 coup thousands of revolutionaries and other political opponents of the regime have been swept into Turkey's prisons. . . ."

# Trouble in the Shuf

At first glance, it looked like the old days. Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Arens, in a surprise visit, met in Beirut with the various Maronite Christian political officials and militia commanders last week. Everywhere, it seemed, he received a royal welcome, conducting a press conference in a large villa overlooking the city, receiving an honor salute from a Christian militia and appearing on Lebanese television. It was reminiscent of last fall, when Ariel Sharon was hailed as a conquering hero in the city's Maronite Christian quarters, when he and other Israeli officials held not-so-discreet "secret meetings" with Phalangist officials aboard a luxury yacht in Beirut harbor. Here they had laid plans for the "new Lebanon" in which the Phalangist-controlled government would "unify" the country in a manner consistent with Israeli — and U.S. — interests.

Things haven't worked out that way, of course. Today, the beleaguered government of Amin Gemayel barely extends its "national authority" over the city and suburbs of Beirut itself. The Syrian influence, which the U.S. and Israel considered a waning, relatively unimportant matter last fall, has come rebounding back with a vengeance. Israel itself, facing growing internal dissatisfaction due to its extended occupation of the country, is preparing for an imminent "redeployment" of its troops. Even the Israeli-Phalange relationship, an alliance grounded in mutual reactionary interest and the cornerstone of the U.S.'s program of "Lebanese national sovereignty" over the past year, has been seriously strained.

Arens' visit, in these circumstances, served a number of purposes. On the one hand, Arens reiterated Israel's intentions to pull back its troops from the Shuf mountain area, the prospects of which have already done much to throw the Gemayel government into disarray. At the same time, Arens repeated the stock Israeli assurances over the move, that the Israelis remain "the strong supporters of the stability of the central government of Lebanon," and have "no intention" of partitioning the country. Adopting a statesman-like pose, Arens counseled the Lebanese "to put greater emphasis on trying to reach a political accommodation between Druse and Christians" so as to defuse the potentially explosive situation facing the Lebanese Army when it goes into the Shuf in the wake of the Israeli withdrawal there. Denying any Israeli responsibility for the fighting in the Shuf between Druse and Phalange militias, Arens concluded, "We (the Israelis) are not really in a position to apply pressure to political organizations or communities in Lebanon."

It is a testimony to Arens' political skills that he was able to convey all this with a straight face. It is a testimony to the essential U.S.-Israeli complicity in this matter that U.S. officials have adopted the same public stance, and the U.S. media has, overwhelmingly, restricted its reportage of the Lebanese situation so as to give the greatest

credence to the Israeli claims. In fact, the Israelis are preparing for an indefinite *de facto* partition of Lebanon, shoring up their position in the south for long-term occupation. In fact, the Israelis are largely responsible for the fighting in the Shuf, an area which they have controlled since they launched their invasion last June. And in fact, the Israelis are scrambling actively to use what control and leverage they still have over various Lebanese "political organizations and communities" to affect the situation there.

Over the past few weeks, as bombardments have intensified all over Lebanon and have rained down on the capital itself, the Israelis have engaged in a complex, modulated brinkmanship vis à vis the Gemayel government. (As have the Syrians for their part.) Arens' visit itself was an extension of this. The Gemayel government has made strenuous efforts over the past period to placate the mounting opposition by stressing its distance from the Israelis. Arens' visit, with its ostentatious display of fence-mending between the Israelis, Phalangist, and other Christian leaders, added fuel to an already active blaze.

Providing a counterweight to the Israeli brinkmanship is the continued U.S. support for Gemayel & Co. Indeed, without the presence of the multinational "peacekeeping" forces and the extensive U.S. military support and training for the fledgling Lebanese Army, Gemayel and his increasingly unhappy cabinet ministers would likely have already bitten the dust. On the surface, then, it would appear that there is a serious divergence between the U.S. and Israel over Lebanon. Although some differences are inevitable, principally the U.S. and Israel are playing different, complementary, roles in a mutually shared strategem. The Israeli brinkmanship is, after all, just that. They are playing a role in pushing the Gemayel government to the brink, but not over it. And they are attempting to strengthen their position with other forces — in particular, sections of the Druse community — in the process. All of this stems from U.S.-Israeli recognition that the situation in Lebanon has changed in important ways since last fall. And the projected role of the Gemayel government has been recast as a result.

## Gemayel Role Recast

Previously, the U.S.-Israeli "political solutions" to the Lebanese situation was mainly weighted towards propping-up the Phalangist-dominated Gemayel government, so as to enable it to gradually extend its central "authority" throughout the greater part of Lebanon. The present scenario, apparently agreed upon by the U.S. and Israelis during the Washington, D.C. visit in late July by Israeli ministers Arens and Shamir, is primarily weighted towards long-term Israeli occupation in the south. Related to this is the possible expansion of the U.S. "peacekeeping force" as well. This shift in emphasis is a product of the Syrian refusal to go along with the Israeli-Lebanese "troop withdrawal" pact mediated by the U.S. in May, and the



The newly fortified Israeli line near the Awali River in Lebanon.

subsequent rapid deterioration of the Gemayel government's position.

The pivot in this tactical shift is the Israeli redeployment itself. It is a two-pronged affair. On the one hand, the Israelis will — by their own announcements — begin very soon in evacuating their troops, step by step, from the Shuf region, an area of almost 240 square miles to the south and southeast of Beirut. At the same time they are simultaneously fortifying and consolidating their position along the Awali River line, which runs 70 miles from the coast inland to the Barukh Mountains, where the Israelis will retain their

Continued on page 12



# Maronites and Masters

Lebanon is well-known for the resiliency and apparent intractability of its sectarian conflict. Yet behind the apparent dynamism of these conflicts and the complexities of Lebanon's internal situation, the hand of imperialism is quite clear. The long-standing role of Western imperialist powers (first the French, now mainly the U.S.) in propping-up the Maronite Christian community as the leading Lebanese political power has ensured the continuing enforcement of backward political and social relations, against which broad sections of Lebanese masses have chafed and rebelled over the years.

Imperialism has conferred this preferential status upon the Maronites not mainly on the basis of "Christian vs. Moslem" factors, but on the strong, long-standing trend among the Maronites to identify, politically and culturally, themselves as being Mediterranean "Europeans." The Phalange, the

political and military organization which has come to prominence within the Maronite community over recent years — thanks in no small part to active Israeli patronage — has taken the Maronite world view to its most acute expression. In Phalangist propaganda, they portray themselves as "protectors" of a European outpost in a largely hostile, "third worldist" Arab environment. This political view, coupled with the Maronite community's relatively privileged position in Lebanese society, helps explain the Maronite role as social base for the most trustworthy and compliant comprador elements in Lebanese political life.

The arrangement is as artificial as it is reactionary. The Maronites constitute a minority of the Lebanese population. This was true in 1943, when the French mandate "created" the modern Lebanese nation-state and established the ground rules for Lebanon's system of political representation. And it has grown

even more the case since, as the Moslem birthrate has outstripped by far that of the Maronites. Imperialism's need to maintain a Lebanese political framework that would justify the continued dominance of this minority sect has ensured the maintenance of semi-feudal relations throughout the country. As Lebanon underwent economic development in the '50s and '60s, as the Moslems grew in number and became more urbanized, the challenges to the status quo grew in size and intensity. When national movements demanding reform threatened this framework — in 1958, and in the civil war of 1975-76 — imperialism intervened militarily. The U.S. Marines invaded in 1958, providing Lebanon with its first modern "peacekeeping" force. And Syria, at the time currying favor with the U.S., and receiving U.S.-Israeli support, played a similar role in 1976 — rescuing the government and "restoring the rites" at a time when an alliance bet-

ween Lebanese progressives and reformists, and the PLO, had gained control over about 80% of Lebanon.

The particularities of the Lebanese situation have long been of special interest to the Israelis. David Ben-Gurion, Israel's "founding father" wrote in 1948: "The Achilles' heel of the Arab coalition is Lebanon. Moslem supremacy in this country is artificial and can easily be overthrown. A Christian State ought to be set up there, with its southern frontier on the River Litani. We would sign a treaty of alliance with this state." And the Israelis have taken an active role, especially since the mid-'70s, in Lebanese affairs. Mainly they cultivated ties with the Phalange, but have sought to gain influence amongst Lebanon's Druse and Shi'ite populations as well. In the period before last year's invasion, Israel made a particular effort to encourage Shi'ite antagonisms against the Palestinian

Continued on page 12

"You Are Poison!"

# The Travels of an East German Pacifist

To the RW:

What follows are excerpts I have translated from two articles written by an East German anti-war activist, Roland Jahn. He was part of a wave of activists expelled from that country this last spring, as the state tried to squelch an insolent new current of opposition that had arisen quite broadly in that country. There are reports of organizations and demonstrations erupting in almost every major city over the last three years, independent of the official/revisionist so-called "peace organizations," and often independent of the largely pro-western institutions such as the Lutheran Church.

The full account, written in Jahn's own words, appeared in two issues of the West German magazine, *Der Spiegel*, in issues No. 25 and 26 this summer, and while they certainly had their own reasons for printing this story, it contains much that is revealing. After selecting the most relevant parts, I have added some comments to link the various pieces together, and also to make political points of my own. (Jahn's comments appear in italics. Our correspondent's remarks appear in regular type — ed.)

Roland Jahn is not consciously revolutionary; he describes himself both as a pacifist and a socialist, and painstakingly portrays some of his own illusions about the system he grew up under. Nowhere in his writing do you get the feeling that he has encountered genuinely revolutionary Marxist-Leninist thinking, and this gap comes out quite starkly in a number of places such as when he joins the revisionists themselves in including Joseph Stalin among the ranks of "villains-of-our-time."

But what his report does bring to life is a great deal about the tensions and conditions in the Eastern bloc, about the way that there too the contradictions of global collision are bringing new and irrepressible resistance into being. And it shows how, even under the confusing and demoralizing conditions of living in an imperialist country that insists it is socialist and Marxist-Leninist, rebellion sprouts and forces a road forward for itself.

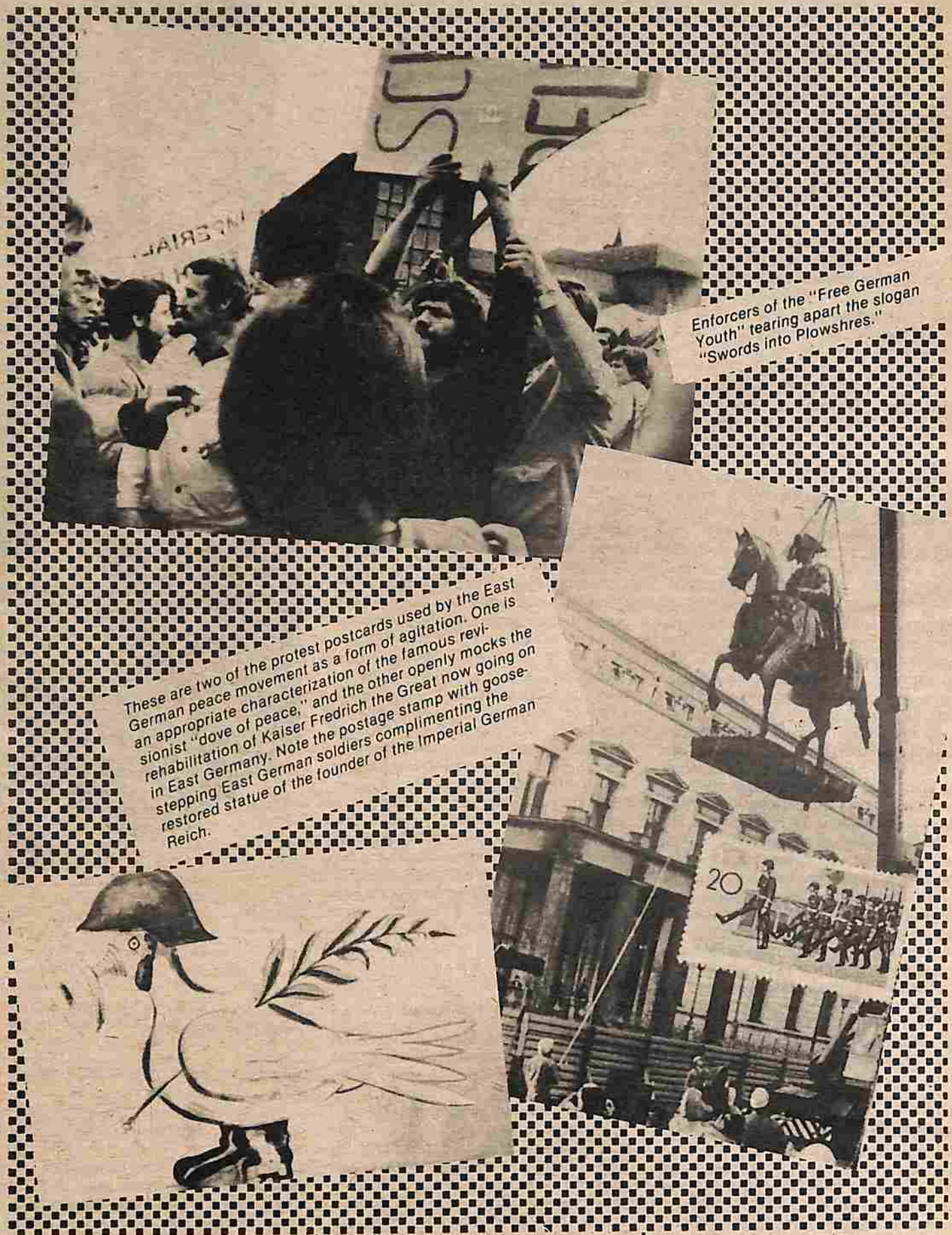
Jahn's account begins as follows:

*It would have been hard for the DDR to have picked a more inopportune time to throw me out of the country. After the first dust of my arrival in the West had settled, it quickly became clear to me what the reason for the strong interest in my case was: I had arrived precisely in time for the 17th of June — that star witness to the inhumanity of the DDR regime. To have played into that would have been a little too simple to suit me.*

*I am no opponent of the system. View me today, as before, as a socialist, even though there is a lot in the "real existing socialism" of the DDR which I am in opposition to.*

*On this point, there are several people in the Federal Republic who have an obvious misunderstanding. For them, it would have been wonderful if I had ar-*

1. DDR is the official designation of East Germany. It is the initials (in German) of German Democratic Republic. The Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) refers to West Germany. The 17th of June is the anniversary of the uprising against the solidifying East German republic and against Soviet troops that took place in East Berlin on June 17, 1953. For the last three decades it has emerged as an orgy day for anti-communism in West Germany, a day on which official forces pledge themselves to war hysteria and the chauvinist cause of "freeing the eastern part of Germany from the clutches of the Russians." It is widely hated by progressive people as a symbol of reaction, of imperialist war preparations, and it is famous for its combination of know-nothing fanfare and the oh-so-intellectual musings of reactionary West Germany professional "thinkers."



These are two of the protest postcards used by the East German peace movement as a form of agitation. One is an appropriate characterization of the famous revisionist "dove of peace," and the other openly mocks the rehabilitation of Kaiser Friedrich the Great now going on in East Germany. Note the postage stamp with goose-stepping East German soldiers complimenting the restored statue of the founder of the Imperial German Reich.

Enforcers of the "Free German Youth" tearing apart the slogan "Swords into Plowshares."

*rived denouncing the SS-20's from hell to heaven, without criticizing the NATO arms buildup.*

*You quickly get the sense that you are being used, and are being penned in to serve all kinds of different interests...*

*As "expulsee" you have to pay attention not to end up on somebody's string. It was also not all that easy to explain why I didn't want a West German passport, and that I want to return to that country that had shoved me out in such a shabby way...*

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*June 7 in East Germany, a Tuesday, was a beautiful summer day. With a couple of girls I was bumming around the mall in Jena. We were eating ice cream; and I felt as happy as a stuffed sow.*

*At quarter to six I had an appointment at the city hall to answer some apartment questionnaires — since I wanted to move into the apartment of my friend Peter Kahler which he left behind when he left for the West. The place was larger and prettier than mine, and was in a much better location.*

*As it turned out, however, I was quickly directed from the Housing Office to the Interior Department, where waiting for me was a certain Freund Bock, the official responsible for exit permission. "Here, sir," he greeted me, "is the document for the dissolution of your citizenship in the DDR, please accept this and*

*sign it."*  
*"Take a hike," I answered, since he knew as well as I did that I live in Jena and want to stay there.*

*Suddenly, out of nowhere two other employees of the state security forces jumped me. "You have the opportunity to get some personal belongings for your trip," Bock informed me in a flat business-like tone — as, in some kind of police grip, I was hustled out the back entrance.*

*There to greet me was a whole welcoming committee; two autos from the Stasi,<sup>2</sup> a squad car full of uniforms, and an Interior Ministry car. Quite a state extravaganza for one little enemy-lette of the people.*

*Bock and a colleague sat on either side of me, and we drove to my place on Kaihe Kollwitz Street.<sup>3</sup> As we were passing through the entrance they let me out of their view for a couple of seconds — "It's now or never!" I thought to myself and sprinted off.*

*It was about 50 meters to the apartment of a female friend of mine, and that's where I headed on my mad dash down Lenin Street, with a flock of men — four in uniform and the rest in civvies — not far behind. In the front, obviously the most excited of all, was this Bock, since*

2. STASI is short for state security forces.  
 3. The irony here is that Kaihe Kollwitz is a famous German left-pacifist who is officially lionized by the East German state.

*he, most likely, had the most to lose if I managed to split.*

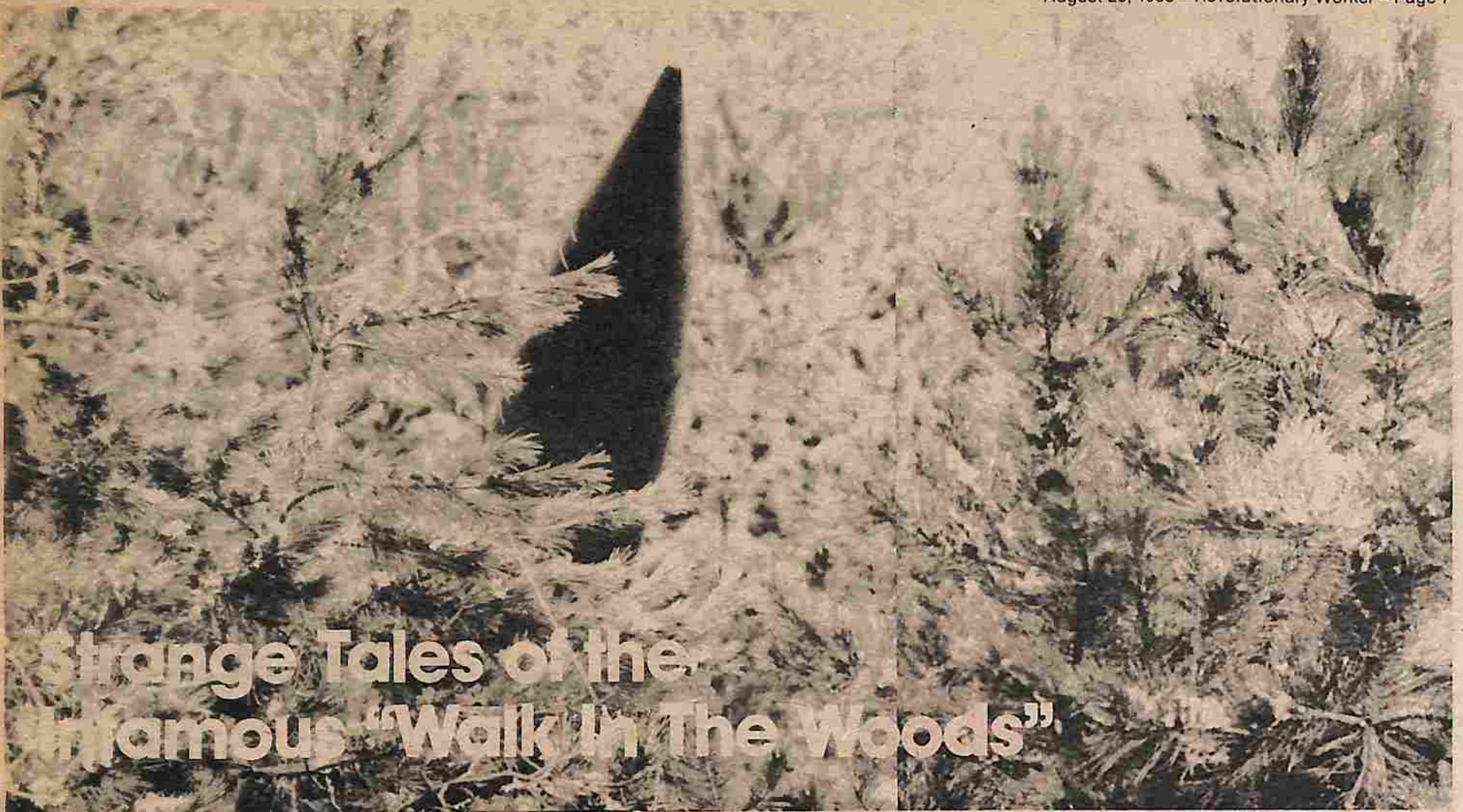
*I raced up to the top floor and hid in the apartment of my acquaintance. My pursuers thought, at first, I had simply gone to the roof, and plodded all the way to the top. After a couple of minutes it dawned on them that I had to be in the apartment, and soon so were they...*

*Like I was a violent criminal, they led me out of the house onto Lenin Street, where the cars were. Outside was a horde of children playing — it was about seven o'clock. About 20 or 30 people were standing around just staring at me, and I was starting to get painfully embarrassed. "No, no — it's not what you think," I yelled at them, "I didn't kill anybody — I just refuse to go to the West."*

*The trip to Probstzella in convoy was probably the worst. It really had been a beautiful day, the countryside stretched off into the distance with an incredible air of peacefulness. You find yourself in a situation that you just can't bring yourself to believe. Twenty-nine years I had lived in the same place, had both endured the shit and dished some out — but that you suddenly are forced to leave, completely unprepared — at that moment you just don't grasp it. I remember the words of one of my Stasi interrogators, who had knocked me on the head: "You are poison!"*

*I still didn't really believe that this*

Continued on page 15



## Strange Tales of the Infamous "Walk in the Woods"

In West Germany recently, the media has prominently featured a plan on the U.S. Euromissiles which has been informally assigned a tantalizing name in the world's press: the "walk in the woods proposal." The proposal, which has been kept alive for some time, in low profile, rests on a trade-off between a U.S. agreement to deploy only Tomahawk cruise missiles in Europe and forego the Pershing II ballistic weapons, in return for Soviet reductions in the SS-20 force and most important politically, the dropping by the Soviets of their insistence that French and British missiles be counted in any agreement. The name derives from a controversial incident at the Geneva talks (on Intermediate Range Forces) where then-U.S. negotiator Paul Nitze and the Soviet representative Yuli Kvitsinsky actually took a stroll in a nearby woods and informally agreed on the compromise, only to return home and have the proposal gently but firmly rejected in both capitals.

Nitze's boss, then director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Rostow, was later fired for, among other things, his involvement with the "walk in the woods." There apparently was some disagreement in the U.S. over just how, and when, and what backdoor channels to use to check out this proposal. Since Rostow's firing, the proposal has been kept alive in Europe, and in some circles in the U.S.

The story of the "walk in the woods" is, in short, a strange tale, especially in its current incarnation, as the rhetoric between the U.S. and Soviets is increasingly strident, with an eyeball-to-eyeball confrontation over the missiles plainly in the offing, and as the capper to it, new disclosures also in Germany that the U.S. may be putting *more* emphasis on the Pershing II's than previously thought (or perhaps even desired in some quarters) and is hardly thinking about ditching the weapon! It is a tale with some instructive lessons on how imperialist powers use disarmament talks to their advantage, and what politically the U.S. and Soviets hope to gain in the developing confrontation.

The recent popularity of the "walk in the woods" was kicked off by West German Foreign Minister Genscher who made headlines with his announcement to the press that "The closer we come to the resumption of the talks between the United States and the Soviet Union after the summer recess, it will be all the more useful to think along the lines of the agreement worked out in that walk in the woods. On that occasion, at least the two negotiators considered it possible to achieve an acceptable solution."

The proposal has received mention in this country in *Time* magazine and the *NY Times* recently, and the Soviets have said they would "discuss" the plan. In Europe the Pershing IIs have always been looked at with misgivings by some in-

fluential strategists who point out that the weapon is not significantly more mobile than the Pershing I, and thus an easy target for Soviet missiles. Its military advantage is as a fast and accurate first-strike weapon, which in turn has made the weapon harder to defend against the anti-missile opposition. The U.S. bloc can accomplish its military purposes using alternate weapons, and accomplish its political purposes with the cruise missile deployments, so goes this line of talk.

However, all of this misses the point that the Pershing IIs, with the capacity to hit Soviet territory in eight minutes (compared to much longer times for the non-ballistic cruise weapons), is precisely the kind of highly-visible and effective weaponry which the U.S. bloc needs as part of the deployment. And there is mounting evidence that the Reagan administration more than ever considers the Pershings a crucial component in its nuclear arsenal. An article in the current issue of the *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists* quotes Maj. General Niles J. Fulwyler, director of the Nuclear Chemical Directorate within the Army, who said that the Pershing II "gives us the capability to strike a number of critical targets in the Western Military District of the Soviet Union which we could not do before." The *Bulletin* article also revealed that the U.S. Army intended to buy over 380 Pershing IIs, rather than the announced 108, and put the extra missiles in storage in West Germany, where they could be used as reloads when the initial 108 were fired. After these plans were revealed in the West German press, there was an immediate reaction in Germany, and after meeting with Kohl, the U.S. claimed it would not deploy reloads. We shall see. On top of that, last year it was announced that the army has all along been developing another Pershing missile, with a shorter range than the Pershing II, in case the Pershing II deployment should be stopped by negotiations, or in case a decision is made at some point to modernize the Pershing force.

What's more, the atmosphere right now is not exactly one of softening the war talk — quite the opposite! Despite the Soviet signs that it would "discuss" the "walk in the woods" (and it could not do otherwise right now), and also Soviet probings for the possibility of delaying deployment (as well as talk of a U.S.-Soviet summit), overwhelmingly, the Soviet bloc's tone and position has been aggressive and unmoving. On August 24, for example, East German head of state Erich Honecker repeated to Egon Bahr, a West German Social-Democrat that the Warsaw Pact would take "inevitable countermeasures" if the West went through with deployment, and that this would include cruise missiles. Two days earlier, Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu issued a "disarmament appeal" to both Washington and Moscow which revealed that East Ger-

many and Czechoslovakia would be the site of these new weapons. Whether or not all these statements turn out to be accurate in their details, one thing is clear: the Pact countries are clearly baring their teeth! The consistent reference to the Cuban Missile Crisis by both imperialist powers is another constant reminder of the deadly game of nuclear chicken being played out on the Euromissile issue; but it is not 1961 any more and neither power can afford to back off very much.

*Time* all but gives the game away in its August 22 issue: "A firm Soviet rejection of a formal American walk-in-the-woods proposal would be bad news for the negotiations but might help bolster support for the deployment." A "firm rejection" of a proposal which has so much appeal among certain sections of European bourgeoisies — on both the removal of the Pershing IIs, and the resolution of the British and French missile issue — would undeniably put a crimp in the Soviet's pose as the champion of peaceful and defensive interests, and as a "co-European power." It seems that *this* is what the U.S. bloc has up its sleeve.

The West German Foreign Ministry comes at it from a slightly different angle, though the point is the same. It insisted that Genscher's words were *not* aimed at finding a way to avoid missile deployment, God forbid, but at putting pressure on the Soviets to drop its demands on British and French missiles. "There is no discussion at present of renouncing elements of the dual-track discussion such as the mix of weapons to be deployed," explained the Ministry. Of course, by calling for only half the deal to go through, the enemy's half, the Ministry is hardly floating a serious proposal.

The West is, it seems, increasingly confident that the Soviets would have to reject a walk-in-the-woods proposal, and with good reason. The Soviets have made a dividing-line out of the demand for inclusion of British and French missiles in any deal — precisely the demand that would be dropped in the "walk" plan — because it is highly important in their political strategy. The Soviets have not been anywhere near as insistent on other possible demands of similar character, such as the inclusion of nukes on U.S. subs in European waters (many of the French and British missiles are on submarines) precisely because their aim is neither negotiating missiles away nor merely sabotaging negotiations in general — they want to put the greatest possible stress on the internal contradictions in NATO. By insisting on the inclusion of the "European-owned" weapons, the Soviets are acting to force to the fore, and place right along side the Soviet SS-20s, and U.S. Pershing IIs, the concrete military preparations for nuclear war being made by the British and French. This would expose and focus mass attention on the drive of these powers in their own

right and as partners in the NATO alliance for a revision of the world through war. The British and French, of course, have tried to mask all this under the guise of nukes solely for a last resort, national defense, with the U.S. bearing the onus for going up against the Soviets in a hardline way, and the U.S. plays the ogre in deployment. This kind of division of labor within the alliance is precisely what NATO is trying to raise to a higher level through Euromissile deployment, and it has not been willing to let the Soviets tear it up by dragging "Europe's own" missiles to the negotiating table.

There are also military reasons why the NATO countries want to keep their nukes off the negotiating table — both the British and French are busily implementing plans for the upgrading of their nukes with new-generation, more accurate weaponry which will, in fact, integrate their forces *more* closely with those of the U.S. All in all, it doesn't seem likely that the Soviets will want to let the European-owned weapons off the hook.

Presented with a formal "walk" proposal, then, they find themselves sitting between two stools, either rejecting a seemingly "reasonable compromise," or accepting a plan which considerably blunts the political impact of their strategy as regards Europe. In the main, then, the U.S. bloc seems to be in a position to gain politically by floating yet another plan which has a good probability of being rejected. Indeed, to some extent, the "floating" has already been accomplished by the West Germans, and the plan remains an option when the talks reopen.

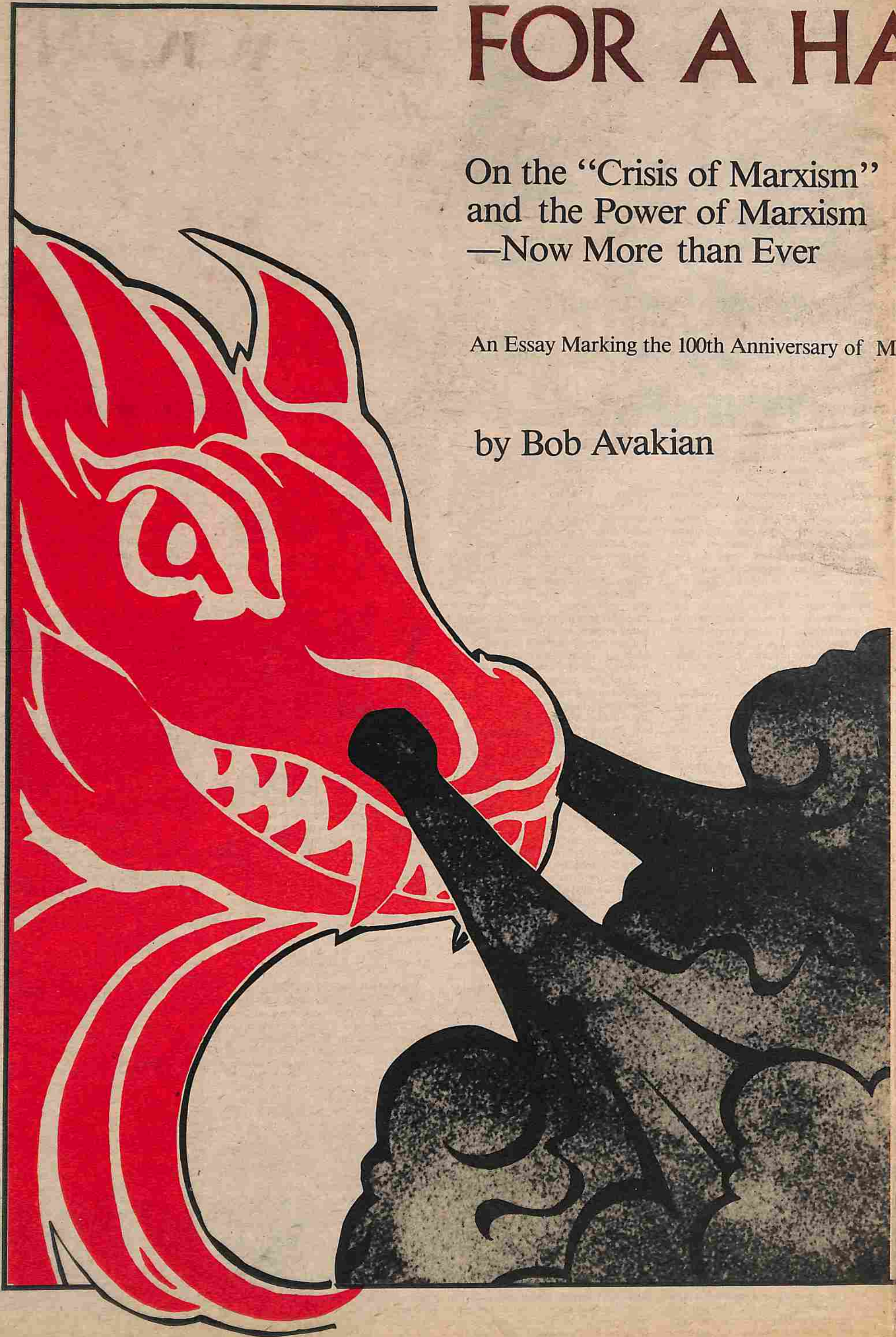
The fancy-stepping around the "walk" proposal is typical of the kind of maneuvering which will accelerate during the hot autumn in Europe when governments on all sides will be working on many levels, through deployment itself, formal negotiations, and a multitude of backdoor diplomatic channels, with the bottom line being a driving necessity for the U.S. bloc to tighten its forces and demonstrate its "will" by carrying through deployment using whatever force is necessary against the masses and for the Soviets to squeeze all possible political gains out of the crisis in Europe and show its own "will" to stand up to the West as an equal opportunity oppressor. It is of course possible that in this intense wash of events, circumstances might force either or both imperialists to *seriously* consider a proposal such as the "walk in the woods," and perhaps that is one more reason why the proposal has been kept alive. But even in that case, both powers would use an agreement to *further* their own mad preparation for world war, and in any case, no decade of detente will follow this time as push comes to shove.

# FOR A HA

On the “Crisis of Marxism”  
and the Power of Marxism  
—Now More than Ever

An Essay Marking the 100th Anniversary of M

by Bob Avakian





# HARVEST OF DRAGONS

“We, in our turn, must also understand the specific features and tasks of the new era. Let us not imitate those sorry Marxists of whom Marx said: ‘I have sown dragon’s teeth and harvested fleas.’ ”

V.I. Lenin

## Marx's Death

*Selected quotes from the essay:*

“Marxism not only has adherents in all parts of the world but is in fact the most widely proclaimed ideology in the world as a whole, even while it is perhaps today the most misunderstood and distorted — by many of its apparent upholders as well as its deadly enemies, by those who seek to be its executioners and by those who would act as its High Priests. Though in many respects backhanded, even perverse, all this is nonetheless a testimony to the power of Marxism, indeed to its invincibility....”

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“... Mao Tsetung Thought represents a qualitative development of Marxism-Leninism. Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, then, is an integral philosophy and political theory at the same time as it is a living, critical and continuously developing science. It is not the quantitative addition of the ideas of Marx, Lenin and Mao (nor is it the case that every particular idea or policy or tactic adopted or advocated by them has been without error); Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought is a synthesis of the development, and especially the qualitative breakthroughs, that communist theory has achieved since its founding by Marx, up to the present time. It is for this reason and in this sense that, as Lenin said about Marxism, it is omnipotent because it is true.”

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“Above all what remains constant [in Soviet revisionism] is the insistence that the Soviet bloc (the ‘world socialist system’) has become the decisive factor in the world arena and the determining force in world history, upon which everything depends, and together with this the notion of what kind of world this is bringing into being — the ‘communist’ world of bourgeois relations, remaining bourgeois but reorganized under the centralized control and regulated by the computerized planning of philistine

technocrat-accountant imperialists....

“Although it is possible to extract much more exposure of Soviet social-imperialism from this book, it is fitting to finish with it by briefly examining the Soviet revisionist view of morality. ‘Communist morality,’ according to Sheptulin, ‘besides the principles of collectivism and comradeship already mentioned,’ includes ‘loyalty to the cause of communism; affection for the socialist motherland, honest labor for the sake of society; protection and accumulation of socialist wealth; awareness of social duty and intolerance of infringements on social interests; humane relations and mutual respect; honesty and truthfulness, simplicity and modesty in public and private life; mutual respect in the family and concern for the upbringing of children; intolerance of national and racial hostility; irreconcilable attitude towards enemies of communism, of peace and the freedom of nations; fraternal solidarity with the working people of all countries, with all nations of the world.’ Here the Soviet revisionists have made quite an achievement: they have managed not only to reveal the fundamental unity of their outlook and values with those of the openly bourgeois leaders in the world, but they have managed to combine the cherished bromides of both bourgeois liberalism and bourgeois right-wing fundamentalism — only adding a ‘socialist’ here and a ‘communist’ there.”

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“Partly out of revulsion at Soviet revisionism (combined with the lack of scientific understanding of it), partly out of class (generally petty-bourgeois) bias, there has developed among some radical circles a trend toward a ‘return’ to the ‘young Marx.’ This has been a phenomenon especially in the imperialist countries over the past several decades and has been associated to one degree or another with existentialist trends. One work in particular is generally singled out

as the expression of the ‘young Marx,’ *The Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*. The ‘young Marx’ that is revealed there is a Marx that is still in many ways an idealist — or, better said, a Marx in motion from idealism to materialism but not having fully ruptured with the former. It is Marx as a humanist, and it reveals how humanism, even of the most radical, ‘communist’ variety, is idealism.”

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“If, in part, then, the crisis of the Marxist movement in the West (the Western imperialist countries) is a reflection of the shifting of the focal point of the world revolutionary movement from West to East — which was accelerated after World War 2 — it is also a reflection of the fact that there has not been a corresponding ideological development within the Marxist movement in these imperialist countries. That is, the Marxists there (again, broadly speaking, to include all the self-proclaimed Marxists) have refused to recognize this shift and/or they have drawn backward and chauvinist conclusions from the objective fact of this shift and its consequences, attempting to develop a ‘Western Marxism’ more acceptable to the bourgeoisified workers and petty-bourgeois strata on whom they base themselves, more suitable to the Western capitalist countries and their ‘democratic traditions,’ than what they regard as the deformed, authoritarian, peasant-influenced Marxism that began with Lenin and developed further with

Mao. But unless and until precisely this Marxism is applied (in its basic principles and methodology) in the Western imperialist countries, there will be no prospects for socialist revolution there even if and even when the objective conditions for it appear.”

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“In the final analysis, as Engels once expressed it, the proletariat must win its emancipation on the battlefield. But there is not only the question of winning in this sense but of how we win in the largest sense. One of the significant if perhaps subtle and often little-noticed ways in which the enemy, even in defeat, seeks to exact revenge on the revolution and sow the seed of its future undoing is in what he would force the revolutionaries to become in order to defeat him. It will come to this: we will have to face him in the trenches and defeat him amidst terrible destruction but we must not in the process annihilate the fundamental difference between the enemy and ourselves. Here the example of Marx is illuminating: he repeatedly fought at close quarters with the ideologists and apologists of the bourgeoisie but he never fought them on their terms or with their outlook; with Marx his method is as exhilarating as his goal is inspiring. We must be able to maintain our firmness of principles but at the same time our flexibility, our materialism and our dialectics, our realism and our romanticism, our solemn sense of purpose and our sense of humor.”

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We regret that this book is now available only in English; the Spanish edition is in the early stages of preparation. Due to the time consuming process of translating, and the lack of forces presently available, major publications — urgent and necessary for the political and theoretical arming of the class conscious forces today — have been unnecessarily delayed. Other projects — some recently published, some soon to be — cry out to be translated. Many hands are needed. If you can contribute to translation work contact a local representative of the RCP or when possible write directly to RCP Publications.

# We Don't Want In, We Want Out! To Hell With Your Imperialist System!

Following is the text of a leaflet distributed by the RCP at the August 27th March on Washington:

On August 27, 1983, thousands will gather in Washington, D.C. to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the 1963 march on Washington, which Malcolm X once aptly referred to as a circus led by clowns.

That "truly historic event" was nothing more than a desperate attempt on the part of the U.S. ruling class, in league with various "respectable Black leaders," to channel the growing protest and rebellion of the Black masses onto "acceptable" avenues. It has been well-exposed how Kennedy, fearing that the march would be a real mass outpouring, summoned Wilkins, Randolph, King and other Black bourgeois leaders to the White House for coffee and put them at the head of the march.

Tens of thousands gathered at the Lincoln Memorial to hear Martin Luther King wax eloquent about his "lofty" dream, a dream that was nothing more than the tired old begging of the house slave to be able to rise to the "majestic heights" of sitting down at the "massa's" table and eating. If the strategic goals of King and the other clowns who were leaders of the circus that day in Washington weren't clear enough, King made those goals clear in a book that he wrote a few years later: "The American racial revolution has been a revolution to get in rather than to overthrow. We want a share in the American economy, the housing market, the educa-

tional system and the social opportunities. This goal itself indicates that a social change in America must be non-violent. If one is in search of a better job, it does not help to burn down the factory. If one needs more adequate education, shooting the principal will not help. If housing is the goal only building and construction will produce that end. To destroy anything, person or property, cannot bring us closer to the goals that we seek."

While the situation in this country and in the world is not in an upsurge as it was in the '60s, the imperialist system worldwide is engulfed in a profound and deepening crisis, which the imperialists can only resolve through a war between the U.S. and Soviet-led imperialist blocs to redivide the world. The situation in the world is rapidly approaching a world-historic conjuncture when all the major contradictions of the imperialist system reach the point of explosion, and when the possibilities for revolutionary advance throughout the world, including in the U.S., will be greatly heightened. It is exactly in this context that the U.S. ruling class needs to rally a social base to fight and to die to make America No. 1 again. And the Black bourgeoisie still can't turn down the coffee. Those civil rights leaders — fools who aspire to be big-time pimps — want to bargain their influence over a section of Black masses to get a "fair share" of U.S. imperialism's spoils from the world.

The aims of the 1983 march on Washington are no less sinister than the 1963 march, and the stakes are higher all

around these days. The Black bourgeois leaders of the march and other forces that they are united with are putting forward as the program for the '80s "getting into and becoming *somebody* within the system." So through marching on Washington, voter registration drives, the election of Black mayors and maybe even a Black presidential candidate, they hope to convince a section of the Black masses and others that the ballot and working within the system are the only realistic solutions. They hope to use the Black masses as political capital in the achievement of their goals. *This* is realism for the Black masses? Don't make us laugh. The Black masses, who have fought to get the right to vote, must now have the political sophistication and awareness not to exercise it!

There are those who "want in" the imperialist system; the 1983 commemorative march on Washington and the criminal program it represents is tailor-made for them. But for those who want out, who want a future where *nobody*, the world over, suffers under this barbarous and outmoded system, there is another way. Not the road of class collaboration and the shameless promotion of imperialist politics, but the revolutionary way forward. There is a party — the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA — which is actively preparing, not just talking, to lead those who have no stake in this rotten imperialist system, representing the great majority, here and around the world, in forging the revolutionary way forward. Some will sneer with self-serving, cynical realism:

"People have tried that revolution shit before and it doesn't work — it's not *realistic*; the workers are too ignorant and bought off and corrupted." But there is a section of people, even in the belly of the beast, concentrated in large numbers in the lowest sections of the proletariat — those from all nationalities who really do have nothing to lose and whose interests lie in abolishing all oppression from the face of the earth. And their action can play a powerful role in igniting and inspiring broader sections of the working class and the people as a whole, especially when the contradictions of the imperialist system reach a point of explosion on a world scale and the conditions ripen to the point where, even possibly in this country, the criticism of words can be replaced with the criticism of weapons. What's so unrealistic about that?!

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# Securing Territory

Continued from page 3



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being worked out here.

Preparations for surveillance — as much as they are known — are astounding. There is Best's comment to the *L.A. Times* that "the presence of the ocean bordering on the city and the resulting wide-open maritime environment presents some interesting challenges from a security standpoint." To meet the challenge, some \$2.62 million dollars is being allocated for *Coast Guard* operations during the Games: the picture given here is one hell of a "terrorist incident!" Aside from the plans to thwart an amphibious landing, there are the previously mentioned dozen surveillance helicopters, as well as plans for Migra operations as far south as San Diego. And then there are the ticket arrangements. Tickets are on sale now, but spectators will not receive them until a few weeks before the Games, while Olympics authorities feed into their computers the name of every ticket-holder, their Social Security number and mother's maiden name, and assign them transportation arrangements!

As for political protest directly, L.A. city officials have floated the possibility of requiring permits for every demonstration, regardless of size or location. Considering the extent of Olympics surveillance and policing operations generally, the pre-filing of information necessary for such permits virtually guarantees constant pressure — at least — on any mass political actions.

All this is certainly just a hint of the actual extent of surveillance and reconnaissance (there have been suggestions, for example, that the LAPD is tightening its control on gangs for a period leading up to the Olympics; this control could be of immense help during any "pacification" during the Games).

Finally there is the question of coordination, of "synchronizing" the policing, as *Newsweek* put it. The Games will be held in venues stretching over an area roughly the size of Massachusetts, in twenty-two separate sites. Altogether over 300 government agencies will be coordinated as some part of the security apparatus, involving the agencies already mentioned and including bureaucracies from Customs to the Weather Bureau. Although this situation has caused tremendous headaches, not to mention bitter political infighting, it is an opportunity to take steps to surmount these problems. In the words of *Newsweek* the spread-out character of the Games has "served to make the job more attractive to the competing agencies."

That the bourgeoisie on the highest levels has consciously taken L.A. as a ground for hammering out the restructuring and coordination of the various competing interests involved in the police apparatus is further indicated in a recent study published by the Hoover Institution, a think-tank with close ties to the administration. In the study, *Terrorism*, by Robert Kupperman and Darrel Trent, "jurisdictional" tensions are discussed, using L.A. as a typical case and point of concentration for working things out.

(Naturally, the question arises, couldn't some of these problems of coordination have been avoided by arranging the Olympic venues in a more centralized manner? A major obstacle has been cost: the price-tag for modern Olympics facilities including stadium and Olympic Village has been in the billions in recent years; Montreal is still bowed under a \$1.5 billion debt incurred in 1976. By comparison, the entire L.A. city budget is

about \$1.5 billion. Another suggestion had been to build some new facilities using the existing L.A. Coliseum as a core, but this would amount to a major intrusion into the neighborhoods surrounding the Coliseum which are nearly half Black, and another third immigrant Mexicans, and in which many proletarians will not be too taken with the flag-waving imperialist spectacle. The Olympic planners appear to be stuck with their synchronization problems.)

Taken together, the drastic steps envisioned in the areas of logistical planning, surveillance, and coordination amount to a significant streamlining and all-around preparation of the bourgeoisie's tools of repression for use in the coming years, for purposes right up to counterinsurgency.

## Political migraines

The preparation of a siege-like atmosphere for the Games, much as it is necessary and even useful for the bourgeoisie, also presents the Americans with a stark political dilemma. Yes, there are those like Bruce Jenner, who unabashedly apologize for the security scene. "In Montreal," Jenner declared on TV, "I was very unsettled by it at first...we had freeways blocked off, helicopters everywhere; we got to the Village — there was machine-gun nests set up, there were men with automatic rifles everywhere.... But after a few days I didn't notice it."

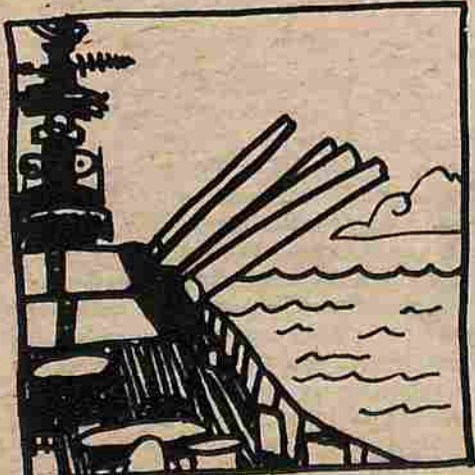
However, contrary to this simple-minded Americanism, life is not so simple, and in L.A., 10,000 or so media people are sure to "notice it," which presents a political problem. L.A. Mayor Tom Bradley, for example, told the *LA Times* in 1977 that "we guarantee without any reservations freedom of movement of all athletes, officials, and international



Scenic overlooks

visitors." The *Times* pointedly added: "The mayor of a free city in a democratic country could promise no less." What these gentlemen are saying is that the whole chauvinist point of the LAOOC is to showcase the American Way of Life, and in particular to contrast it to the four-years-ago Moscow Games which *Newsweek* once described as "awesomely efficient, but somehow joyless." It will be a formidable political problem if in L.A. "men with automatic rifles are everywhere." But at the moment there would appear to be no way out of it for the bourgeoisie — this will no doubt continue to give political migraines. So far the press has uncomfortably tried to make the best of it, picturing the U.S. "overcoming all odds" for the safety of the Games, and so on, but the automatic rifles will be there and necessarily they will be advertised widely in advance, for the alternatives for the bourgeoisie are worse.

The growth of the Olympics security monster has also greatly exacerbated the infighting in ruling circles concerning the



Maritime exhibits

# Olympic Rape

Considering the staggering dimensions of the Olympic security operations, it would seem that street crime must be well-covered by the authorities. That's the way it would seem, but in fact there is one activity that is apparently a non-crime, just not worth the hassle. And that is rape.

An increase in rape assaults is something of a phenomenon in recent Olympics. According to the Director of the Los Angeles Commission on Assaults Against Women, during the 1972 Munich Games, reported rape increased 12.5%, and according to a rape hot-line in the city, the actual figure was more like a 25% increase. With an incidence of rape normally far higher in the U.S. than in Europe, many people fully expect these attacks against women to be even greater in L.A. in 1984, and one California State Senator proposed a bill to set up 15 rape centers in L.A. during the Games.

However, LAOOC officials privately lobbied against the bill, since, said these gentlemen, it would give the Soviets propaganda ammunition to criticize the

United States and the L.A. Games. The Senate killed the bill — no rape centers for L.A.

Thus another hole has been ripped in the tattered banner of the Olympic "true ideal...the brotherhood of man." So far the U.S. has made it quite plain that this "brotherhood" must give way to cut-throat competition based on the most raw nationalism. Now, from another angle, we see that "brotherhood" means what it says — women beware! If during this imperialist circus, some of the 500,000 or so sports enthusiasts get a little out of hand, and engage in the most American "sport" of all, well, boys will be boys! If the Committee were to set up rape centers, why that would be embarrassing — we take it; 17,000 troops with automatic weapons guarding the Games aren't embarrassing, or if they are, they are worth the political cost. As for rape, clearly, that's another, minor, matter. Even, we may add, a most appropriate addition to the Games which is, after all, supposed to show the world the American Way of Life. □

LAPD, the background of which is familiar to *RW* readers. This infighting has, at least in appearance, taken the form of bitter jurisdictional struggles between the LAPD and local police agencies generally, on one side, and the FBI and some other federal agencies on the other. In December 1982, FBI head William Webster gave an exclusive interview to the *LA Times* in which he flatly stated that the FBI would have the lead role in any action against terrorist incidents. Although the LAPD and County Sheriffs strenuously objected to this, Webster dropped another little bombshell in July when he announced the creation of a special new FBI SWAT team created for the Games, to deal with "well-armed and well-trained terrorists." This was a direct usurping of the LAPD's own touted SWAT team. All along, both the FBI and Secret Service, along with other federal agencies, have hammered away in print at the fragmented nature of the local agencies and pushed for a single "security czar," which would naturally come under their control.

The LAPD, vocally led by Chief Gates, has stood fast against, as the Chief puts it, the seizing of "bureaucratic turf" by the FBI, and has continued to act as if it had the "lead role." Gates has made two trips abroad for consultations concerning Olympics security, one to Munich and Bonn, West Germany where he made contact with the elite GSG-9 political police unit. He also travelled to Tokyo, Bangkok, and New Delhi recently, accompanied on this trip by two State Department personnel. The *LA Times* has recently revealed even more on the furious pace of these international consultations on repression, disclosing that top LAPD Olympic planner William Rathburn had toured Israel, Great Britain, and France, and that the head of a top independent Israeli police consulting firm, Shaul Rosolio, had recently been in L.A. for "consultations" with local police and Olympics officials.

We have also been treated to the incredible spectacle of the LAPD shamelessly utilizing the debate concerning the "democratic image" of the Olympics show, by championing the cause of "local democracy"! In 1977, Chief Ed Davis stated, presumably with a straight face, that the use of the military during the Games "appalls me...people don't want soldiers with bayonets running around during the Olympic event where there might be terrorists. They want their own police department."

At the moment an unstable compromise has been reached. There is no single "security czar"; FBI-man Best has been named security director, but overall policy planning is made by a five-man Olympic Law Enforcement Coordinating Committee, composed of LAOOC president Uberroth, Chief Gates, the L.A. Sheriff, the Long Beach police chief, and a top federal security official. Within this arrangement, the infighting continues. In the all-important sub-groups — the

Security Planning and the Intelligence Committees — the chairmanship is supposed to rotate between the LAPD, FBI, and Sheriffs. But the LAPD has unilaterally declared that it intends to chair from January 1984 through the Games. Matters will not end here.

All the terms of these struggles are not now clear. The presence of State Department personnel in the international consultations of the LAPD is one important indication (among others) that the infighting over security is more than, and goes higher than, a simple wrangling over a "local" agency and its share of responsibilities. The LA Olympics will result in a rapid burgeoning of police apparatuses on local and national levels, with whole new forms of cooperation and coordination developed. Precedents will be set, power bases developed. All this gives rise to the question "Who's in charge?" Who controls this powerful new semi-military setup is very much at the heart of the debate. There is no disagreement over the beefing-up of the repressive apparatus, making it more efficient, modern, and



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analytical, both in view of the Olympics and beyond, but who will control it remains a red-hot issue.

The *New York Times Magazine* recently wrote:

"If symbolism plays a role in sports — and who can doubt that it does? — the 1978 decision of the United States Olympics Committee to move its headquarters from the Park Avenue townhouse where J.P. Morgan once kept his mistress to an abandoned NORAD base in Colorado Springs represented more than just a change of scenery."

The Olympics are indeed seen as a battle, no small part of which is the war being waged already in which the quasi-military security operations are being used to threaten political protest and prepare for "other things in the future." It is a confirmation of George Orwell's words that "international sport is war without shooting." And it is an appropriate irony that, with the extreme tension in the world today brought about by imperialism, it is only possible to carry through with this "war without shooting"...by hauling out the guns. □

## Trouble in the Shuf

Continued from page 5

strategic mountain position. (The Israeli positions in the Bekaa Valley remained unchanged.)

Since the visit of Arens and Shamir to Washington, this redeployment has been loudly trumpeted by both themselves and U.S. officials as being a first step towards an eventual withdrawal from Lebanon — providing of course that the Syrians also leave. But even as Arens and Shamir conferred with U.S. officials, quite a different story was being etched out of the earth in Lebanon. On July 26th, Lebanese newspapers began reporting feverish Israeli activity in the area north of Sidon, along the projected Awali River line. The activity, it turned out, was the advance wave of a massive Israeli fortification and construction project, bankrolled to the tune of 30-40 million dollars, and projected to be completed within a matter of weeks. Visiting the area in early August, Israeli military correspondent Hirsh Goodman wrote in London's *Times* newspaper, "The sheer breadth of the development can really be appreciated only from the air. As far as the eye can see, hundreds of trucks, earth-moving machines and laborers appear as tiny dots on the muddy brown landscape. The foundations of new forts are already clearly visible, while behind the line a spider network of freshly-dug earth will eventually be transformed into new roads, running back 28 miles to Israel's legal border."

The string of forts being built along Israel's new line will in turn be supplemented by lookout posts, roadblocks, mobile patrols, and a sophisticated electronic communications and surveillance system. Reports from the Sidon area are rife that the Israelis are also building an airlanding strip, to accommodate fighter and transport planes. And in the Bekaa Valley, new barracks are being constructed, to provide the troops with shelter for many winters to come.

The major features of this project — the emphasis on surveillance and construction of a road system that would give troops stationed within Israel rapid entry and penetration into Lebanon's south — suggest that even were the Israelis to further reduce the number of troops stationed in southern Lebanon, this would be more than compensated for by their enhanced capacity to ensure the area's "security" by "remote control." At the same time, there are other indications

that Israel's occupation of the south, already a multifaceted affair, will become even more so.

The Israeli choice of the Awali River as their redeployment line itself is a telling sign. Just south of the Awali is the city of Sidon, traditionally the political and commercial center of south Lebanon, serving as a central market for agriculture and light industry from the coast through to the Bekaa Valley. The inclusion of Sidon in Israel's newly defined area of control provides an economic cohesion for the region, while commerce with the rest of Lebanon — already severely interrupted over the past year — will be all but completely severed under the new "security" system. The already impressive Israeli economic penetration of the south — over 100 million dollars worth of exports between last July and May of '83 — will undoubtedly increase as a result.

In addition to the above, other reports coming out of the south point to Israel's growing "involvement" in Lebanese daily life. The Israelis have now decreed that every fishing boat in Sidon is to be licensed by Israeli officers, for example. And — shades of the West Bank — the army's "civil assistance unit" recently announced the start of Hebrew courses in the holy Druse town of Habaya.

The scope and magnitude of these measures does not mean, therefore, that the U.S. or the Israelis have given up on the Gemayel government. They have some political stake in upholding it as the "legal" representative of "Lebanese sovereignty." This reconstituted Lebanese sovereignty, after all, following years of PLO "terrorism" and Syrian influence, was one of the great benefits to mankind wrought by last year's invasions. And the claim to Lebanese sovereignty remains an important banner for them to wave in the international arena, as the U.S. and Israelis position themselves to deal, one way or another, with the Syrians (and the Soviets) in Lebanon.

But facts are facts, and in the eyes of U.S. and Israeli strategists, the Gemayel government is simply in no position to provide a sufficient counterweight to the Syrians, whose own position on the Lebanese political scene has strengthened dramatically in the recent period. And with the Gemayel government's prospects of "liberating" Lebanon from Syrian and Israeli occupation for all in-

tents and purposes a dead letter, the ground rules for its own survival have changed.

Since last fall, Gemayel had been able to string along a fragile consensus among Lebanon's Christian and Moslem communities on the grounds that his government, backed in full by the U.S., would be able to secure the withdrawal of the Israeli troops. "National salvation before reconciliation" was his program, the idea being that the Moslem majority should subordinate their long-standing demands for restructuring Lebanon's archaic system of political representation, and unite behind the government as it negotiated a withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanese soil. Most Moslem leaders, from the leaders of various militias to the old-line Moslem establishment, went along with this logic, seeing the U.S. and the multinational "peace-keeping force" as the guarantors for Gemayel's proposed "national salvation." That having been secured, they assured their constituencies, the reckoning with the Phalange and its utter domination of the Lebanese government and army would follow. (The Phalange, for its part, has kept its militias active and ready, no doubt also in preparation for any such reckoning.)

Today, this "national consensus" is in shambles. The "troop withdrawal" pact negotiated with Israel in May, and feebly presented to the Lebanese by Gemayel and his ministers as the "best we could do under the circumstances," only confirmed the suspicions of many. While the pact provided for the nominal withdrawal of most Israeli troops, it guaranteed the Israelis that they could reintroduce them at will. More, it insured effective Israeli control over the south, and gave them a big "foot in the door" to more broadly influence Lebanese affairs. Syria seized on all this to denounce the pact and legitimize its own continuing occupation of eastern and northern Lebanon. The resulting impasse underlined the weakness of the Gemayel government, U.S. backing and all.

Further, Syrian opposition served to embolden various opposition forces on the Lebanese political scene to once again begin talking of a new "national entente," a restructuring of Lebanon's political spoils system. The anger of broad sections of the Lebanese masses towards Maronite Christian and Phalangist exclusivism and domination had itself never abated. Nor had there been any shortage of Phalangist and other rightist-perpetrated atrocities and outrages since last fall. But the class role and position of the preeminent opposition leaders — including such compradors as ex-president Suleiman Franjeh — is such that they would not launch a serious challenge to Gemayel without the backing of one power or another. The reemergence of Syria as an actively contending force provided such an impetus, and largely accounts for the growing assertiveness of the opposition forces who have coalesced around the "National Salvation Front" over the past two months. (This Front held its inaugural meeting in Syrian-controlled territory during Gemayel's visit to Washington in late July. It established a "provisional government" with Franjeh as Maronite Christian president and included the Lebanese Communist Party in a minor cabinet post. While the major role of the Front thus far has been to help the Syrians legitimize their occupation of northern and eastern Lebanon, it does stand as a potential challenge to the Gemayel government.)

### The Israeli Position

The Israelis have viewed these developments with both concern and ambivalence. Ambivalence, in that they were far from happy with the troop withdrawal pact themselves. The pact, while heavily weighted in Israel's favor, nonetheless fell short of their aims, which included a full normalization of relations with Lebanon. With this normalization, the Israelis expected Lebanon to be opened to even more wide-ranging influence and penetration. But such a move, given the Lebanese bourgeoisie's heavy dependence on Arab markets, ran counter to the perceived interests of powerful sections within the Phalange itself. Gemayel and Company, faced with both internal and external pressures from the Arab world, were primarily concerned that Israel show a little more finesse in

pressing its demands. Says one Phalange official, "The Israelis seem to think we could do anything we liked, and that the Moslems could be ignored as though they were the labor opposition or something." These contradictions account in part for Gemayel's attempts to parlay his U.S. backing into a position of greater independence from Israel, and for the growing strain between Israel, Gemayel, and the Phalange.

Whatever their own unhappiness with the pact, however, the strident Syrian opposition to the pact confronted Israel with a real and growing threat. Israeli troops were subjected to increasing attacks; ambushes and other incidents had become, by May and early June, an almost daily occurrence. The Israelis, who have vowed never to allow themselves to become open to a "war of attrition," found themselves in precisely that position in Lebanon. With growing dissension inside Israel itself, including within the army, and spiraling economic problems exacerbated by the cost of extended occupation in Lebanon, the Israelis began to reassess their situation there, and at the same time began floating speculation that they were considering at least a partial withdrawal, in order to placate somewhat the domestic opposition.

It is in this context that the Israeli cabinet began talking of redeployment plans in earnest in June. At first the U.S. seemingly read the Israeli talk of redeployment as signifying a faltering of national will, and responded with public admonitions to, as one Israeli journalist put it, "hang in there, boys." The irony of the situation was not lost on anyone — the U.S., which customarily plays the public role of telling the Israeli biting dog to stop, was now imploring it to "stay the course." While some of this talk was no doubt pitched towards reassuring the Gemayel government, which — its public position notwithstanding — was extremely worried that an Israeli pullback would leave it high and dry, the Israelis have had reason for some concern. There is real dissatisfaction inside Israel, including the perception that while the U.S. peacekeeping force has led a charmed existence hanging around the Beirut airport, the Israelis have been left to do the U.S.'s dirty work. In the words of opposition figure Abba Eban, "We are prepared to leave (Lebanon) with imperfection behind, and let the United States break its head over this." For its part, then, the U.S.'s maneuver is to insure its most trustworthy allies within the Begin government keep the upper hand, and direct the redeployment in the manner fully consistent with U.S.-Israeli strategic interests. (Thus, for example, the U.S. promises of additional aid and grants to Israel following the late July visit from Arens and Shamir, and the dropping of U.S. token opposition to the accelerated Israeli settlement program on the West Bank.)

### The Shuf

All of which brings us back to the situation in the Shuf, an area which stands today as a major nexus of the various strands of contention and collusion underlying the Lebanese situation. The Israelis, of course, maintain a public posture of innocence regarding the fighting there. Israeli troops, they say, are caught in a crossfire between Druse and Maronites, a conflict fueled by century-old antagonisms, and now they want out. In fact, while the antagonisms are real enough, the ten-month-old conflict in the Shuf, as well as much of the recent selected shelling of Beirut, is due to quite deliberate Israeli orchestration.

The Israelis have controlled the greater part of the Shuf region since last June, when they overran the area in the first days of their invasion into Lebanon. The Israelis used this control to first encourage and facilitate a Maronite repopulation of several villages in the Shuf region, and then introduced the Phalange militia into the area in the fall (the militia headed by none other than Fadi Frem, staunch pro-Israeli Phalangist who had just supervised the massacres in Sabra and Shatila). While the Israelis at first mainly encouraged the Phalange in the area, they simultaneously cultivated relations with the Druse, particularly those loyal to the more conservative Arslani clan — which, next to the Jumblatts, is the other major Druse grouping. Over the

Continued on page 13

## Maronites and Masters

Continued from page 5

refugees and PLO forces in the south. Although Israeli hopes that the Shi'ite militia would then join alongside them against the PLO during the invasion were not realized, they have continued in attempting to foment such conflict in the course of their occupation of Lebanon's south. Along with this, over the past year Israel has given generous rein to right-wing Christian forces in the south in waging a campaign of terror against the remaining Palestinians there. Israeli puppet Saad Haddad and his militia are similarly involved.

As for the Gemayel government, it is of course the inheritor and future hope of the Christian Maronite governmental franchise. Yet even as regards the roughly ten percent of Lebanon under Gemayel's effective control, this franchise is in big trouble. There are no official censuses taken in Lebanon; because of their politically sensitive nature, there haven't been any taken for about 50 years. Still, by most reliable estimates the city of Beirut and its environs, Gemayel's remaining seat of power, contains about 1.2 million people of which about 900,000 are Moslem. These are mostly Shi'ite, dispossessed peasants who have immigrated to the city in recent years. If the Gemayel government is able to extend its authority beyond Beirut to include the largely Maronite areas of Metn and Kesrwan Districts (to the east and north of the capital), the population would be about 1.6 million, meaning a still commanding Moslem majority.

All this has sparked growing concern amongst Maronite leaders, as they face the de facto partition of most of Lebanon

by Israel and Syria. The question for them is, how to deal with the Moslem majority? There are currents among the Maronites advocating accommodation in this situation, a limited opening up of Lebanese political institutions and the army to the Moslem communities in order to prevent a bigger explosion down the road in which they would lose it all. Other solutions, being quite openly debated in right-wing Maronite circles, are the "Stern Gang solution" and the "South African solution." The first such solution envisions selective terror, including pogroms, directed largely against the Shi'ites, who would then, the scenario goes, be "persuaded" to return to the south and the Bekaa "from whence they came." (The "Stern Gang" moniker derives, of course, from the Israeli group — led by now-Foreign Minister Itzhak Shamir — which perpetrated atrocities against the Palestinians in 1947 and 1948 and thus "encouraged" their expulsion from Palestine.) The "South African" solution, quite simply, advocates the institution of "white minority rule" — that is, "white" Maronites keeping "black" Moslems in a state of enforced subjugation.

How far such reactionary visions get in implementation is yet to be seen. But they should not be dismissed as the ravings of fringe crackpots. They should be read as the ravings of political representatives of U.S. imperialism's main social prop in Lebanon today. Indeed, such logic is not at all inconsistent with the imperatives (not to mention the standards!) of U.S. imperialism. You need only have to ask the people of South Africa and Palestine themselves.

# The Long Reach of Israeli Arms

The U.S.'s No. 1 tool in the Middle East is helping to turn the screw in another hot spot for the U.S. — Central America. Israel has recently arrived at an agreement to develop closer ties with El Salvador. The first step in the new arrangement will be taken by El Salvador which is scheduled to move its embassy in Israel from its current location in Tel Aviv to Jerusalem — an act which signifies the stamp of approval on the Israeli annexation of the Palestinian eastern portion of that city. Shortly thereafter, Israel will reopen its embassy in San Salvador which has been closed for "security" reasons since 1979. Both countries insist that no other deals have been signed yet, but it is taken for granted that there will soon be an influx of Israeli weaponry and counterinsurgency training into El Salvador. And there is certainly plenty of use for the much-vaunted Israeli expertise in El Salvador. For example, Salvadoran carpet-bombing, search-and-destroy missions, and outright peasant massacres have produced hundreds of thousands of refugees, many of whom are forced to live in overcrowded, dilapidated, hunger-ridden and disease-ridden camps; now, the Salvadoran troops will be able to learn from Israeli proficiency in such matters — as exemplified in Sabra and Shatila. This is clearly a marriage made in heaven — a heaven once again represented by its earthly configuration in Washington, D.C. When State Department spokesman Alan Romberg was asked by

reporters whether the U.S. would approve of Israeli military aid to El Salvador he answered that no such approval was necessary as long as non-U.S. weaponry was supplied. In other words, the U.S. had already worked out the deal and informed Israel of the proper materiel to be transferred. Romberg called the agreement a "bilateral affair," trying to imply that the U.S. wasn't involved and it was just the two "sides" of El Salvador and Israel. Actually, "unilateral affair" would have been much more accurate terminology, since it is clearly a one-sided deal — the side of U.S. imperialism.

The latest Israeli foray into Central America comes less than a month after it was revealed that Israel is also sending huge arms shipments — some of the booty captured from the PLO during the Israeli invasion of Lebanon last year — to the U.S.-directed *contras* operating on the Honduras-Nicaragua border. The shipments include artillery pieces, mortar rounds, mines, grenades, and ammunition. According to the *New York Times* the shipments are sent to the Honduran government (apparently just one part of a package involving other arms sales, military training, and consulting about intelligence operations) which then funnels the weaponry to the *contras*. U.S. officials had apparently tried to keep this operation quiet, but when it was disclosed to the *Times* by a "foreign source," they admitted that Israel was acting at the re-

quest of the U.S. It was also implied that Honduras was paying for the weaponry through U.S. "aid."

Israeli involvement in helping to militarily prop up the U.S.'s generalissimos in the region is nothing new. "Special Assistance" counterinsurgency programs were put into operation throughout Latin America in the late '60s by Israel, and the countries involved included not only El Salvador, but also Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, and three of the oh-so-neutral Contadora Group, Panama, Colombia, and Venezuela. More recently, Israel has adopted the role of a main U.S. surrogate in the region, enabling the U.S. to engage in various "human rights" machinations while ensuring that its fascist puppets and their death squads remain well stocked. For example, when the U.S. halted arms shipments to its exposed puppet Somoza in 1978 (in an effort to build up its influence in the opposition), Israel began running major weapons shipments into Managua. At the time, a State Department official admitted that this was just fine with the U.S. "If Somoza goes," he said, "we would prefer to see him go peacefully. We would not like to see him toppled in an armed revolt." Israel has been an even more important mainstay of the various Guatemalan regimes over the past several years, especially dating from the 1977 U.S. "human rights" cutoff. Each succeeding generalissimo has relied on Israeli Galil assault rifles and armored cars, as well as the hundreds of Israeli "advisors," to carry out the mass murder

of all those potentially hostile to the regime. Israeli involvement in Guatemala went on throughout the late '70s, but it intensified as the opposition picked up steam following the overthrow of Somoza in Nicaragua. A massive influx of Israeli experts — both official and "private" security agencies — began counseling the Guatemalan military on every aspect of counterinsurgency operations. Tel Aviv newspapers reported that 300 Israeli "advisors" had helped orchestrate the coup that brought Rios Montt to power in 1982 and the born-again butcher openly acknowledged the invaluable role played by Israel in the development and execution of the "beans and bullets" program that has murdered thousands of Indian peasants. Indeed, during the Israeli bludgeoning of Beirut, Guatemalan military officers were openly discussing their tutors' plans for the "Palestinianization" of Guatemala's Indians. Since the new No. 1 generalissimo, Mejía Victores, was the main implementer of the "beans and bullets" operation in his position as defense minister, it is only to be expected that the Israeli role in Guatemala will continue.

In fact, it is bound to be intensified, just as it is throughout the region. While Israel may have played the role of U.S. substitute in the past, this is simply no longer good enough. The turmoil in the U.S.'s backyard now requires the Godfather himself to be much more actively involved in plotting and carrying out the crimes. But in that context, the U.S.'s main Middle East hitman has many contributions to make in aiding and abetting the U.S.'s Central American terror.

## Trouble in the Shuf

Continued from page 12

past year, Israeli army officers have conducted active political work in the villages, telling the Druse that they could be safe only through establishing their own state — with full Israeli backing and protection of course. Committees were set up in many villages, composed of those more or less prepared to collaborate with the army, on the model of the Village Leagues of the West Bank.

During the first part of this year, as Israeli-Lebanese negotiations intensified over the terms of a troop withdrawal, the Israelis began to show greater support for the Druse in the Shuf, as one way to put additional pressure on and extract maximum terms from Gemayel. By the spring of this year, the Israelis were backing not only the Arslanis, but were providing discreet support for Walid Jumblatt's militia as well, even working with several of Jumblatt's commanders in the area. In the recent period, the scope of the fighting in the Shuf has expanded considerably, not only have shellings between villages increased, but the growing incidents of shellings from Druse areas into Beirut has put additional pressures on Gemayel. Such shellings require weaponry and ammunition that could have only come into the area under the watchful eye of the Israelis, and there is every sign that they have given tacit approval to these proceedings. At the same time, the Israelis (and behind the scenes, the U.S.) have been pushing the question of a Maronite-Druse accord to the forefront of the Lebanese picture. The reason has nothing to do with "democratizing" the Gemayel government by opening it up to nominal Druse participation — in fact the Israelis are primarily interested in maintaining the Maronite and Druse communities as separate and not particularly equal enclaves, each practicing a kind of lesser Zionism of their own, with the Shi'ite and Sunni Moslem majority frozen in a distinctly subordinate position.

The prime U.S.-Israeli goal in this is to undermine the Syrians and the challenge posed to Gemayel by the Syrian-backed National Salvation Front. For the most part, the influence of most of the Front's figureheads remains restricted to territory already controlled by Syria. The Druse leader Walid Jumblatt is the major exception to this. Because of the immi-

nent Israeli pullback, the situation in the Shuf has been opened into a major test, in which Jumblatt plays a pivotal role.

As the Israelis begin to evacuate, Gemayel's Lebanese army has no choice but to take over. Not to do so would amount to an admission of defeat by the government in its claim to represent any central authority whatsoever. But with Maronite-Druse tensions presently running high, and the Lebanese army itself still heavily Maronite dominated, Gemayel's position in this is highly precarious. His ability to keep his Maronite-Christian social base and Phalange lieutenants in line has become all the more difficult and his government has become engulfed in growing crisis. And if his army is "successful" in putting down the Druse, the likelihood of Phalangist reprisals and pogroms against them is very great. Were this to happen, things could very quickly spill over into a general Christian-Moslem conflagration. And the identification of Jumblatt, as the most prominent Druse leader, with the Syrians and National Salvation Front's forces would ensure that they would reap a harvest of political and perhaps territorial rewards as a result.

If, however, some manner of Maronite-Druse accord can be reached, the U.S. and Israelis are in a position to either entice Jumblatt to string along, or at the least undermine his position amongst the Druse. Jumblatt himself, while having come down heavily on the Syrian side of the fence over the past period, keeps the line open to numerous parties, including the U.S. In any event, his is not the only voice among the Druse, and the Israelis are working to shore up the position of potentially more conciliatory forces. (Under U.S. and Israeli prodding, Gemayel has dispatched emissaries for much the same purpose.) If this scenario succeeds, a major dimension of the Syrian challenge is greatly deflated.

Such an arrangement might very well involve the U.S. Marines and other multinational "peacekeepers" moving into the Shuf to supplement Gemayel's troops. If so, the U.S. will be able to preserve the image of these forces as "peacekeepers," a conceit of no small political advantage. Without such an accord, the U.S. and other "multinational forces" — which over the past year have

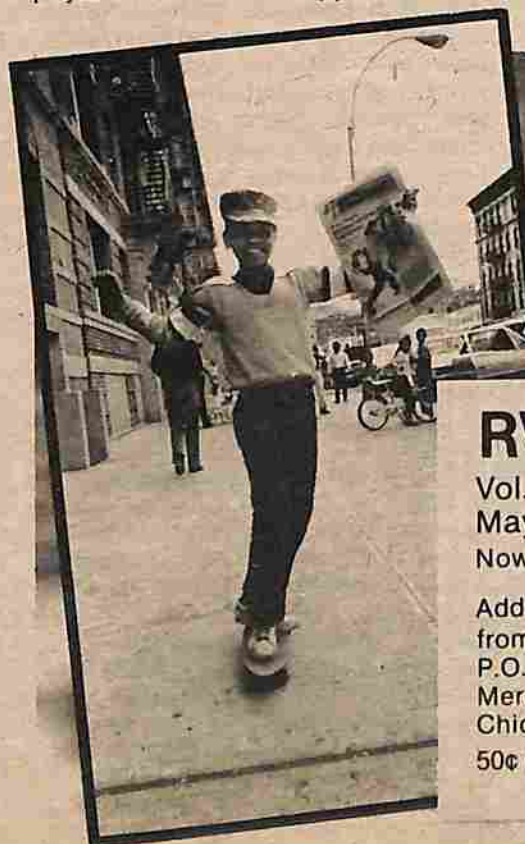
played the role of "occupation troops in reserve" — may well be required to play the role of occupation troops in the most active sense. (As we go to press, in fact, ABC News is projecting exactly this development, along with a beefing-up of both U.S. and European troop strength.)

Of course, U.S. options are not limited to this alone. The recent appointment of Robert McFarlane as special envoy to the region testifies to this and his past role in Middle East affairs is quite illuminating. He was sent to Jerusalem after the Israelis bombed Iraq's nuclear reactor in 1981, and Menachem Begin was reportedly "very impressed by him." In August of 1981, acting as State Department Counselor with special responsibility for "defining" crises in Central America and the Middle East, McFarlane co-authored the Gulf of Sidra incident, in which U.S. jetfighters attacked Libyan aircraft over Libyan airspace. Earlier this year, McFarlane helped plan the U.S. military maneuvers in Egypt, in response to the alleged Libyan plot to invade the Sudan, a particularly deceitful provocation even by U.S. standards.

The above should help underscore the fact that, while the U.S. has recently played a somewhat low key public role in

response to the deterioration of its position in Lebanon, it fully intends to continue calling the shots and defining the terms of conflict. While various regional and local actors have occupied center stage over the past period, this is after all a stage of U.S. design, resting on the foundation of imperialist relations — and U.S. power.

While the reactionary "solution" imposed on Lebanon has unraveled to a serious degree, Israel and the U.S. are hardly down for the count. Nor do they lack a game plan. This game plan, while importantly focused on the Shuf region, is not so singular or narrow in scope. The fact that the Lebanese situation has spelled a major plus for the Soviets, in its maneuvers to re-emerge as an actively contending power in the Middle East, is not lost on the U.S. and Israeli strategists. Nor is Syria's military dependency on the Soviets, without which it would not have been able to "hang tough" as it has in Lebanon. While the U.S. media likes to portray the conflict in the Shuf mountains as some sort of historical throwback, a kind of "Hatfields and McCoys" dispute, it is in reality far more a function of the much greater, vastly more barbaric dogfights to come.



### RW Index

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# Trigger

Continued from page 1

put tremendous pressure on Marcos to allow Aquino to come to the U.S. Clearly Aquino was a valuable man.

In an interview with the *Far Eastern Economic Review* after he came to the U.S., Aquino made sure that people understood what kind of "alternative" to Marcos he was posing. Aquino said that while Marcos had been very effective in wiping out the "legal opposition," there had been qualitative and quantitative expansion of the "illegal opposition." The "illegal opposition," of course, referred to the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) and its New Peoples Army (NPA). "Now this, to me, is a very, very dangerous situation developing in the Philippines, which has a parallel in Nicaragua," Aquino warned. "So long as Marcos is healthy, so long as the economy is healthy, then I suppose the situation will last. But when you have a situation where the economy is deteriorating, and Marcos is not getting any younger, and there is no new leadership — this is a dangerous situation." And, of course, he and his allies are precisely that "new leadership" — less exposed, just as loyal to the U.S., and able to prevent disaster for the U.S. like Nicaragua. Although he denied that he had any aspirations to political power, Aquino kept himself busy in the U.S., contacting other opposition leaders and traveling around the world to meet people like Archbishop of Manila Cardinal Sin and others.

Indeed, the cracks in the Philippine fortress are becoming increasingly ominous. The deteriorating economy is dramatized by the huge external debt which has hit \$18 billion and is climbing fast. Typically, the U.S., through the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, has recently imposed further "austerity measures" on the Philippine economy, including another devaluation of the peso. The imperialists know full well that this is only a holding action, and that the crisis can grow only more serious. Meanwhile, the CPP and the NPA continue to widen their influence and gain strength. According to one report, the NPA increased its strength by 30 to 50% in the past two years in eastern Mindanao alone. And although there have been persistent rumors that Marcos is seriously ill, the regime has been unable to come up with a clear successor to Marcos, thus contributing to the uncertainty about the future. The contradictions that exist within the Marcos clique itself are concentrated on this question of succession. Imelda Marcos, who has her own faction within the clique, has been mentioned as one possible successor, as well as several of the leading military figures. Although factional strife has not yet flared up openly, the sudden death of Marcos, for example, could easily push the contradictions to the surface.

There have been signs in the last several months that the U.S. has been putting more pressure on Marcos to provide some "democratic opening" for forces like Aquino. During a stopover in Manila last June, Secretary of State George Shultz continued to emphasize U.S. support of Marcos, calling the U.S.-Philippine relationship "very special" and praising Marcos for his management of the government. At the same time, officials in Shultz's entourage reportedly made efforts to open lines of communications with opposition leaders and groups (not including the CPP, as the officials were quick to add). According to the *New York Times*, "The officials indicated that the U.S. was concerned that future instability in the Philippines might jeopardize American access to vital military bases here and that Washington wanted to begin positioning itself to deal with the power struggle that is likely to follow the end of the Marcos era." The Philippine bases are crucial for U.S. military operations in East Asia and the Pacific, as well as the Indian Ocean and all the way to the Middle East. One official was quoted by the *Times* as saying, "The Marcos regime is entering its twilight and we don't want to find ourselves in the same position we did in Iran when the Shah was overthrown."

None of this should be taken to mean that the U.S. is getting ready right now to abandon Marcos out on the high seas.

But as Aquino pointed out, the very success of Marcos in maintaining a tight grip on power is creating dangers. There is an increasingly clear polarization with Marcos at one end and the forces led by the CPP on the other, and no credible "third force" to pull the middle forces into a safe and legal "opposition." Aquino was just the man that the U.S. looked upon to be able to pull together the disunited anti-Marcos bourgeoisie into such a "third force."

Just as Shultz was in Manila in June, Aquino got an appearance before the U.S. House Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs where he spoke for the "non-violent opposition" and claimed that "communism may be defeated not by adopting the brutal methods of the enemy and thereby losing your moral imperative, but by reinforcing human rights." Aquino presented a so-called "formula for national reconciliation" signed by major opposition figures which called for dismantling the martial law apparatus that was left intact when Marcos declared martial law lifted in 1981. The "national reconciliation" being proposed is a reconciliation between Marcos and those represented by Aquino, a demand that forces ousted by the martial law regime be dealt back into the game. Only a few days before Aquino arrived in the Philippines, the chairman of the above-mentioned House subcommittee, Stephen Solarz, was in Manila telling Marcos that, "If the opposition could not participate in a free election next year, it would drive people to the bullet rather than the ballot." Solarz added, in the not too subtle threat, that such an election "would have significant impact toward American attitudes." Solarz told reporters that he specifically mentioned Aquino's name in urging Marcos to hold elections.

Marcos, however, clearly did not want Aquino back in the Philippines at least at this time. While still in the U.S., Aquino received three warnings from the Marcos regime, including one delivered personally by Imelda, that "intelligence reports" had uncovered "plots" against his life and therefore he should not come back to the Philippines, or at least delay his return.

Aquino either got a direct "suggestion" from the U.S. imperialists to return to the Philippines, or saw the various signs and surmised that now was the time to go back and pull together his political base. The fact that Aquino was able to board a flight to Manila on China Airlines, Taiwan's government carrier — despite having no travel documents (Marcos had refused to issue Aquino a new passport) and despite warnings by Marcos of reprisals against any airlines that brought Aquino in — is one indication that the U.S. government had some hand in Aquino's return. In any case, the U.S. had no intention of unleashing a free-for-all between Marcos and the Aquino-led forces. Solarz remarked that he saw the elections as "a watershed in political life in the Philippines in the sense that it represents an opportunity for the government to defuse a lot of discontent." The hope was that a well-controlled election in which the opposition might be allowed to win some seats would cool out tensions between the regime and the bourgeois opposition and take some wind out of the more radicalized forces. Such an election might even serve as a sort of a rehearsal for a future "orderly transition of power" — from a puppet of one stripe to another.

The lengths to which Marcos went in attempting to prevent Aquino from coming back and the assassination of Aquino before he hardly had a chance to set a foot in the Philippines are surely not indications of a regime confident of its hold on power. Rather, they are desperate measures that serve to underscore its shakiness. Marcos, being a good student of U.S.-style democracy, knows full well what can happen to puppets who have outlived their usefulness to U.S. imperialism. In eliminating perhaps the most promising "alternative" from the scene, Marcos figured that his backers would have no choice but to continue to back him up. Marcos is also delivering a blunt message to opponents of his regime. In his statement after the assassination, Marcos declared that he had ordered "a number of precautionary measures" to ensure "normalcy and order" and issued "the most serious warning to opportunistic elements not to try to take advan-

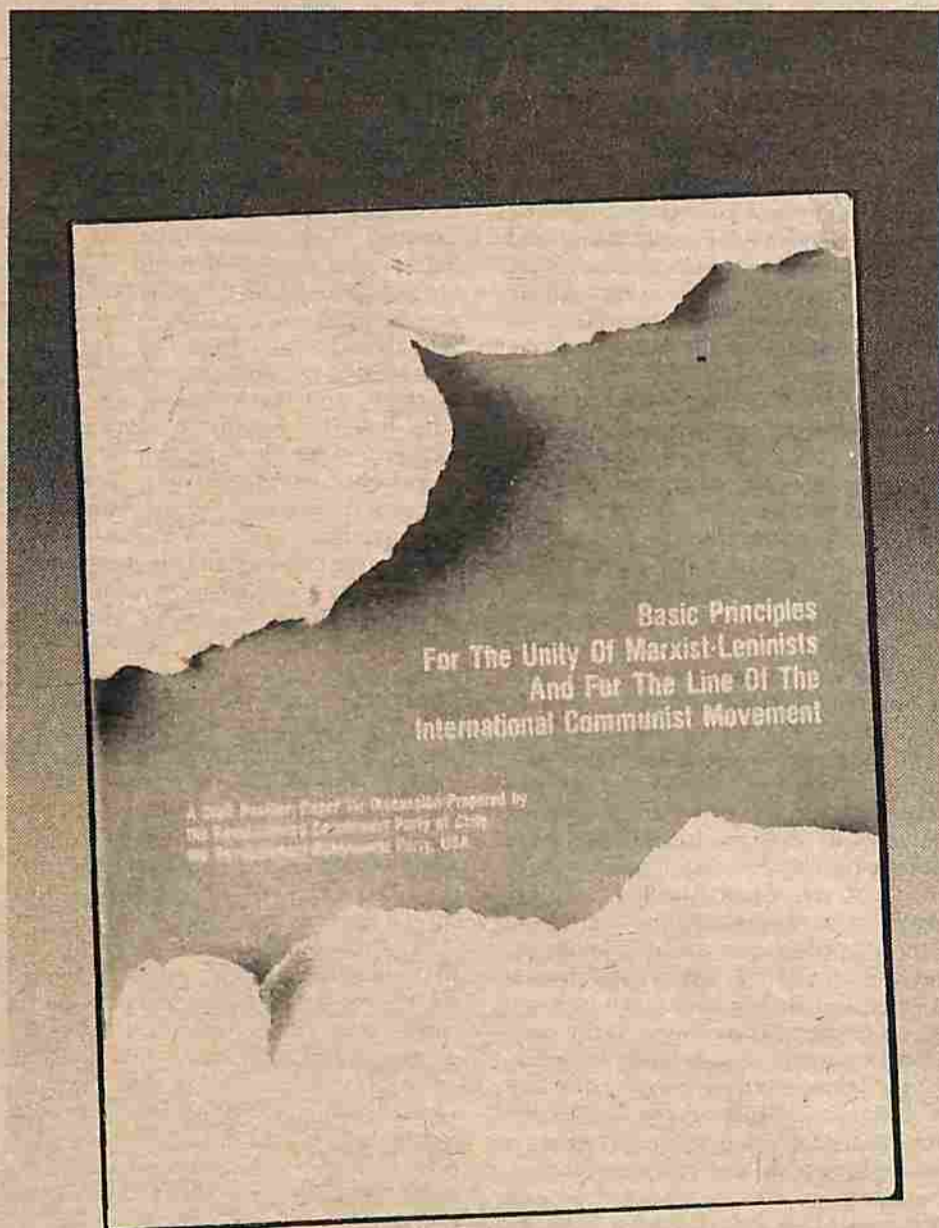
tage of this situation to foment disorder, anarchy, and chaos."

The U.S. certainly does not want to do anything that might further destabilize the situation in the Philippines. On the contrary, the Reagan administration is trying its best to help deflect the rain of accusation being hurled at Marcos, without being too obvious about it. The State Department statement on the assassination said that, "The U.S. government trusts that the government of the Philippines will swiftly and vigorously track down the perpetrators of this political assassination and bring them to justice and punish them to the fullest extent of the law." Translated, this is a lecture to the Marcos regime that it had better come up with a well-constructed story fast (although no one is taking seriously Marcos's claim that the CPP or Moslem insurgents might be responsible). Note, moreover, that "the government of the Philippines" is carefully distinguished from "the perpetrators of this political assassination." When some reporters suggested that the administration was hedging on whether Reagan would still visit the Philippines this November as planned, presidential spokesman Larry Speakes "marched" into the press room and "angrily" declared to the reporters, "I am accusing you of misrepresenting the president's thinking. The president of the U.S. is thinking he is going to the Philippines. He knows he is going to the Philippines." Speakes also specifically shot down the most damaging eyewitness account of the shooting, according to which the Philippine guards that had escorted Aquino off the plane had shot him. Speakes quoted a report from the U.S. embassy in Manila which said that the account was "erroneous and most likely the result of confused impressions by some passengers on the plane." "What is critical," one U.S. official emphasized, "is the strategic and historical relationship between our two countries."

We have to avoid doing anything that would do damage to that."

But beyond the immediate worries about how best to cover up the Aquino murder, there is a real fear among the U.S. imperialists that things might get increasingly out of control in the Philippines and that there is not much they can do about it. This fear was articulated by Richard Holbrook during the above-mentioned *Nightline* program. Holbrook stated that there has been "a clear potential for instability" in the Philippines for some time, which has been the source of considerable worry from the Carter years up to the present. "The question which I'm sure all my former colleagues in the State Department and other diplomats in the world and a lot of Filipinos must be asking themselves tonight is whether or not this tragic event is the beginning of the unraveling. In other governments and countries — in Vietnam 20 years ago with the Buddhist uprisings, in Iran a few years ago — there was a spark that set things off and they began to deteriorate. I don't know whether this event is a spark or not. I hope not. I think it would be a tragedy if the Philippines deteriorated into bloodshed and anarchy. We cannot stress too strongly that the most important and distinguished leader of modern opposition in the Philippines has been killed in the most brutal and inexplicable way. And it is impossible for anyone to foresee the consequences of that act."

Events will bear out whether Aquino's assassination is indeed "the beginning of the unraveling" in the Philippines (although it must be said that the situation has "deteriorated" to a considerable extent already). One thing is certain. With the situation heating up within the Philippines and the rapidly intensifying contradictions internationally, the possibility of the "potential for instability" actually transforming into profound revolutionary crisis is not a question of some distant future.



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

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# The Travels

Continued from page 6

could all be real and serious. And I figured at any moment the report would come from the top: the Bock has taken an unauthorized action, stop everything, this time you've gone too far.

Naturally, that didn't happen.

For a moment, let's go back and examine some of the crimes and experiences of Jahn that had taken him to this point.

My politicization started quite slowly. At the end of the '60s an edict came down in our school forbidding long hair. I took off for Berlin and the People's Education Ministry and registered a complaint. I wasn't simply turned away, and that was an "aha!" experience: we aren't completely powerless.

At the same time I tried to take note of the good things I saw about socialism — because at that point I could not imagine other than that I lived in a socialist country....

It was actually over those petty things like hair styles, clothes or music — the bands "Puhdys" or "Tones, Stones and Splinters" were quickly put on the black-list — that the differences between fitting in and not fitting in emerged among the students; between those who keep their mouths shut, and those who simply couldn't swallow it all.

The sharpest break for me came while training for crowd control while I was doing my military service in the "emergency police." That's when I started thinking over the question of war and the military.

In 1972, as I was barely 19, in Rudolstadt in Gera county, I performed my military service, and was therefore sent to Jena area in a time of student unrest. In the Jena area we were put on maneuvers, where we learned how the student demonstrations had come into being. We were trained in how to mop up in the streets, how to herd people together with the use of water cannon, and even supposedly how to hunt "troublemakers" in the hills around the town....

Since I was doing these maneuvers as a normal soldier, not as a police officer, I naturally asked myself: what will you do if this really goes down? For me it was pretty clear; it would be necessary to "get sick" or fall down in place, or in any way possible simply not take part.

We nicknamed our officers "the red SA." The way they stood there with these outfits, all covered with straps, and their riding pants, all I could see was the past. They looked like the Nazi-hangmen of the movies on the prowl against communists or other anti-fascists.

Despite this, I didn't become a radical pacifist, not even today. Several of my friends couldn't understand this. I don't completely reject weapons. I know that I would take gun in hand in certain circumstances. But what on the other hand would I serve wielding a weapon against the people themselves?...

Starting work at Friedrich Schiller University in Jena, I picked my studies from my now-quite-distinct political view....

In the parliamentary elections of 1976 all of us had to vote on campus — even if normally we voted at home. They set up voting booths, but no one used them. To go into the booth was to bring suspicion on yourself. I went in and crossed all the names off the ballot, and threw the sealed and folded paper into the urn.

After the election, the university leadership started asking my professor for reports on me. It was a warning signal.

In Jena, as in other towns, an art scene had developed, which was an expression of things that I actually don't personally like because it was simply an adaptation out of the West. But it was made up of people who simply did not want to play along anymore. On one side were those

who wanted to drop out, and the others (who I belonged to) wanted to integrate themselves in and loosen up the encrusted system from the inside.

Friendship circles built themselves up, often not even politically motivated, in which it was attempted to develop alternatives. People met in homes, at private art exhibits and parties....

Then in 1976 came the Bierman affair.<sup>4</sup> Bierman was stripped of his citizenship. For many of us he was a symbolic figure, an idol. We protested. From there seven or eight young people, all members of a very active study circle, were seized and were forced out... in the summer of 1977, without trial.

The Party had, in the process, made a decisive mistake. From this whole business there developed the Jena Center in West Berlin — which later came to have a tremendous importance for the coming peace movement. With their actions of stripping people of their citizenship, the SED (the ruling revisionist party—trans.) ripped this whole business so wide open, laying the basis upon which the alternative peace movement of Jena was able to develop....

Two factions developed. One said: What am I still doing here? I'm going to split too; and they officially requested exit permission. And then there were the notorious Stay-Put-ers who were of the opinion: Let's get it on....

We had started about that time to put up art posters as a kind of mini-exhibit.

... And we then also started to make post cards, with double meanings in their motifs and texts. And we sent them around the whole republic, through official channels with postage stamps and everything.... Most were produced by simple processes and only in small runs. But it was an important medium since we really couldn't yet post open posters and leaflets. The impact was that we were announcing: We are here, even if you can't find out where we are.

\*\*\*\*\*

Personally, I had never actually been firmly in the church. I only went to the various activities. These are events with evening sings, exhibits discussions, and there were often in addition photos and poems stuck up on the walls. And then, in Jena, the church's Youth Minister would wander around and point to this or that poem and say, "That has to come down."... He wanted always to know ahead of time what was going to be discussed. And what that meant was that the speeches and lectures had to be censored for all intents and purposes. Because of this kind of stuff, there were many of the Youth Fellowship who split and found ways of meeting outside of the church. As an example there was a group of people who met and focused on the question of resisting military service.

It was out of this group that there developed the idea of the first minute of silence for the 14th of November 1982 (the 37th anniversary of the bombing of Jena). Personally I was in the slammer at that time (serving a year in jail for "disrespect toward state symbols"—trans.).

In the afternoon, about five o'clock, there were about 70 young people who gathered in the central "Cosmonaut Plaza," as it was called. They just stood there, with their faces turned out, carrying signs displaying the word "peace," and were simply silent. It was simply a call for some reflection, but even this went right up to the limit of what the forces of the state tolerate.

Soon there developed discussions with passers-by, which grew into small clusters of people standing around talking. The police and the Stasi had had no forewarning about this.

For us this was an important date: it was the first time the Jena Peace movement stepped outside the church's framework into open view....

In church press releases to the DDR-accredited Western correspondents the church let it be known that it had had nothing to do with the moments of silence, including the later one on the 24th of December.... Needless to say, this did not endear the pastors to us....

All in all, a movement against war preparations developed, including an in-

4. Wolf Bierman is a major East German cultural figure, a rebel singer and poet, who was forced into exile because of the role he was coming to play in the development of anti-government activities in East Germany.

creasingly explicit criticism of the system itself. Jahn was sentenced to jail for conducting some street theater on May Day after an Alice-in-Wonderland trial of the kind familiar to revolutionary and anti-war activists in the West too. Another member of his group, Matthias Domaschk, got something else familiar to us in the West: he was found hung in his cell, two days after being arrested for "seditious contacts." Officially: suicide. Jahn reports that this drew his group to question more than just the problems of militarism and war; "it brought us to the misuses of power and force coming from the state."

They held services to commemorate Domaschk's death and plastered the town with posters. A sculptor in the group fashioned a figure from stone, to stand as a memorial — and clandestine photographs were taken, and publicized, of Stasis hauling the 400-pound block off.

Spring 1983 — pressure increased. Various members were suddenly called up for military service, jailed when they refused. Some left for West Germany. Others, including Jahn, were insistent that they had no intention of leaving East Germany and abandoning the growing movement there — the next step was an even more bold action: at an official rally which was, itself, supposed to protest war.

Over the weekend I got my first breather from police harassment in a while, basically because I had cut out for Potsdam, where the central Pentacost<sup>5</sup> rally of the official Free German Youth (FGY) was going to be held, and where the DDR head of state Erich Honecker was going to speak.

My friends and I had already demonstrated in the May 19th FGY rally. There weren't too many of us left, since already ten people had left for West Berlin under the pressure of this spring. That was the reason I felt that exactly at the main rally, in Potsdam, something had to break loose.

I painted a placard with the words "Swords into Plowshares" when I got to East Berlin, and then I took the subway to Potsdam and managed to make my way to the site of the rally.

The irony of this should not be lost on anyone.

"Swords into Plowshares" is a slogan the Soviet revisionists themselves borrowed from Christianity during the '60s, when pacifist calls for disarmament-without-revolution suited their interests. In the plaza of the United Nations stands a giant gift from the Soviet Union of a man doing exactly that: hammering a weapon into a tool for production.

But the times are different — the tempo of events in the Eastern bloc and throughout the world demands that all of these ruling classes insist on the willingness of their populations to fight and die to defend the global designs of their respective masters. In East Germany today, "Swords into Plowshares" is considered subversive, and only the official slogan, "Fight for Peace, Oppose NATO Weapons" is allowed.

Jahn goes on:

As I unveiled my sign, they jumped me and landed a few quick ones on my nose. "Haul this drunken pig off!" yelled some distinctly unyouthful gentlemen wearing the shirts of the Free German Youth.

Suddenly other voices could be heard. "Stop, you can't do that!" I heard them shout. "Have you all gone crazy!" The cry went up to release us.

Then something new and unprecedented happened: discussion broke out throughout the square, many FGY'ers openly took our side, we felt like we had pried something into real motion. We felt like the victors....

Arrested, held for days, driven around the country in police cars, Jahn was finally released with warnings and a sense that events were moving in on him.

There is something valuable here for the readers in the West. Jahn's own belief in the legality of the East German system cuts at the official Western propaganda images of the "knock on the door in the middle of the night," the supposed "up against the wall" terror of the "totalitarian Eastern states," and of the supposed

vast differences between the two blocs on questions of democratic rights.

Obviously there is a certain strictness and suppression of pluralism in East Germany being described here. But at the same time it is clear that the East German state has neither the inclination nor the freedom to simply drown all expressions of rebellion in blood any more than their Western imperialist opposites do. Here too, the authorities cherish the political support they get from various satisfied sections of the population, and they are therefore forced to go through procedures and even contortions to carry out their goal of cauterizing political outbursts, while not too seriously disturbing the widespread illusion that theirs is a "democratic" state run on the principles of strict "socialist legality, German style."

East Germany is, after all, an imperialist country, and one of the world's most advanced industrial states — and as a result has, up till now, had sufficient reserves available to generally lubricate the functioning of its class dictatorship which, like all class dictatorships, is based on guns.

This brings us to the final events of Jahn's expulsion this past June:

They took me to Probstzella, into a tiny room with a peep-hole on the door. And I sat there from about 8 o'clock in the evening until shortly before three the next morning.

That's when they took me to the train station. That was the first time anyone had bothered to tell me that we were waiting to take the D301 from the East Berlin train station at Friedrich Street to Munich, leaving Probstzella at 3:10 and arriving seven minutes later in Ludwigsstadt.

As the train rolled into the station, one last wave of disbelief welled up. It just can't be, I said to myself, you can't just be thrown out of the country against your will. I started hitting about myself with my feet, and refused to step forward even though it hurt like hell where the chain was cutting into my wrists.

I cry out in pain. A guard wraps his arm around my neck and squeezes until the sounds from my throat stop.

And so they dragged me onto the train, at the end of the last car, a sleeping car. Two men got in together with me, hauled me into the last space in the train. The various doors, to the toilets and the sleeping compartments, were closed.

And we stood there, in triplicate, as the word to pull out was given.

My two guards jumped out, slammed the door and locked it from the outside. It is a weird feeling, when you're in a situation like that, looking out the window of the last car as the tracks race off and everything disappears into the distance. It's like a movie.

In Ludwigsstadt, I knocked on the window, and after a while two West German border guards opened it. They had in their hands my exit visa.

The Stasi had pressed it into the hands of the sleeping car porter as the train pulled out, as a replacement for my personal identification papers which they had taken from me. "Visa for a single exit" was stamped on the paper, "only good until June 8, 1983, seven o'clock." And "free of charge."

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My violent expulsion on June 8 was also something other than an act of strength. It was a declaration of bankruptcy by the DDR authorities, through which they revealed their own helplessness and their lack of credibility. I had never dreamed that they would so openly inflict a wound on themselves. I learned differently....

Recently Gus Hall, General Secretary of the revisionist Communist Party, USA, speaking in Seattle, told a story that apparently warmed his heart. He recounted that during his speech in Boston to mark the centennial of Karl Marx, a question arose from the crowd of hundreds — a man got up and asked what it would take to join the Communist Party, if you were a pacifist. Gus Hall answered cutely: "A one-dollar bill."

Hall's homey anecdote and Jahn's account combine to draw a picture of the difference between how pro-Soviet forces view pacifism in the Western bloc, and pacifism in the East. In the West, you can get in for a dollar, and in the East you can apparently get out for free.

—A comrade

5. Pentacost is a major Lutheran holiday celebrated widely and officially in both East and West Germany.

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

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