



REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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

No. 221 (Vol. 5, No. 19) Published weekly in two sections — English Section 1

September 9, 1983

Editions in English, Spanish, Chinese and French ISSN 0193-3485 50c

DESERT AMERICA'S WAR-MONGERING BE AT THE EUROPEAN FRONTLINES



The countdown is rapidly approaching zero for the stationing of the first American Pershing II and ground-launched cruise missiles in Europe. The very determination and essential agreement of all the Western powers led by the U.S. to forge ahead with installing the missiles has driven home to millions just how deadly serious their plans are for waging a world war with their Soviet imperialist rivals. But as they brashly move to further prepare their European frontline, another "frontline" has been emerging — as forces, especially youth, from across Europe and beyond have been converging to do battle against this monstrous outrage and the perpetrators of it.

In West Germany in particular, the most profound political crisis since World War 2 has been brewing. The scene there will be quite intense, the situation extremely complicated, the lessons profound and the stakes high. It is important and urgent that something other than missiles travel to Europe from the United States this fall. From the campuses, from among the anti-nuke, feminist and anti-draft movements and from among proletarian youths, a contingent will be formed to go to West Germany this October and directly join this "frontline." The Western and Eastern blocs raise their respective jingoist cries to a higher

Continued on page 8



This call is currently being circulated for endorsements among various forces in the U.S. Take up this call and join these efforts. Time is of the essence.

Remember the 007 . . . And the Class Interests It Serves

Jeane Kirkpatrick, U.S. envoy to the UN and arch defender of the Salvadoran death squad leaders, could scarcely disguise her glee during her "show and tell" presentation of the recording of the Soviet pilot's conversation illustrated by an animated film displayed to the delegates over closed circuit TV. Hypocritical "concern for human life" flowed like a river from those whose hands have released rivers of blood. And the Soviets finally responded rather bluntly, as Foreign Minister Gromyko announced in Madrid that they would do it again and pointed the finger at the U.S. for creating a provocation. The purpose

of the sparring over the particulars of the incident was implicit to the imperialist gangster logic: whoever shoots first is the aggressor — never mind what is being fought over or why. It is precisely the class interests of these rival imperialists that must be submerged in the hullabaloo over who shot first. For the Soviets, then, it was the U.S. who bore responsibility for organizing the provocation. For the U.S. it was the Soviets who shot down the airliner. And each relentlessly pursued its propaganda track.

But beneath the din of the "propaganda bonanza" which the U.S. imperialists especially have been rubbing their hands

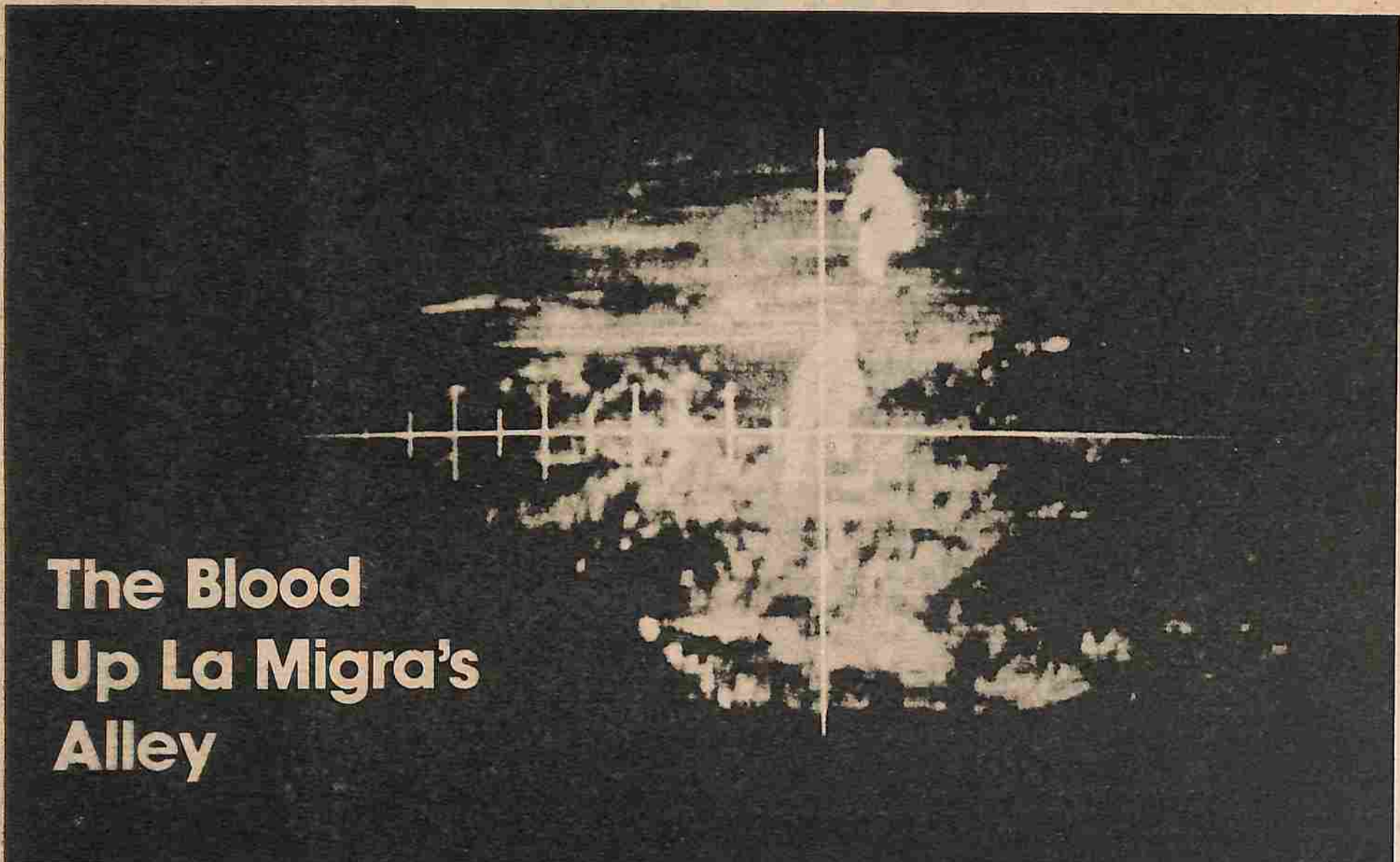
over from the first moment the news came out, the class interests can be discerned. The 007 incident was one of hundreds of such incidents that occur day-in and day-out as the two imperialist war blocs jockey for position, test each other's responses, probe each other's weaknesses, measure response time, maneuver for advantage, and look for cheap propaganda irrespective of human life.

Time magazine openly bragged: "This sort of eyeball-to-eyeball confrontation goes on all the time. . . . Since last January, 77 Soviet planes have entered the Atlantic Coast ADIZ (Air Defense

Identification Zone) while on flights from the USSR to Cuba. Their aim has been to pick up U.S. radar frequencies and record how long it takes for U.S. fighters to respond. U.S. reconnaissance planes have done the same thing near the USSR border and have triggered the firing of more than 900 Soviet ground-to-air missiles. . . ."

As if to underscore the point, one U.S. official baldly evaluated on national TV that the Soviets didn't do so hot militarily. Gloating over the fact that it took so long for the Soviet interceptors to respond, he openly posed the question as to

Continued on page 5



The Blood Up La Migra's Alley

People crossing the border, as seen through the U.S. Border Patrol's infrared night-sight goggles.

In the dead of night this August 10th, on a desolate stretch of highway running north from the Mexican border through California's agricultural-rich Imperial Valley, eleven Mexican immigrants died when the 1974 Ford they were in ran a stop sign traveling at more than 80 miles per hour, smashed into a truck hauling hay and was demolished. In hot pursuit of the Ford was an INS van and an INS unmarked car which had chased the Ford for more than 30 miles at speeds of 80 to 100 mph, with no sirens and no flashing lights.

Traffic "accident" is hardly the right word to describe these deaths even though they occurred on a 68-mile-long stretch of two-lane undivided highway known as "Bloody Alley" on which 71 people have died since 1980. Not "accident" but murder at the hands of the INS best describes the deaths of these eleven farmworkers, ranging in age from 16 to 42, and the submit-or-die tactics of the INS so outraged people that 400 marched in protest and attended a memorial service in the nearby town of Coachella.

Of course, the INS quickly jumped to its own defense. After initially saying that its agents were "chasing" the Ford, which they suspected of "transporting illegal aliens," the INS corrected that they were merely "following" the car — to get its license number. The INS agents were hidden beside the highway, California

Highway 86, because the INS had closed its Highway 86 border checkpoint due to rain-slick highways — considered unsafe for the agents manning the checkpoint. But just fine for such "routine" high-speed pursuits which the INS described as one of its "essential weapons." Why, said the INS, there were four others that same night!

The pursuit began when the Ford passed riding "way down on its springs," according to the INS. It was moving slowly, leading the border patrol agents to a "reasonable suspicion" that it carried more than the two people visible. Still, when the INS vehicles arrived on the scene seconds after the fatal collision, they were supposedly "surprised" to find eleven people killed.

For those not satisfied with this, the INS had another angle — blame it on the "alien smugglers." Highway 86, said the INS, is "a major route used by alien smugglers." After a two-week "investigation" the INS called a press conference where the Western Regional Director, Harold Ezell, announced that the INS had evidence that the driver of the Ford and another passenger were alien smugglers with at least a half-dozen previous arrests, and the other nine victims were "illegal aliens." Said Ezell, "This tragic incident shows the lack of respect and low value that smugglers place on human life." As for the Border Patrol, it was just

doing its job: "We are satisfied with the actions of our men," stated Ezell, presumably with a straight face.

Of course, it is hypocrisy in the extreme for the INS to finger the "alien smugglers," the very low-life coyotes with whom the agency has long maintained mutually beneficial relationships. In this particular case, the finger-pointing is even more irrelevant; Highway 86 is no more or less a "major route for alien smugglers" than is any other California highway running north from Mexico, and let us hear no more about a special clampdown on some newly-discovered route. But Highway 86 is perhaps a more convenient place to engage in high-speed chases since it runs through sparsely populated agricultural lands, where the INS can do its dirty work in relative privacy. At night, the main traffic on 86 is either trucks or farmworkers. And, although it's not known exactly how great is the INS contribution to Highway 86's "Bloody Alley" tag, this is certainly not the first time immigrants have died in "accidents" while being chased by INS agents. Last November, four people were killed and a 16-year-old girl's legs were amputated after a tire blew out on a car being chased by the INS on Highway 86. One survivor testified to hearing a gunshot just before the tire blew and the car flipped over, but in the report on the accident, the INS, the California

Highway Patrol and other official agencies stated that the tire had come off the rim and could not be found.

In the wake of the "accident" last November, the INS made its usual claims of "reasonable suspicion" of those in the suspect car, but one resident of the Imperial Valley gave us a telling picture of what constitutes this "suspicion" in the minds of fearless border patrol pigs. When wearing a baseball cap while driving Highway 86, this person related, he was never stopped by the INS, but everytime he wore a Mexican-style cowboy hat he would be pulled over. He finally got so disgusted during one of these INS investigations, that he refused to stop, drove all the way home, got out of his pickup and told off the border patrol agents who had chased him all the way.

What makes it even clearer just who places a "low value" on human life — immigrants' lives — is how the murder of these eleven fits in with the whole range of INS tactics, exercised with increased intensity since the U.S. Attorney General announced in 1981 that the "moratorium" on roundups of immigrants had ended and it was time to crack down. Two years ago the policy of "drive them into the desert" cost the lives of thirteen Salvadoran refugees in the Arizona sun. Of course, the INS also

Continued on page 14

SUBSCRIBE!

One Year—\$20 (U.S., Canada, Mexico) Ten Weeks—\$4.00

- English Edition Chinese Edition (monthly) \$12
 Spanish Edition French Edition (monthly) \$12

write to: Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, IL 60654

Name _____
 Address _____
 City _____
 State _____ Zip _____

I want to distribute the *Revolutionary Worker*, please send me information on bulk rates. I would like to receive _____ copies per week.

Order Chinese edition from: Everybody's Bookstore, 1541 Grant Ave., San Francisco, CA 94133.

Order French from: Revolution Books, 138 W. 10th St., NY, NY 10014

To comply with postal regulations it is necessary to send both the English and Spanish sections together, even though you may desire only one of the language sections. It has also been necessary to make changes on the outside of the envelope containing your newspaper to comply with postal regulations.

The *Revolutionary Worker* (ISSN 0193-3485) is published weekly except for the 4th week of December and the 4th week of July, by RCP Publications, 2525 N. Lincoln Ave., Chicago, IL 60614. Controlled Circulation postage paid at Chicago, IL. Subscriptions and address changes should be sent to RCP Publications, POB 3486, Chicago, IL 60654. Subscriptions are \$20 a year, \$4.00 for 10 weeks in the U.S., Canada and Mexico. (\$30.00 for institutions. Foreign subscriptions are \$50.00/year airmail to Latin America, \$60.00/year airmail to Africa, Asia, Europe, and \$20.00/year by surface mail.)

CONTACT *The Revolutionary Worker* Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, IL 60654 IN YOUR AREA CALL OR WRITE:

- California:**
 Berkeley, 3126 Grove St., Berkeley, CA 94703 (415) 841-8314
 Los Angeles Area, P.O. Box 26A34, Los Angeles, Calif. 90026 (213) 484-2907
 San Diego, P.O. Box 16033, San Diego, CA 92116
- District of Columbia:** Revolution Books 2438 18th St. N.W., Washington, DC 20009 (202) 265-1969
- Georgia:** Revolutionary Worker P.O. Box 11049, Atlanta, GA 30310 (404) 627-8311
- Hawaii:** Revolution Books 2648 South King St., Honolulu, HI 96826 (808) 944-3106
- Illinois:** c/o Revolution Books, 2525 N. Lincoln, Chicago, IL 60614 (312) 528-5353
- Kentucky:** P.O. Box 3005, Cincinnati, OH 45201 or call (513) 281-4275
- Maryland:** Revolutionary Worker P.O. Box 1992, Baltimore, MD 21203
- Massachusetts:** Revolution Books 90 River St., Cambridge, MA 02139 (617) 492-9016
- Michigan:** Revolution Books 5744 Woodward Ave., Detroit, MI 48202 (313) 872-2286
- Missouri:** P.O. Box 6013, St. Louis, MO 63139 (314) 773-6068
- New York:**
 Buffalo, Box 121, Ellicott Station, Buffalo, NY 14205
 NYC & New Jersey: Revolution Books, 138 West 10th St., NY, NY 10014 (212) 691-3345
- North Carolina:** P.O. Box 6214, Greensboro, NC 27405 (919) 273-0680
- Ohio:**
 Cincinnati, c/o Revolution Books Outlet, 110 W. McMillan St., Cincinnati, OH 45219 (513) 281-4275
 Cleveland, P.O. Box 09190, Cleveland, OH 44109 (216) 398-8865
 Dayton, P.O. Box 3005, Cincinnati, OH 45201 (513) 281-4275
- Oregon:**
 Portland, P.O. Box 3821, Portland, OR 97208 (503) 288-1374
 Eugene: c/o RCYB, P.O. Box 3723, Eugene, OR 97403
- Pennsylvania:** P.O. Box 11789, Philadelphia, PA 19104 (215) 625-8567
- Texas:** P.O. Box 18112, Houston, TX 77223 (713) 926-2080
- Washington State:** Revolution Books, 5232 University Way N.E., Seattle, WA 98105 (206) 527-8558
- West Virginia:** P.O. Box 1974, Charleston, WV 25327

Peacekeeper's "Arruhgah" in Lebanon



Thursday, September 8th, the U.S. "Peacekeeping" Contingent in Lebanon took further steps in escalating its role, as U.S. naval and marine forces launched a coordinated artillery attack on Druse positions in the Shuf Mountains. This bombardment followed the previous day's conspicuous display of air power by U.S. and French forces over Beirut and the Shuf Mountains. Wednesday morning, three French Super Etendard war planes were sent over Beirut into the Shuf Mountains. While the French embassy in Beirut issued denials, a Lebanese Army spokesman claimed that the planes destroyed a Druse artillery position in the Shuf. Whether true or not, the simultaneous pronouncement from French Defense Minister Charles Hernu, that "if the firing (from Druse positions) does not cease immediately, we will demolish the artillery batteries" left no doubt that such a step is on the agenda.

Assuming its role as foremost among the Peacekeepers, the U.S. quickly followed the French foray by sending two F-14s, from among its 70 air fighters aboard the aircraft carrier *Eisenhower*, over Beirut and into the Shuf. The planes reportedly carried out reconnaissance, though the calculated display of force — in this city over which Israeli (mainly U.S.-supplied) aircraft rained death and destruction last year — was lost on no one.

This growing role followed statements from the White House on Tuesday in which U.S. officials revealed that Syrian artillery batteries were indeed responsible, at least in part, for much of the shelling of U.S. (and other multinational forces) positions over the past eleven days. Last week, of course, U.S. officials were denying up and down the line that U.S. marines had been shelled deliberately. Rather, consistent with the "peacekeeping" mission that had served as the multinational forces' rationale over the past year, U.S. officials contended that the marines had been caught in crossfire, or spillover from nearby battles. U.S. marine fatalities, the State Department insisted, occurred last week within a noncombat situation.

This is of course a threadbare ruse; as last week's *RW* suggested, the marines have not been caught in a crossfire, they have been "caught in the act." Reports since that time provide further demonstration of this. Not only had U.S. marines opened fire, alongside Lebanese army forces on Sunday, August 28, against militias on the outskirts of the Beirut Airport, but U.S. Cobra attack helicopters were also sent up that day to fire down on presumed enemy targets. An example of the regular use by the Lebanese army of U.S. facilities and logistical support makes the combat/noncombat distinctions all the more irrelevant. A major Lebanese army artillery battery at the Beirut Airport is only a few hundred feet away from the U.S. marine compound. And in the fighting around the airport, Lebanese troops have been repeatedly airlifted in by helicopters on the runways and then brought through U.S. marine lines in order to engage the militias. When the Lebanese army launched its attacks on West Beirut on Wednesday, August 31, they landed a major section of their force near the U.S. embassy compound, where a marine outpost provided them with cover and

logistical support.

Such examples are only the tip of the iceberg, as the Lebanese army itself — supplied and trained by the U.S. over the past year — is primarily an extension of U.S., and not Lebanese, "sovereignty" in the area. But while it is clear that the already established division of labor between Lebanese and U.S. forces allows for a far more active marine role than is being officially admitted, it is just as clear that this present division of labor is not nearly enough, and that the U.S. is in the process of moving to redefine and expand the mission and character of its role in Lebanon.

In this light, it is worth noting the deluge of coverage over the past few days — in the major dailies (*New York Times*, *Chicago Tribune*, etc.), the Knight-Ridder newspaper chain, CBS News, to name a few examples — which has catalogued the restraints placed on the marines by their peacekeeping status, voiced their resulting frustration and strongly suggested that it's time to take off the kid gloves. The point was perhaps best expressed by Marine Colonel Timothy Geraghty: "Essentially we are an offensive-oriented unit. We like to take the fight to the enemy. This mission does call for restraint. That causes frustration." Marine spokesman Major Robert Jordan put the mission in an interesting historical perspective when he complained, "We can't shoot unless they shoot first and they know it. Now I know how (Confederacy General Robert E.) Lee felt at Appomattox."

At the same time, the coverage has unerringly pointed to the strong esprit de corps of the marines. Repeatedly, marines are quoted to the effect that, while they don't understand what's going on at all in Lebanon, they are determined to "stick it out" and thus ensure that the deaths of their fallen buddies were not "in vain." (It's typical of U.S. chauvinism that such sentiments are cast in a virtuous, reassuring light — "ours is not to reason why, ours is but to do and die" is of course the bottom line *raison d'être* of imperialist armies the world over. At the same time, the Lebanese, whose internal strife has become in large part a product of U.S., Israeli, and Syrian machinations, are shown as the perpetrators of "senseless violence.")

The portent of this coverage is perhaps best captured by the Knight-Ridder correspondent: "Two (marines), manning a TOW rocket launcher, explained excitedly how they could hit a target 3,000 meters away to within four inches of the point targeted by the TOW's cross-hair's scope.

"Standing there, watching the war slide back and forth past marine positions, thinking of the enormous destructive potential of the launcher, it seemed obscene to the marine that he could not fire it. But he had his orders. . . ."

All indications are that these orders are in the process of change. It is a measure of the deterioration of the U.S. position in Lebanon that such measures are to be taken — a greater direct military role carries with it great risks and is loaded with political liability — but the U.S. has little option. The Gemayel government had barely managed to impose a tentative "peace" over Beirut last week but the Israeli pullback in the nearby Shuf Mountains threw that entire area up for

grabs. The *New York Times* reported Monday that "The situation in Lebanon was of more immediate concern to State Department officials than the discussion about the downing of the Korean airliner." (Certainly there could be no question what subject they prefer talking about, however.) One official described the situation as "a total disaster." A "high-level committee" from the White House, State and Defense Departments and other "agencies" has been enacted to "consider U.S. options" and can be expected to move quickly in prescribing and facilitating an expanded U.S. role.

The dramatic turn of events in the Shuf sets the stage for this. The Lebanese army — itself fraught with internal contradictions that could explode under the growing stress — is in no position to enter the mountains in force to replace the Israelis. Lebanese army spokesmen voiced the hope, early in the week, that the Druse and Phalangist militias in the Shuf would weaken themselves through mutual blood-letting and thus pave the way for an eventual entry by the Lebanese army. This expectation — which basically amounted to a hope that the Phalangists would be able to prevent the Druse from taking decisive advantage — has proven false. While the Phalange apparently carried out a "successful" massacre of some 40 Druse villagers in the town of Kafr Matta, they have proven no military match for the Druse militia, which is now receiving active and growing Syrian support. Indeed, the Phalangist militia is now issuing increasingly desperate demands that the Lebanese army intervene and prevent a rout in the mountains.

The seizure by Druse and other forces of the strategic town of Bhamdoun, after fierce fighting Monday and Tuesday, has had several consequences. The seizure of the town from the Christian militia has reportedly emboldened Druse elsewhere in the Shuf to take the offensive. And as the Druse strengthen their position in the Shuf, this stronghold is becoming more thoroughly linked with the Syrian-controlled areas to the north, enhancing Syrian coordination with (and essential control over) the Druse militia. And with the seizure of Bhamdoun, and the control now of a stretch of the Beirut-Damascus highway which brings them within miles of Beirut, Druse and other Syrian-backed forces are advancing on other towns and villages in an offensive which will put them in a strong position to threaten an all-out assault on the capital itself.

The composition of these forces is likewise ominous to the U.S. Lebanese army intelligence is now claiming that among the forces involved in the battle for Bhamdoun alone, there were not only some 2,000 Druse militiamen (including Syrian Druse volunteers), but also about 1,000 Palestinian fighters as well. According to the Lebanese government, this force includes about 500 men from Colonel Saed Musa's rebel Fatah force, with the rest being equally composed of Democratic Front and Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine guerrillas. In addition, there were about 600 Lebanese "leftists" said to be involved — including members of the pro-Syrian National Syrian Socialist Party and soldiers from a breakaway Lebanese army faction calling itself the Lebanese Arab Army.

It must be emphasized that the Lebanese government has every interest

in making such claims — both to bolster its image as the "legitimate" Lebanese authority fighting against "foreign" influence, and to strengthen its simultaneous appeals to the U.S. and other not-so-indigenous powers to step up their own role. Such reports are therefore obviously questionable. But still the evidence is strong that an impressive front of such forces has been pulled together, primarily through Syrian orchestration, in the Shuf. And this adds further political dimensions to the already considerable military threat, as the Syrian-backed forces, with Syrian troops not far behind them, move closer to the capital.

Whether the Syrians push for a move on the capital itself depends on a number of factors. The Syrians must maintain their control over the various forces, particularly Jumblait and the Druse, and prevent them from striking up a separate deal with the Gemayel government. In Beirut itself, the role of the Shi'ite militia Amal, which maintains relations with both the Syrians and Gemayel, remains undetermined. The Syrians themselves are likely more interested in ultimately pursuing negotiations than in launching an all-out assault, preferring for now to take smaller conquests and consolidate their position — a course most in keeping with Syrian President Hafez al Assad's penchant for power brokerage and bargaining card accumulation, and a course probably most desired by his Soviet backers.

What's most important here is the role and presence of the U.S. itself, along with its Israeli allies and the other Multinational Peacekeepers. If U.S. imperialism and all its "enormous destructive potential" has thus far failed to impose a convincing political solution on Lebanon, it retains no small powers of persuasion. No doubt, U.S. Envoy Robert McFarlane has made it clear to Assad just what lies in waiting should he move to bring down the Gemayel government itself. But this alone is not enough for the U.S. It can not simply hope that "deterrence" will do the trick. It must in some way escalate its role and display of force so as to retain some initiative and regain advantage. The addition of 2,000 new marines to the U.S. force offshore Beirut surely is one sign of what might lie in store. And the Israeli role here should not be ruled out either. While the Israelis have for now retreated to their Awali River line, at the very least they might be expected to launch more of their notorious "pre-emptive" air strikes — the introduction of Palestinian fighters into the picture probably serving as a pretext.

When the U.S. marines sent up their Cobra attack helicopters on August 31, a cry of "Arruhgah" was heard to arise from the marine bunkers, the soldiers exulting in an opportunity to make a show of force. When asked about the sound, a traditional marine war cry, one marine described it to reporters as "sort of like a dog bark, modified."

The logic of the U.S. and its allies' position in Lebanon today is such that the dogs are going to have to start biting, if the U.S. hopes to make credible to its adversaries "an offer they can't refuse."

Musings On The Big Lie

The Free Press. KAL 007 week was really their week. Not only did they get to ply their wares before a more excited audience than usual, but they also got a big chance to compare and contrast their performance to that of the media in the Soviet Union. You know, the Soviet Union, which thrives on The Big Lie, which didn't even tell their people that they had shot down an airliner until five days after the fact.

True enough, the Soviets (caught as they were in a rather embarrassing situation) were not nearly so anxious as the U.S. media to push this story out big. But at least it should be said that, as a corollary to this small dribble of news, the Soviet people were spared the flood of hypocrisy coming out in the West: "The Soviets, those barbarians... who else would ever kill innocent civilians like they did. Not the U.S.," No, the Soviets' story in the case hewed a bit closer to the blunt (if gangster-like) truth: "This kind of incident goes on all the time." (Though they of course described provocations only on the U.S. side, instead of the real pattern of provocation, probing, testing by both sides that goes on constantly.) "This time we shot down the intruder and we'll shoot down anything that enters our sacred airspace." Spoken like a true gangster, but no different in essence than the U.S. tune — ("we'll send our planes anywhere we want — by accident, of course") — and certainly no less preposterous than the U.S. story of purity, innocence and horrified shock.

It is worth studying some particularities of reporting, U.S.- and Soviet-style. It is often claimed that "at least in the U.S. we don't just get the 'party line' faithfully churned out in the press." After the barrage we've just been through (still continuing at this writing) one is

tempted to say "Are you kidding?!?" and leave it at that. The Free Press really outdid itself this time in screaming out the absolutely uniform headlines about "barbarians" and "tragic navigation errors." It seems to be one of the special virtues of the hired prizefighters in the U.S. media that, when things get serious, they don't need a commissar sitting over their shoulder to tell them what to write. Their instincts of loyalty, their fine sense of where their bread is buttered (or where their bourbon is poured) take over and they do just fine. Of course, we shouldn't get too carried away with clichés about the Soviet Union either: essentially the same mechanism, the same combination of carrot and stick, produces the loyal hack-cry of the other side.

But, it is protested, we simplify too much. There are differences. And true, there are. Maneating sharks come in different species, though they will eat you just the same. The Soviet imperialists have a particular setup, built as it was on the wreckage of the socialism they destroyed, with a bit more centralism than the free-enterprise foundation that the rotting edifice of U.S. imperialism is built upon. No one should underestimate the anarchy, the conflicts, that exist — and even sometimes find their way into the press — in Soviet society, but it is true that, overall, this is not a form in which conflicting Soviet ruling class views are often fought out, as it more often is in the U.S. So in the U.S. press, you often find what Bob Avakian has described as the "Newsweek" style of journalism, where they pepper you with many different viewpoints, carefully crafted so that the end result is that you know damn well what are the "realistic" and "legitimate" terms of debate — and what are the "dangerous" or "meaningless" fringe-

group opinions — and all good Americans know where to take it from there. The Soviet press runs a little tighter ship, especially on foreign policy matters, than does the U.S. But, if it's truth you're looking for, you can skip the Western press, too.

In fact, in the first, crucial days of the 007 incident, we got precious little even of that "Newsweek" style. Instead, the Free Press closed ranks and we got a particularly American version of "The Big Lie." "The Big Lie," as we know, is something only the enemy tells. Hitler did it in World War 2 and now it's the Russians who do it. But really, when all is said and done, it is the Western Free Press that truly deserves the J. Edgar Hoover "Master of Deceit" award. The Russians tell their Big Lies, true, but the Free Press manages to do it even while letting out at least a little bit of the truth that you need to totally demolish their case. Astounding! Truly a world class achievement! Let's see how they carry it off.

Case Study: "Only Those Russian Barbarians"

Perhaps the most marked feature of this whole episode of public opinion-making is the high volume effort to paint the Russians as the true barbarians of the world — those who all civilized people must stand up against to protect all the values we hold dear. Anyone who bet a large sum of money that the word "barbarian" would be used at least a million times in the U.S. media during the first week of September is now a wealthy person.

Story after story spilled the news that no one, but no one... except those dirty Russians... would ever shoot down a plane full of helpless civilians. But from the very first day, often in the very same

stories that ran this line, the Free Press often included the fact that this *had* happened before, that Israel had blown a Libyan airline 727 out of the sky over the Sinai Desert ten years ago, killing 108. This little fact — damaging, to say the least, to the basic theme being run at top volume — just sat there in story after story, inert and invisible under the glare of the "Russian Barbarian" headlines. (It goes without saying, of course, that no reporter brought up such "civilized" U.S. acts against civilians as the carpet bombing of Indochina, the coup in Chile, or Hiroshima and Nagasaki. No one would expect that. But the really remarkable point here is how they *did* bring up this Israeli airline massacre... and what they did with it.)

Reagan, of course, had set the tone for this "barbarian" theme, using the word from the beginning and then following up with statements like: "While events in Afghanistan and elsewhere have left few illusions about the willingness of the Soviet Union to advance its interests through violence and intimidation, all of us had hoped that certain irreducible standards of civilized behavior nonetheless obtained... where human life is valued, extraordinary efforts are extended to preserve and protect it... every civilized society must ask searching questions about the nature of regimes where such standards do not apply." But did any of our heroic, tough investigative reporters follow up with "searching questions" about "tiny democratic Israel" who the U.S. arms to the teeth against those "uncivilized Arabs"? Nope. Did one bulldog journalist grab onto this story and "In the interest of fairness" probe into *why* such a publicity campaign was being directed against the Russians when the U.S. public doesn't even remember the Israeli incident? Not a one.

Thank god and Thomas Jefferson that we live in a country — unlike Russia — where we have a Free Press. Why who could say the story about the Israeli incident was suppressed or censored? There it was in black and white.

And there it is, the big difference. In Russia, you might not see some nasty little fact. In America, you *might* see it (most usually a few weeks or months after the fact) — *but it doesn't matter.*

So hats off to the Free Press. They've really mastered the art of political fog making. A nasty fact like this Israeli massacre was bound to come out some way or another, given the particularities of the American press. So just throw it out there and make sure it has *not one bit of political significance or effect.*

But that's an exaggeration. This particular Big Lie technique of the Free Press does have a political effect. It gives the public Free Press fantasies. But even more important, it trains them in a peculiarly American sort of cynicism and philistine me-first, America-first know-nothingism. Tell them a fact, and then tell them to ignore it. How better to prime a loyal social base for a war to Keep America Number One. "To hell with everybody else; I want my hot dog, apple pie and Chevrolet civilization."

And a crowd primed like this is all warmed up to sit through other Free Press episodes — and the 007 episode has provided some real winners. Like the gentleman from the CIA who was being interviewed on "Good Morning America," and who, sharing his expertise on "what really happened," said that the Russian pilot was ordered to fire on the plane and "because he was in the Russian military, he had to carry out that order." The ABC anchorman, of course, just let that one slide right by with a nod. But even more remarkable was the undoubted reality that a good chunk of the yahoos who were watching and bought that line had been in the U.S. military, where, as everyone knows, you get to vote about whether or not to carry out your orders! It is going to take some hard knocks from the real world to inform typical American idiots like those. The Free Press sure won't do it.

To break the chains — the revolutionary essence of Marxism-Leninism

The great teachers and leaders of the international working class developed an extraordinary body of theoretical work in close connection with the revolutionary storms of the last century and a half. Ushered in by Marx's monumental exposure of the mainsprings of capitalist society, developed by Lenin's groundbreaking analysis of imperialism and the role of a revolutionary party, further extended by Mao's contributions on the necessity to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, this revolutionary science has led hundreds of millions in the struggle to transform the face of the earth.

There has been a crying need for a work that concisely yet rigorously brings together the fundamental revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought. Now, for the first time in a single volume there is a unique guide and bridge to the body of Marxist theory.

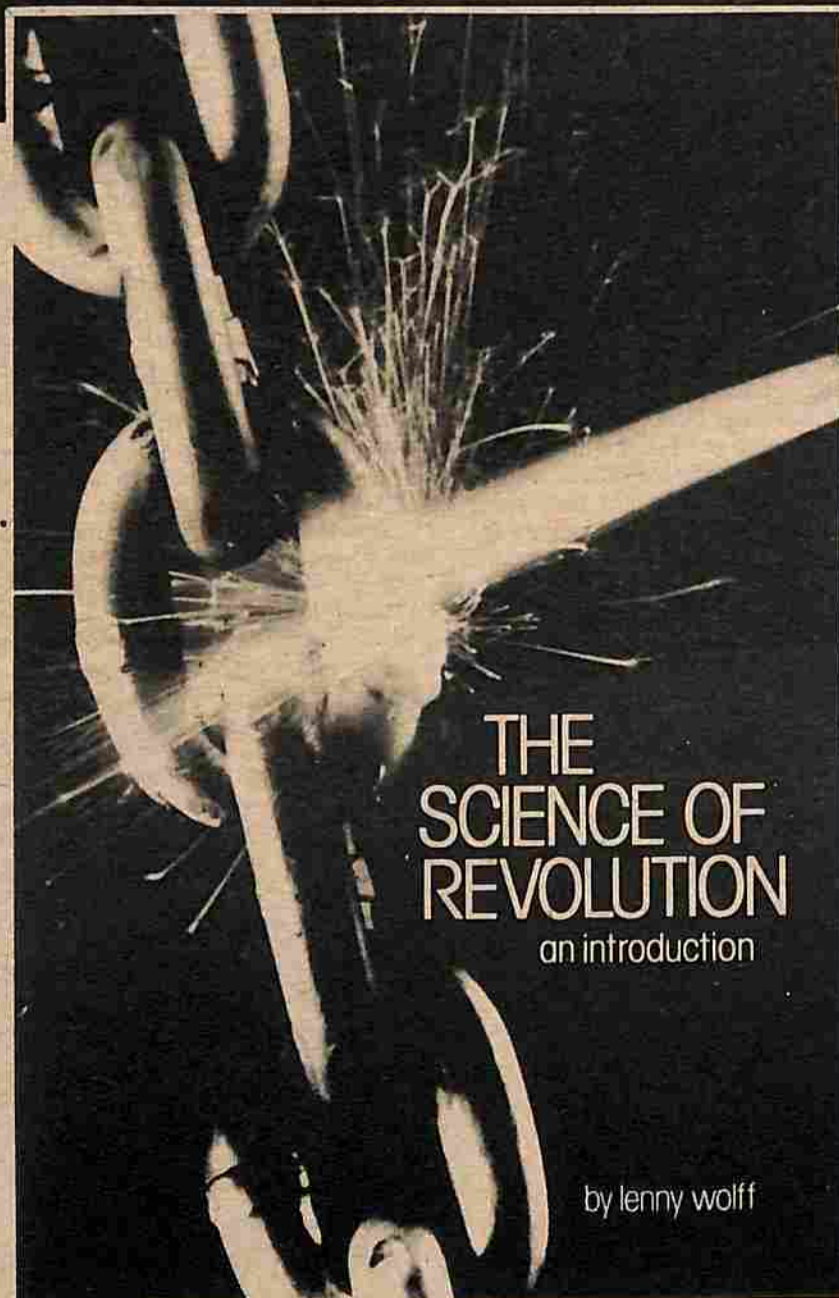
An essential work for the experienced activist, the beginning student of Marxism, or anyone seeking an understanding of the swirl and chaos of our time.

252 pages

\$7.95 paper — ISBN 0-89851-036-8

\$15.95 cloth — ISBN 0-89851-035-X

RCP Publications,
P.O. Box 3486, Merchandise Mart
Chicago, Illinois 60654



THE
SCIENCE OF
REVOLUTION
an introduction

by lenny wolff

Remember the 007 . . .

And the Class Interests

It Serves

Continued from page 1

"how well the Soviets would do against low flying bombers." No "barbarians" here.

The *New York Times* coolly discussed the desirability of a flight over Sakhalin Island as well as the risks which were quite plainly written all over the pilots' maps:

"Both the peninsula and the island are known, in the world of aviation and beyond, as particularly sensitive areas. For three decades the United States has sought to develop technical intelligence penetration of the Sea of Okhotsk, between the peninsula and the island, particularly to monitor the movement of Soviet submarines and the landings of Soviet missiles fired from west of the Ural mountains, across the barren expanses of Siberia and onto the mountainous terrain of Kamchatka. So sensitive is the area in fact, that an FAA map has a warning printed over Sakhalin that admonishes, in large letters: 'Aircraft infringing upon non-free flying territory may be fired on without warning.'

"Even so, Korean commercial pilots had over the years been almost cavalier in their disregard to sensitivity about Soviet airspace, according to American intelligence experts."

And what could account for this "cavalier attitude" — certainly this has nothing whatsoever to do with those humanitarian American intelligence experts. A closer look at the U.S. air pirates' own story reveals otherwise.

"Not the slightest indication that the KAL pilot knew he was off course," said the U.S. word warriors. Well, gentlemen, if that's the case, how come the very first story published on the missing airliner is a KAL announcement, immediately after the plane failed to land in Seoul, that flight 007 had landed safely on the Soviet island of Sakhalin and that arrangements were being made to pick up and transfer the passengers? Sounds mighty like someone was planning to go there in the first place. After running this on the front page of the *Washington Post* September 1, this version of the story quickly slipped into oblivion. The Koreans later claimed that "a friendly government" had told them it was "highly probable" that 007 had been forced to land by the Soviets on Sakhalin.

Then there is the little problem of how a 747 gets off course to begin with. "Pilot error" chimed the Americans in chorus. You know how sloppy those Koreans are. But this story didn't wash either. It turns out that the inertial navigation equipment on the 747 is programmed from a prepared tape cassette. The settings have to be double-checked by another crew member before takeoff. And the plane has three separate computers which double check each other. Further the KAL 747 was equipped with a special radar which allowed it to detect land masses and follow coastline features. Finally, the Aleutian Islands have several powerful radio beacons which allow passing aircraft to double-check their position with certainty.

Bumbling Korean crew? Funny you should bring that up. The pilot seems to have been flying the same route for the last five years, while the co-pilot also had a lot of "experience." He was a graduate of the Korean Air Force Academy and a career officer (lieutenant colonel) who recently resigned from the service to take up "civilian life." Nor is KAL lacking in experience with Soviet overflights — in their mission over the Soviet Union in 1978 the pilots actively attempted to evade pursuing Soviet aircraft. Could this be *policy*?

Then there was another nagging question. If the U.S. followed this event so closely, knowing every detail down to recording the Soviet pilots' conversation, and if, as Secretary Shultz says, the Soviets tracked 007 for two and a half hours, well, doesn't that imply that someone was tracking the Soviets tracking 007

for two and a half hours? So why is it that nobody got on the horn and said, "Hey, fellows, you're way the hell off course!" Cat got your tongue? We hear lots of Soviet pilots talking, but where are the tapes of the conversations with flight 007?

So next the U.S. suggested that their military radars really couldn't spend their time keeping track of all these civilian flights. But that excuse sort of crumbled when it was revealed that about a year ago the Federal Aviation Administration and the Defense Department reached an agreement to use Alaska-based military radar with extended range to verify that airliners are on course when they begin the flight down the Soviet coast from Alaska — precisely as 007 did. Furthermore a similar arrangement exists between the Japanese civil air traffic control system and the Japanese military. And how good is this radar? According to *U.S. News and World Report* the giant Phased Array Radar Station on Shemya Island in the Aleutians "is so powerful that it can spot a baseball at the range of 2,300 miles." Most experts hold that a 747 is bigger than a baseball.

With the Soviets still screaming "spy plane" the U.S. tried to put this to rest. What do we need a KAL plane for? Why it's preposterous when we have all those satellites. Then it was let out, since the Soviets were bound to bring it up, that there was an actual spy plane in the area. "Aha!" the Soviets responded, claiming vindication on their spying charges and hinting broadly that they might have mistaken the airliner for a real spy plane. But the U.S. parried, well if we have a real spy plane there, that makes the KAL even more innocent.

Careful reading of the *San Francisco Examiner* revealed otherwise. There it was reported that "One U.S. official with close ties to military intelligence said that carriers owned by governments deemed friendly to the United States are fitted in this country with cameras and other devices for intelligence collection. The presumption, he said, is that information will then be shared with the U.S. government." Andrews Air Force Base was cited as one such U.S. fitting location. Another source, an editor for *Defense Science Magazine* was reported as saying that the advantages of commercial airlines for military intelligence gathering have been known for years; and that sensors and high-resolution cameras on an aircraft provide in many instances more precise data than can be collected from satellites. He also pointed out that Korean Airlines planes regularly overfly Soviet airspace to gather military intelligence and that Korean airline cockpit crews are usually members of the South Korean military.

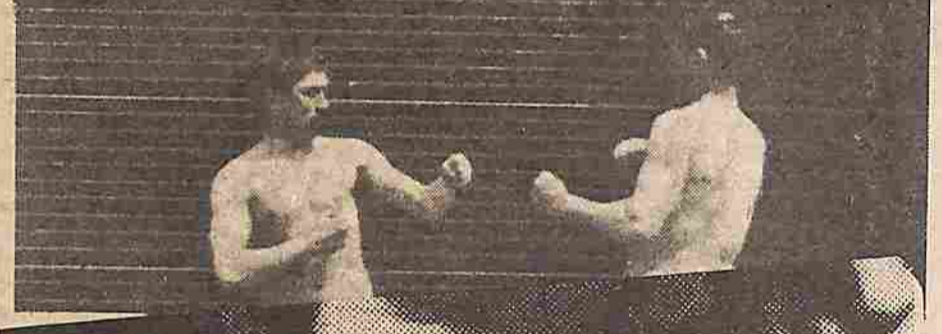
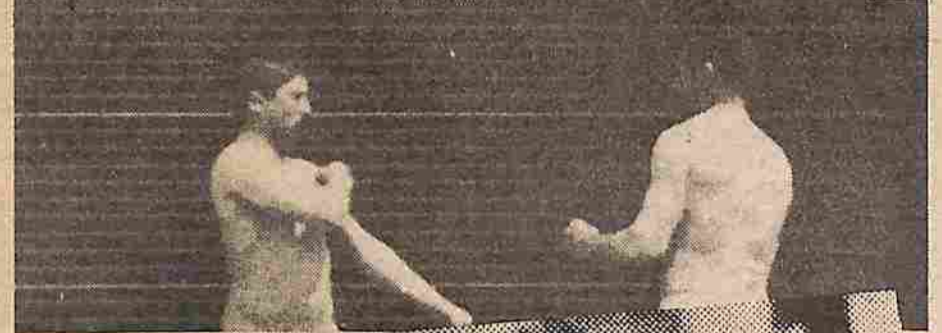
Whether or not 007 was fitted out with this kind of equipment or was probing so that the U.S. could test the Soviets' response is not clear. But it is as plain as the fact that the Soviets shot the airliner down that there was no way in hell it could have been where it was unless somebody deliberately wanted it there.

"Remember the 007"

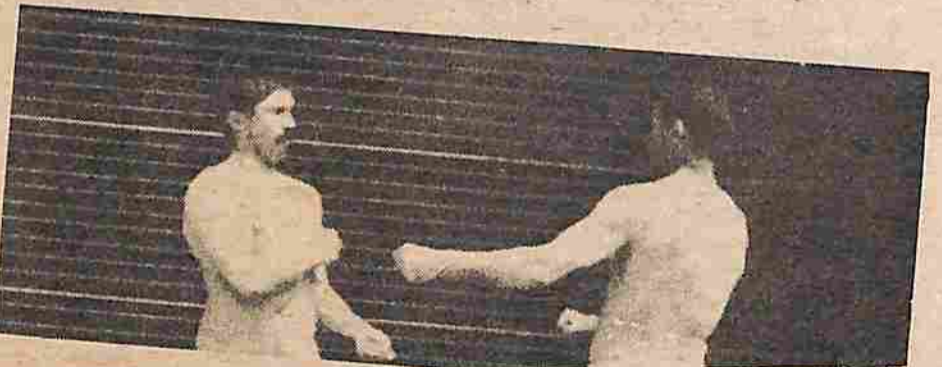
While evermore detailed charges and countercharges continue to fly back and forth in the aftermath of the "007 incident," it is important to step back from the details of the incident itself — revealing though they are — to take stock of the global situation in which they occur and which they so profoundly illuminate.

The 007 incident displayed all the classic requirements of an imperialist *casus belli* (Latin for the occasion or pretext for war). Driven as they are by their insatiable need to redivide the world at the expense of their rivals, all the imperialist powers embark not only on protracted programs of arms construction, but like the war makers of old who sought propitious signs from the gods to convince the masses, the modern imperialists also and not irrationally devote great efforts to mobilizing public opinion in support of their wars of predation. Each imperialist war has been preceded by dozens of "incidents," each part of the cam-

Continued on page 6



"People always have been the foolish victims of deception and self-deception in politics, and they always will be until they have learnt to seek out the interests of some class or other behind all moral, religious, political and social phrases, declarations and promises." — Lenin



the 007 . . .

Continued from page 5

paigned to paint one or the other of the contending powers as "brutal," "inhuman," and a "warmonger." And when the contradictions built up by the imperialist rivalry finally explode, it is usually an "incident," a *casus belli*, cause of war — through which the imperialists seek to whitewash their own bloody crimes in gallons of pious concern for the "innocent lives" lost due to the inhuman actions of "the enemy."

When capitalism in the United States developed to its imperialist stage, did not the U.S. imperialists develop the most sudden devotion to the suffering of the Cuban people? The great yellow journalist Richard Harding Davis wrote back for the first newspapers the details of "Spanish atrocities": "(As) I looked back, the figure of the young Cuban, who was no longer a part of the world of Santa Clara, was asleep in the wet grass, with his motionless arms still tightly bound behind him, with the scapular twisted away across his face, and the blood from his breast sinking into the soil he had tried to free." Oh my, how the U.S. imperialists were concerned for the death of the innocents! But when they finally got their war (off yet another "incident" — remember the *Maine*), then their occupation of the Spanish colonies was accompanied by slaughter which made the "Spanish atrocities" look like child's play. In the Philippines in one famous massacre of that war the 20th Kansas Regiment swept through a town of 17,000 people leaving not one of them alive.

And the first world war was replete with "incidents" as the various powers juggled for position. The European imperialists produced incidents by the dozen in the battle for public opinion leading up to the war. The greatest achievement of U.S. "incidents"-craft was the *Lusitania* hoax. In 1915 the Cunard liner *Lusitania* was sunk by a German submarine off the coast of England, having departed from the United States. Great were the tears of the U.S. imperialists for the innocent men, women, and children (many U.S. citizens) who went down with the ship. Editorials denounced the "barbarism of the Hun." The Germans protested that they had taken out ads in the New York newspapers warning Americans not to sail on the *Lusitania*, but to little avail. And it was only many years later revealed that the holds of the *Lusitania* were filled with millions of rounds of ammunition from U.S. manufacturers destined for the British army. Nevertheless it went down at the time as an "inhuman, uncivilized, cold-blooded murder of innocent civilians," and became a rallying cry for U.S. entry into the war on the side of "civilization."

In 1937 there was the "Panay Incident" leading up to U.S. involvement in World War 2. Japanese dive bombers in a tryout performance sunk the U.S. gunboat *Panay* in the Yangtze, killing not only U.S. sailors but also an Italian correspondent. Daily the U.S. press was filled with accounts of Japanese atrocities in China (all true) in order to establish beyond a doubt the "sub-human, bestial" qualities of the "fanatical, Bushido-crazed, yellow hordes" in preparation for the decisive conflict over control of the Pacific bases. But having wept Herculean tears for the sufferings of the Chinese masses, the U.S. was only too quick to convert its victory in the Pacific into torrents of blood, in Korea, China, Indochina, and Indonesia.

Which brings us to the "Gulf of Tonkin Incident." The way Lyndon Johnson told it, "There were us peace doves, sitting lawfully in international waters, when we were feloniously attacked by the Vietnamese com-mu-nists." In reality, the U.S. destroyers *Maddox* and *Turner Joy* were accompanying south Vietnamese gunboats which were shelling islands off the North Vietnamese coast, and in response they were attacked by North Vietnamese gunboats. But here there is an important lesson. Neither the *Maddox* nor the *Turner Joy* was hit, no one was killed, and there were no "civilian atrocities." Yet the U.S. imperialists immediately ordered massive air raids on North Vietnam and a resolution

was hustled through Congress giving the president the power to use ground forces in Vietnam. In all, it was a pitiful poor "incident" compared to the downing of 007, but the moment had come when the imperialists were ready to go down — so it would have to do.

Thus while the "007 incident" had all the makings of a "*Maine*" or a "*Lusitania*," the *casus belli* for the imperialist propaganda machinery, that was obviously not what the U.S. wanted out of this one. Just as even the most pitiful incident (e.g., Tonkin Gulf) can be whipped into a *casus belli* when the imperialists are ready to have the enemy fire the first shot (and the "enemy" always shoots first, and thus is the "aggressor"), similarly the most flagrant acts of aggression can conveniently go unanswered if the time is not right or, as in this case, there is other game to be bagged.

It did, however, have all the earmarks of a dry run. An eye-opening example of just what the imperialists are willing to do and the lives they are willing to sacrifice to set the proper conditions for what their vampire-like system drives them to do.

The Cui Bono Factor

Indeed, if the stage was not yet set for a *casus belli*, this had absolutely nothing to do with how "reasonable" the U.S. imperialists have attempted to paint themselves and everything to do with further advancing their preparations for an all out redivision of the world, including of course, their nukes. Nowhere was this more apparent than in the international arena, and especially right on the site where they are preparing to install their Pershing II and cruise missiles. While the West German government stated that the downing of 007 was the "most outrageous and barbaric act in history" (conveniently leaving aside the bloody achievements of the German bourgeoisie, not to mention their U.S. allies), U.S. TV networks nosed about, particularly among European youth, looking for conversions to the U.S. "kingdom of truth and light" in the aftermath of the Soviet "atrocities." The U.S. press was quick to jam the anti-missile demonstrators in West Germany over the whole Soviet issue, and were quick to rush into print a statement by the West German Green Party that denounced the downing of 007 as "a cold-blooded mass murder carried out with military precision." Other protestors who had been blocking traffic at the U.S. base at Mutlangen issued a statement saying that they were "shocked, incensed, and saddened" by the Soviet action. Yet for many, other more global questions stood out. Wasn't it still fundamentally an accident — if not an accident, at least a *miscalculation*, either by those who sent 007 on its fatal mission, or those who blew it away, or both? In fact, doesn't the incident demonstrate the very sort of tragic and fatal acts of violence that must inevitably flow from an arms race out of control and political tensions kept on razor's edge? And what if those "miscalculations" happened to be armed with nuclear missiles next time?

It is true that there was an element of "accident" in how all of the particular circumstances which made up this incident came together and any one such incident can become a kind of trip wire, triggering a spiraling of events. But more fundamentally why is this going on — why is one incident hushed up and why is one blown up? Getting to the bottom of such incidents reveals what is at stake: not unfortunate accidents set off by competing technologies, but competing sets of imperialist class interests, inexorably at work, which will not be stopped by anything short of revolution. War is indeed a continuation of politics by other means.

And it is very instructive to examine the political events triggered by this incident in terms of the *cui bono*... who benefits and how? For their part U.S. imperialist spokesmen could hardly contain their delight behind all of their rhetoric about the "barbaric and uncivilized" nature of their Soviet opposite numbers. Why, as useful and important as probing missions like 007 are to them, how much more useful was the fact that it had been shot down. Here was a "gripping international incident" which could be turned to advantage at a crucial stage of prewar preparations both in the U.S. and Europe. With U.S. imperialism running amuck from El Salvador to Lebanon, and with the battle to replace the U.S.

The U.S. entered the Spanish-American war with the battle cry:

REMEMBER THE MAINE!

For World War 3, perhaps it will be:

REMEMBER THE 007!

The moral and technical progress made by U.S. imperialism is truly remarkable.

missiles in Europe still touch and go, what the U.S. needed most of all was to turn the tables and paint the Soviets as the "mad dogs." With millions opposed to the MX missile program and the cruise and Pershing missile emplacements as dangerous precursors to world war itself, the only justification seen as credible is to portray the Soviets as so barbaric and demonic as to justify the risk. In this regard the September 4th *Washington Post* interview with former National Security Agency chief, Bobby Inman, is quite revealing:

Q: Why would there not have occurred to them the 100 reasons for not shooting that would occur to us?

Inman: Because you're thinking as an American, and not as a Soviet. To an American, in this country, human life is the number one priority. And property and territorial matters come a very distant second.... With the Soviets the priority is exactly the other way around....

Right. Everyone knows that *property* is a very distant concern to the Number One economic power in the world, whose property spans the globe. And human life is of such value to those who are still the only one to ever drop an A-bomb.

Q: So we are dealing with a very grim reminder of how that system works but not necessarily with a new political fact that has to enter into our calculations in other dealings with the Soviet Union?

Inman: Exactly right. (Isn't it amazing how the Washington Post gets it exactly right?! — RW)

But then Inman gets down to the heart of the issue: *Let's face it, we have been in the climate in this country and in much of the West for the last decade, where what the U.S. government says is almost immediately questioned — are they telling the truth? What the Soviets, the Nicaraguans, the Cubans say is almost immediately accepted as the truth and then later challenged. In this case the depth of detail is such that the Soviets are at a very substantial disadvantage.*

Here we have a truly blatant admission of what it's all about. In the recent "peace wars" the Soviets have been making some headway. The "Vietnam syndrome" is still not fully overcome. (Imagine! Some people still think the U.S. government is a liar.) And now truly critical war preparations are on the line, the MX missile and the deployment of the cruise and Pershing missiles in Europe. What was called for was an incident so thoroughly documented that it could force its way through the Credibility Gap.

Little wonder then that Reagan's official response to the "007 incident" was "calm and measured." Major steps of war preparation were at stake, and it was the Russians, not Reagan, who must now come across as the hot-headed, shoot-first-and-talk-later, gunslingers. The White House was quick to point to the deluge of letters and telegrams demanding that Reagan take more forceful action against the Soviets. In case anyone missed the point that Reagan was being "calm and measured" the headlines all blared "Reagan calm but firm," "Reagan announces mild sanctions," etc. Turning aside the demands of the "hotheads" for trade embargoes and cancelled arms talks, Reagan took the path of restraint, settling instead for a new \$100 billion weapons system and the emplacement of new frontline weapons in Germany.

At home in the U.S. the administration could easily afford to have some protest "to its right" for a change, demanding that the government "do more" against the Soviets. A little whipping up of the chauvinist social base is certainly nothing the bourgeoisie is opposed to. In Georgia the Ku Klux Klan marched in support of representative Larry McDonald the reactionary congressman who went down on 007. In New York, investment banker and "Atari Democrat" Felix Rohatyn proposed that the U.S. "down a country in Eastern Europe" in retaliation, by foreclosing on loans. In Washington, government employees were let out to

demonstrate in front of the Soviet embassy. While in Glen Cove, New York a mob of 1,000 yahoos wielding baseball bats stormed a housing compound for Soviet UN diplomats. Not surprisingly, there were no arrests.

All of this neanderthal activity only made the official position appear more "reasonable," as the media played a duet between such mad dogs as the wife of Larry McDonald, who brought out the proper ideological spirit, and various "liberal" CIA hacks who advanced a calculated international political strategy.

But in his "calm but firm" address to the nation September 5, Reagan felt compelled to draw the principal conclusion from the 007 incident. Referring to the late "Scoop" Jackson, the senator from Boeing who was so distraught over the 007 incident that he dropped dead of a heart attack, Reagan went on: "Senator Henry Jackson, a wise and revered statesman, and one who probably understood the Soviets as well as any American in history, warned us: The greatest threat the United States now faces is posed by the Soviet Union. But Senator Jackson said that if America maintains a strong deterrent, and only if it does, this nation will continue to be a leader in the crucial quest for enduring peace among nations. The late Senator Jackson made those statements in July on the Senate floor speaking in behalf of the MX missile program he considered vital to restore America's strategic parity with the Soviets."

The next morning in his syndicated column, Joseph Kraft offered the opinion that "now the MX missile appropriation, and most other defense requests, will sail through Congress without any concessions from the administration.

"Nor can the European allies exert further pressure on the president to moderate his stand. It had been expected that in return for beginning deployment of medium-range missiles in Europe by the end of the year, the allies would insist on more American flexibility in arms control talks. Now the peace movement in Europe has been rocked, and deployment of the new missiles can go through without any American concessions in arms control."

And then we hear the arch hypocrite and gangster, Reagan, piously intone: "This attack was not just against ourselves or the Republic of Korea. This was the Soviet Union against the world and the moral precepts which guide human relations among people everywhere." (Our emphasis — RW) Can there be the slightest doubt that the U.S. imperialists — who in the last year unleashed the blood-soaked Israeli invasion of Lebanon with its pre-planned refugee camp massacres, all for the purpose of smashing the resistance of the Arab masses and creating a global political climate in which the U.S. would land troops in Lebanon and install a regime of its choice — can there be any doubt that such a class of gangsters would hesitate for the slightest moment to sacrifice the lives of hundreds of plane passengers in pursuit of similar and global political preparations for war? Those who don't believe it should tell it to the families of those killed when bombs of U.S. agents blew Cuban airliners out of the sky. Soviet imperialists hardly hold a monopoly on barbarism.

What is required of class-conscious proletarians and all those who sincerely seek to bring an end to this murderous system, is the ability to see behind each given incident, be it spontaneous or manufactured, to the system and its contradictions which give rise to it. The downing of 007 starkly tells us something about "what time it is." We are living in a prewar period in which all the contradictions of the world imperialist system are being gathered ever more tightly. And the instruction in class politics today sheds invaluable light on the tasks ahead.

World Revolution Not World War!

UN Afghanistan Negotiations Talks and Torpedoes



Left: Zia ul-Haq of Pakistan; Right: Karmal of Afghanistan.

Above: The Khyber Pass, main border crossing between Pakistan and Afghanistan.

Ever since Soviet troops invaded Afghanistan in December of 1979, the U.S. imperialists have been issuing loud calls for the Soviets to get out of that country. Last year, UN-sponsored negotiations for a "comprehensive settlement," which supposedly will lead to a withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, started in Geneva. The negotiations have been in the form of indirect talks between Pakistan, which has absorbed more than 3 million Afghan refugees, and the Soviet puppet regime in Kabul, with the UN acting as a go-between. At the end of the second round of negotiations in April of this year, the UN negotiator claimed that they were 95% of the way toward an agreement.

The U.S., however, has been making some very obvious moves to torpedo these negotiations. Clearly, something about this purported "comprehensive settlement" is not at all to the liking of the U.S. The Soviets, by contrast, have promoted the Geneva talks, and this is an indication of what is involved here. Far from negotiating for a withdrawal from Afghanistan, the Soviets are attempting, with some success, to open some cracks within the U.S. camp and score points in the imperialist public opinion war over who is really for "peace" in Afghanistan.

The Soviet Union continues to face a difficult situation in Afghanistan. Even after almost four years of bombing and strafing resistance strongholds and even destroying whole villages, the more than 100,000 Soviet troops, which in the Soviet lexicon are called a "limited contingent," have not been able to "pacify" the population. Soviet control is limited to the main cities, transportation corridors and military installations. But even then, there have been reports of battles for control of major provincial centers, and guerrilla activity in Kabul itself. The Soviets have not been very successful at building up the regime of Babrak Karmal. Attempts to broaden the political base of the regime, for example the creation of the National Fatherland Front, have yielded little results. And within the Kabul regime itself, there is bitter infighting between the Parcham (flag) and the Khalq (masses) factions.

The 1979 invasion was in part a move to deal with the instability and the threat to Soviet control of Afghanistan caused by this factional infighting. But moreover, it was a decisive strategic move to extend Soviet power toward south Asia — Pakistan and India — as well as Iran and the Middle East.

The strategic advantage that the Soviets have gained by having direct presence in Afghanistan is just too valuable for them to voluntarily pack up and leave. The Soviet Union's assessment is that while it is difficult, if not impossible, to bring the situation within Afghanistan under total control, the resistance forces also do not have the strength to pose an immediate and overall threat. The Soviets, in fact, have been stepping up the building of logistical and military infrastructure in Afghanistan. A year ahead of schedule in May of last year, the Soviets completed construction of the first rail and road bridge across the wide Amu Darya River, which runs along the Soviet-Afghan border for about 600 miles. Previously, supplies, equipment, tanks and men had to be ferried across the river or airlifted. There have been reports of a major Soviet effort to build new military airfields and expand old ones. Some airfields are being equipped with sophisticated air defense systems, including SAM-8 missiles. Western "analysts" considered as particularly significant the construction of airfields in southern Afghanistan, since long-range bombers and fighters stationed there are within reach of the Indian Ocean. A new satellite ground station, said to be for the use of the Soviet southern command based in Tashkent, has been set up in Kabul.

From all this, it is clear that the Soviet Union's aim in pushing the UN negotiations is not to arrange a graceful, face-saving exit from Afghanistan. Rather, the Soviets are going on the political offensive in an attempt to create rifts between Pakistan and the U.S., play up the contradictions within the resistance forces and present themselves as being "reasonable." The Soviets continue to insist that the main problem in Afghanistan is "outside interference" — the "limited contingent" of 100,000 Soviet troops, of course, does not constitute such "outside interference." Their position in the UN negotiations has been that the principal issue to be solved is stopping the flow of arms through Pakistan to the Afghan resistance and getting "international guarantees" — from the U.S., China, etc. — that this would happen. Only this would guarantee the "nonaligned" status of the regime in Kabul and lay the basis for withdrawal of its troops, say the Soviets.

The Soviets know that such a proposition would be unacceptable to the U.S. An agreement based on the Soviet posi-

tion leaves open big holes that add to the advantage of the Soviets and leaves little for the U.S. bloc. The nature of the regime in Kabul would remain unchallenged. The Soviets might be able to maintain "advisors" and military installations in Afghanistan. The withdrawal could be a long, drawn-out process, allowing the Soviets to rush quickly back in by raising charges of renewed "outside interference." The Soviets expected the U.S. to oppose the negotiations, allowing them to claim that it is the U.S., not the Soviet Union, that is the real roadblock to "peace" in Afghanistan.

The Karmal regime had tried several times to get Pakistan and Iran to sit down for direct "negotiations," in an effort to lend some legitimacy to itself. But Pakistan and Iran refused to recognize the Karmal regime, and insisted that talks could only be held after Soviet troops withdraw and after the return of the millions of refugees in Pakistan and Iran back into Afghanistan. Iran still won't talk. But while Pakistan still refuses to talk face to face with Kabul, that it agreed to participate in the U.N. negotiations was by itself a small coup for the Soviets. The Soviets claimed that the U.N. negotiations represent the actual beginnings of a "diplomatic process which Afghanistan has long been advocating involving its neighbors, Pakistan and Iran." In other words, Pakistan was now in effect recognizing the legitimacy of the Kabul government, according to the Soviets. And Pakistan has gone even further, reversing their earlier demand that a "nonaligned" — i.e., pro-U.S. — government be set up immediately to replace Karmal. In an interview with a British TV network, Pakistan President Zia ul-Haq said that, "We accept that the Soviet Union has, if not the right, at least the expectations of having a friendly Afghanistan." By pushing Pakistan — the "frontline state" for the U.S. in confronting the Soviets in Afghanistan — to soften its position, the Soviet Union hopes to foster contradictions between the Zia regime and the U.S. and bring disruption in what it refers to as the U.S.'s "undeclared war in Afghanistan."

Moscow has been showing both the carrot and the stick to induce Pakistan to make further conciliatory steps. When Zia went to Moscow last November for Brezhnev's funeral, he got an unexpected meeting with Yuri Andropov. This was the first meeting at the level of heads of state between the two countries since the

Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Zia came away from the meeting expressing optimism, stating that he sensed a "new freshness and flexibility" in Moscow's attitude toward a negotiated settlement in Afghanistan. But behind such "flexibility" are not-so-subtle threats, including increasing support for the opponents of the Zia regime. So far, even Western analysts admit that the Soviets have been more or less restrained in helping Zia's many domestic opponents (these include followers of Bhutto, who was overthrown by Zia in 1977 and then executed, and Baluchistan separatists who live in the area that separates Afghanistan from the sea coast). But the Soviets are making it known that they are keeping open the possibility of turning up such pressures. A *Pravda* article last February, for example, made a point of noting that there was opposition within Pakistan from followers of Bhutto and others to Zia's policy on Afghanistan. Some political exiles from Pakistan have been allowed to seek refuge in Kabul. And, of course, there is always the threat of direct incursion into Pakistan itself by Soviet and Kabul troops under the pretext of responding to "provocations," stopping "outside interference," etc.

Aside from such threats from the Soviet Union, the presence of 3 million refugees, many of them armed, within Pakistan's borders represents a potential source of instability for Zia. The problem is not only the economic burden, but also the fact that the great majority of the refugees are Pushtuns, who are also one of the disaffected minority groups within Pakistan. It is in an effort to maneuver and ease some of the tremendous pressure bearing down on it from various sides that the Zia regime has entered into the UN negotiations. An editorial in the Pakistani newspaper *The Muslim* attempted to explain Pakistan's position. While denying that Pakistan may go in for a "behind the scenes" deal with Kabul, the editorial urged "Pakistan's friend" to realize "our inability to play the role of either a 'frontline state' or 'buffer zone' with reference to Afghanistan. As a strategically placed medium power, we are in no position to be the 'frontman' for American anti-Sovietism nor an instrument of the newly revived cold war."

Another factor which might be affecting Pakistan is the position of China, one of the main backers of Pakistan and a major source of arms into Afghanistan.

Continued on page 12

Desert America's Warmongering Be At the European Frontlines

Continued from page 1

pitch almost daily. Rapidly they escalate actual warmongering toward their ultimate global showdown. Is it not a bit more than appropriate to spit at their appeals for patriotism (and/or narrow self-interests!) by traveling thousands of miles, across so-called sacred borders to stand with those in Europe fighting to wrest the future from them!

Of course those who have never blinked an eye at sending their napalm, troops and death squads to every corner of the globe and whose military will be guarding the missile sites will undoubtedly charge "outside troublemakers" of such a contingent. Fine, all the more reason to be there! The European guardians of order who have been working so hard brandishing both the stick and the carrot to keep the mounting opposition within acceptable bounds (acceptable, that is, to the necessities of imperialist war preparations!) will also not put out any welcome mat for such a group. Again — all the more reason to find the ways and means to be there. But even more of a reason to be there is that there will be many among those in this political battle who will not only welcome but be encouraged by youth and others from the U.S. joining them, not only in spirit, but quite directly. The eyes of the whole world will be on this crucial showdown. Apply for your passport immediately and start getting the money together to go.

**DOWN WITH THE PERSHING AND CRUISE
MISSILES AND ALL WAR PREPARATIONS
BOTH EAST AND WEST!
A WORLD WITHOUT IMPERIALISM,
NOT AN IMPERIALIST WORLD WAR!**

**Organizing Committee "For A World Without
Imperialism Contingent" from the U.S. to
West Germany — October '83**

West Ger

Ho
on
Fa

December 1983
C-5A will circle slo
Disneyworld before
an airstrip just out
90 crates will be rus
from the weapons
there, stuffing the
with the parts of
missiles.

Next stop — W
many.

Exactly four y
strategic plans wer
the heads of NAT
in nuclear deploym
American missiles
way to the heart of
are to stand on Eur
blood-pact binding
together. It is to
system capable of
an unprecedented
and therefore with
short, this new de
IIs and ground-lau
a centerpiece of W
the Soviet bloc an
strengthening of a
fighting capacity.
unanimous stamp
power, and after
preparations, the p
ment have reached

However, in Eu
ferent plans are be

IMMEDIATE PREPARATIONS

Although final plans aren't set, the contingent aims to be in West Germany by mid-October and maybe earlier. With less than a month to go, there is no time to lose!

- ** Apply for a passport on a RUSH basis. Everyone traveling abroad must have one. They can be obtained through the nearest passport office. Don't delay in making your application! People should use their heads in applying, e.g. such information as exact destination and length of trip are not required to be issued a passport. Keep in mind that the state could sit on passport applications to prevent people from being able to go.
- ** FINANCES for this undertaking will be enormous. Joining this contingent and making it a big social question will also include the crucial task of finding sponsors, sources of matching funds, and a broad network of small contributors.
- ** Circulate this call broadly. Ask well-known figures to endorse it. Submit it to local and national publications.
- ** Use your creativity and initiative to make this contingent a powerful reality. Help form local committees on campuses, in neighborhoods and communities to publicize the contingent, raise funds and pool logistical resources.
- ** Contact the national committee for further information right away. Send endorsements, statements of support, copies of press coverage, and contributions to:

Organizing Committee "For A World Without Imperialism Contingent"
44 Monterey Blvd., No. 9
San Francisco, California 94131

West Germany

Hot Autumn on the Fault Line

December 1983 — A U.S. airforce C-5A will circle slowly over swamps and Disneyworld before it swoops down onto an airstrip just outside Orlando, Florida. 90 crates will be rushed under top security from the weapons factory of Marietta there, stuffing the giant plane to the gills with the parts of 18 new Pershing II missiles.

Next stop — Württemberg, West Germany.

Exactly four years before, decisive strategic plans were laid in Brussels by the heads of NATO for a crucial change in nuclear deployment. For the first time, American missiles that can reach all the way to the heart of the Soviet Union itself are to stand on European soil. It is to be a blood-pact binding the Western partners together. It is to be an advanced new system capable of reaching Soviet silos in an unprecedentedly short six minutes, and therefore without much warning. In short, this new deployment of Pershing IIs and ground-launched cruise missiles is a centerpiece of Western contention with the Soviet bloc and a major step in the strengthening of an actual "nuclear war-fighting capacity." It has the official unanimous stamp of every Western power, and after four years of political preparations, the plans for actual deployment have reached their final stages.

However, in Europe itself, quite different plans are being laid. Provoked in

large part by the intensifying war preparations of both blocs, the last four years have seen a great deal of political ferment in some countries of Western Europe, especially West Germany. These missiles are not about to be greeted as "peace-keepers" or as "the guarantors of precious Western freedoms." What looms is a "Hot Autumn" in West Germany, an intense collision over these missiles by powerful and determined forces, that threatens to erupt in the most deeply disruptive political crisis there of the entire post-World War 2 period.

The most visible plans for this spring are for massive demonstrations in opposition to the missiles and the reasoning that lies behind them. As we reported in *RW* No. 214, "the plans for the anticipated one million-plus demonstrators have included 'mass blockades of nuclear weapons depots, launchers and barracks in all corners of the republic,' while there are also mass rallies planned for Bonn, Hamburg, Stuttgart and New Ulm."

Since then estimates have risen daily. Herbert Hellenbroich, chief of the West German political police, simply states "The numbers of participants will put all previous figures in the shadows." And the representative of the Interior Ministry (which is responsible for "law and order" during the events) is talking in terms of 3 million active in some way.

A specific program of protests and disruptions has been called for. From the first week in September, not a week will go by that is not crammed with expressions of opposition to the missiles. Already, there are the reports of 150 arrests at the first demonstrations. Peace encampments have been set up and hunger strikes are already started in 39 cities.

The West German magazine *Spiegel* reports:

"The campaign will come to a head in the 'Action Week' from the 15th through the 22nd of October. As a prelude there will be 'bell-ringing' of churches throughout the country, 'minutes of silence for peace,' and 'the general rallying of citizens.' On the 'Day of Women,' that Monday, there are events like 'the rally of female veterans of anti-aircraft batteries' and 'the planting of trees and flowers for peace,' on the program. For the 'Day of the Parliament' peace organizations are calling for 'canvassing' and 'lobbying' to confront politicians and present-office holders.

"The finale: a human chain over 100 kilometers long linking the central European headquarters of the U.S. Army (Eucom) in Stuttgart and the New Ulm Wiley Barracks which is one of the places in the Federal Republic where the Pershing IIs are to be installed. A human star will link the American and Soviet embassies in Bonn. And, plans are underway for massive demonstrations, as 'rallies of the people,' in Hamburg, Bonn and Bremen."

This image drawn by *Spiegel* represents a very selective picture of the events, presenting a stamp of approval on an especially "official" series of actions.

These mass mobilizations, and the

Continued on page 10



IS

West Germany by there is no time to

abroad must have office. Don't delay in applying, e.g. such not required to be passport applica-

this contingent and task of finding spon-small contributors. orse it. Submit it to

a powerful reality. s and communities resources. right away. Send rage, and contribu-

sm Contingent"

Hot Autumn on the Fault Line

Continued from page 9

target week of October 15-22 will undoubtedly form the loose framework of activity — but they do not in any sense define its limits. For one thing there are press estimates of up to 700 political and action groups insistent on various forms of "direct action," nonviolent and otherwise, to both directly confront the authorities and, if possible, directly prevent the deployment of the missiles. Meetings are already being called for the first week in November to plan for the final stages of the Autumn.

What really underlies the diversity of tactics planned, and the intense debate over forms of struggle, and especially over nonviolence — is politics, not simply abstract questions of preference or ethics.

Those forces who most rigidly insist on legal mass mobilizations also tend to base this on the belief that West Germany, like the Western European countries generally, is "a democratic, not a totalitarian country." From this perspective — the task of political opposition is to painstakingly and skillfully mobilize the vast legions of public opinion, to demonstrate the "will of the majority," and on that basis, force the government to comply.

With this goal in mind, they point out that public opinion has been swinging sharply toward opposition to the missiles. The "Mannheim Research Group" polls reveal that only 23% of those with opinions supported the missiles this past July, and (apparently concerned by the threat of massive national disruption) even 62% of the supporters of the conservative Christian-Democratic ruling party support postponing the deployment — presumably until there is a distinct national consensus one way or the other.

The strategy is pushed, therefore, to wield this emerging majority of opinion in peaceful protest, and (above all) to avoid alienating precious mainstream support through "shortsighted minority actions" which stand a far less practical chance of achieving change in such a "democracy."

In itself, of course, the breadth of opposition to the missiles is a testimony to an emerging political crisis. But the fact remains that the whole reason things have built to this point is that the West German government, and NATO generally, are bound, and actually compelled to carry through this deployment — and (despite democratic illusions of various political forces) will attempt to ram these missiles through regardless of opinion, even at the cost of major political consequences.

Doves and Missiles

There is a unanimity of the Western imperialists behind these missiles. And a remarkable consensus has existed for years between all the three major established parties of the West German imperialists: it was the Socialist Party's (SPD) Chancellor Helmut Schmidt who first called for them in 1977 and conclud-

ed the agreement on deployment in 1979. It is the Christian Democrats (CDU) who came to power last March, committed to the most resolute continuation of that policy. And it is the leader of the Free Democrats (FDP) Genscher who has served as West Germany's foreign minister through all of this.

Obviously, in light of the growing storm of opposition, the various parties have tried to put the best face on their policies. The CDU has adopted a new national party symbol (a dove imposed on the German Tricolor) to emphasize that weapons are the road to both "peace and freedom." And similarly the SPD has droned on about the centrality of negotiations in Geneva, and used its new posture of "opposition party" to play down its own deep commitment to the missiles. But the bottom line of those in power was expressed by a top government advisor when he hissed: "Let no one who voted in the last elections dare to say that he does not understand what was chosen." That is, the missiles.

Underlying all of this is the fact that this deployment is not *simply* one more addition to the growing stockpile of weapons. After all, West Germany is already bursting at the seams with the whole range of battlefield nukes that were obviously designed to turn their immediate surroundings into a sea of craters. These particular missiles, and the maneuvering behind them, has everything to do with the cementing of the Western alliance for the act of war itself, and they have everything to do with having weaponry in position to fight nuclear war "to victory."

As the Soviet Union increasingly perfected the ability to reach the American mainland with nuclear weapons over the period of the early seventies, that emergence of "parity" eroded a crucial linkage within the North Atlantic Alliance. Up until then it had been assumed that the United States could shield the Western European imperialists using the direct threat of destroying the Soviet heartland, a threat it could comfortably make only if the Soviets were unable to retaliate. Once they *were* able — the question immediately became, "in the event of world war, would Washington risk Chicago in a war for Paris?" For the European members of NATO there was a fear that limited war on *their* territory was now a distinct possibility since the U.S. and USSR might restrain themselves from "mutually assured destruction." And so the possibility emerged that some decisive resolution of East-West contention might take place in a form that left only Europe smoldering; that war scenario would strain both imperialist alliances by seriously disquieting the European "junior partners" on both sides who have their own imperialist interests and agendas to pursue. This situation in turn evoked the danger, for the U.S. imperialists, that their own allies might try to deflect such a situation by turning in a

more neutralist direction; i.e., coming to terms with the Soviet bloc on a short-term basis, so that the coming war would take place through missiles crossing "harmlessly" over their heads.

The carefully plotted resolution of this dilemma, truly reflecting the sinister rationality of modern imperialist politics, is the doctrine of "shared risk" represented by the Pershing/cruise deployment. (See *RW* No. 210.) Now with Pershing/cruise deployment any war between the two blocs will involve the Western European allies from the beginning in confrontation with the Soviets, because American missiles will be blasting off directly from European soil. And conversely, any conflict initially limited to Europe will inevitably cause the two superpowers to enter directly because an invasion of West Germany will unleash American missiles to thud down on the vitals of the USSR.

The alliance is secured! Through the mechanism of "shared risk"!

And finally this whole capper has the pleasing by-product of involving forward-based systems (FBS) of high speed ballistic rockets that can now deliver nukes to the Soviet Union within 5-6 minutes. In the perceptions of millions of people — and especially in the two Germanies straddling the faultline — it has become well known that the purpose of the missiles is precisely to cement a war alliance by attracting Soviet retaliation to them.

The hang-up of these brilliantly crafted moves by the Western alliance is that the very blatancy of these prewar rounds of contention are driving home to many thousands of people that what is being laid here is not the framework of "peace through strength," but of "victory through nuclear war."

From this arises the explosive collision between the policies compulsory to the West German bourgeoisie and the determined insistence of a growing section of the masses there.

Implicit in much of the politics now characterizing the anti-missile movement is a demand that West Germany gradually sever itself from the Western war bloc, take a stand as an independent, neutral nuclear-free zone, and act out its "benign" interests in a new way, hopefully even in tandem with a similarly inclined East Germany. What this vision reveals is the almost total absence of understanding in Europe that their countries are not just quaint and civilized victims of superpower bullying, but are themselves monopoly-capitalist powers whose very survival requires the sucking of blood from uncounted millions throughout the world. It is a quirk of history that both Germanies have been relieved of any open colonial links by the results of the two previous world wars — so that they do their bloodsucking through straws held in place by their respective superpowers, who have shouldered the messier responsibilities of empire. But regardless of the more subtle and hidden channels that West German finance capital has carved for itself — the fact is that it simply cannot disengage itself from alliances that are the very basis for its own continuing international exploitation. Like all imperialists in the world today, the West German ruling class acts on the profound compulsion to seek a new division of the world, as the only resolution of the gnawing world systemic crisis which has even gripped the so-called West German "Economic Miracle" at its very foundations.

Preparations for Autumn

It is this overwhelming necessity to carry through with war preparations that motivates the complex of tactics the imperialists have unleashed to contain the political crisis in West Germany.

From their perspective there is a very particular scenario which they are going to try to enforce:

Step One — there is to be open debate as befits a "free society."

Step Two — there are to be open protests and nonviolent demonstrations if necessary, as is the right of citizens of a "free society."

Step Three — the government is to go ahead with its reactionary plans, as is the purpose of the bourgeois state, in a "free society."

And Step Four — anyone who does not go along are to have their asses thoroughly kicked and even shot, as any "good German" knows must be done to perpetuate this "free society."

To carry this out, there is a division of labor emerging among bourgeois forces.

The West German imperialists are feverishly trying to orchestrate a role *within* the leadership of the official peace movement — using their various avenues, including the direct influence of the churches and the left-wing of the SPD.

As if it weren't enough to have domestic SPD forces acting within that movement, by supposed coincidence the "German Society for the United Nations" has announced that Robert McNamara will be imported to West Germany to receive the Dag Hammarskjöld Medal for his "exceptional contributions to the solution of world problems." The fact that Robert will arrive in the heat of the autumn, and in Berlin of all places, is hardly a mistake — since he is already being touted as proof that *even* American defense ministers and archetypal capitalist chiefs of the World Bank, like Robert McNamara, can go from "architect of the Vietnam war" to being "one of the most prominent heads of the American peace movement." (The imperialists are also sending more than missiles to Europe!)

One major part of this imperialist containment campaign is an avalanche of media discussion of acceptable and unacceptable tactics. In Bavaria, courses have been held for state bureaucrats and police officials to learn "the goals of the peaceful sections of the anti-war movement" and obviously to be able to separate out "those other guys": the "spontis," "anti-impis," "chaotien," punks and anarchos. Coinciding with this, sanction within the "official peace movement" for acts of civil disobedience has faded as weeks have gone by — and every conceivable angle is exploited to insist that the "fringe elements" must be coopted, isolated, submerged, exposed, challenged and if all else fails — suppressed, including by the peace movement itself.

One particular sign of the pressure being exerted on "responsible leaders" is the squeeze being put on the Green Party. That party has come into prominence, and into seats within parliament, through the approach of two legs: their "standing leg" is their roots within the "autonomous mass movements," originally the ecology movement and now obviously the peace movement; and their "maneuvering leg" which is their expression in parliament. But having successfully used mass sentiments to work their way into a slice of influence and power — they are now finding themselves under dogged pressure to serve ruling class interests within the mass movement.

Recently, Frank Schwalbe-Hoth, a Green member in the Wiesbaden parliament shouting in English "blood for the bloody army" poured a cupful of his own blood over an American General Williams, commander of the 5th Army Corps. And the West German media whipped this incident up into a storm of outrage over the "immaturity of this party," attempting to cut support of respectability out from under them, and simultaneously force the Greens to "prove" themselves responsible in the eyes of bourgeois public opinion.

Simultaneously a similarly fabricated wind has been blown up of "sex scandal in the Greens" where tabloids are featuring front page screamers about sexual harassment of women within the Green faction of the Hessian parliament. And at the same time, there are repeated accounts linking various wings of the alternative party movement directly with the pro-Soviet DKP, and not-so-subtle calls for purges, more Green Party discipline, and the abandonment of the egalitarian practices of rotating all party posts and parliamentary seats.

Under the pressure of this so-called "Breasts & Blood" backlash, and as an outgrowth of political currents that always dominated the Greens, there is an increasing tendency for their spokespeople to act as enforcers of the movement.

In reality all of these maneuvers reflect, and serve, the increasingly gripping fear of the bourgeoisie that a serious protest movement will turn into something that is not only violent but which consciously challenges their system itself. There is already talk that the confrontation in Krefeld foreshadowed "a collision of forces for 'peace' with the forces for 'power'."

Continued on page 11

The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have

A WORLD TO WIN
INTERNATIONAL MARXIST-LENINIST
JOURNAL

"This journal can and will be a crucial weapon which can help unite, ideologically, politically and organisationally, the genuine Marxist-Leninists throughout the world."

No. 1, May 1st, 1981 (\$2.00)

Articles from Marxist-Leninists in Ceylon, Chile, China, France, India, Spain, U.S.A. Includes document from clandestine Marxist-Leninists in China and the Joint Communiqué of the Autumn 1980 International Conference, "To the Marxist-Leninists, the Workers and the Oppressed of All Countries"

No. 2, May 1st, 1982 (\$2.00)

Articles and correspondence from Marxist-Leninists in Britain, Ceylon, Chile, France, Haiti, India, New Zealand, Peru, Turkey, U.S.A. Includes editorial calling for new International Conference and focusing points for debate.

"Without upholding and building on Mao's contributions it is not possible to defeat revisionism, imperialism and reaction in general..."

Special offer: Both issues No. 1 and 2 for \$3.50

Include \$1.00 postage with all orders.

Available from: RCP Publications
P.O. Box 3486
Chicago, IL 60654

Hot Autumn on the Fault Line

Continued from page 10



With an obvious sincerity borrowed from Soviet "dove" politics, Heiner Geissler, the general secretary of the ruling Christian Democratic Party, here holds their new party symbol. With it is their original and convincing slogan "Together for Peace and Freedom."



Playing the assigned role of the Social Democrats to the hilt, SPD parliamentary leader Peter Glotz here mouths their new slogan "Negotiations, not arms" — in front of their new symbol of a nuke, very much in place, but fashionably restrained by some abstract and ill-defined entity.

And a particularly intense part of that is the fear that martyrs will be created either by state forces or through Bobby Sands-style protest, unleashing a massive shift away from loyal opposition and nonviolence. The head of the West German equivalent of the FBI said: "At the point where the first martyr falls, there will be no further reason for restraints. In their eyes, the state will have revealed its true features." To prevent such events, they will try to channel everything into well-lubricated channels. However, despite all the precautions and careful bourgeois planning — the only certain thing is that things will not likely run according to diktat.

Because this is not a crisis with an accessible compromise on the horizon, the West German state is carefully oiling its violence apparatus and scrambling to mobilize their considerable reactionary social bases. Government figures are bellowing their right to "criticize those who attack the freedom and liberty-loving, and truly Christian defense policies of the governing party, using the propaganda slogans of atheistic Communist dictatorship with its utter disdain for freedom and humanity." The CDU's manager opened a rally in Geilenkirchen saying "one can support our defense policies, and specifically NATO's two-track resolution, with a clear conscience and while basing oneself fully in the spirit of the Sermon on the Mount." And in some key military towns, signs have appeared with the slogan "I'd rather have a Pershing in the garden, than an SS-20 through the roof."

Police forces have been reported training with the chants, "Kill 'em, kill 'em all." And constant sensational coverage is given to the alleged "shoot-to-kill orders" of the American military police, and to the alleged fact that they are a wildcard because they are not influenced by West German politics. There is even the open mobilization of extreme right-wing paramilitary forces, based largely among refugees from the East, who are calling for "Citizen Defense Militias to defend public order and the streets from the leftist rabble," volunteering to "pound a passage through any existing blockades of military installations." All this is recalling in the public mind the wars between political militias in the streets of the Weimar past.

But what really lies at the heart of the imperialists' fears, is that the radicalization provoked by deployment will not stop if the weapons are rammed into place. In this regard, it is significant that the established press in West Germany has even started questioning whether to take seriously descriptions of this as a "pre-revolutionary period." At the very least, there seems to be consensus among the imperialists that there is a real danger that whole sections of the youth will slip from their grasp if events are not correct-

ly controlled. The possibility is seriously discussed that long after the heat of this coming period has receded, it may leave behind a bitterly disenchanted and sizeable section of the population that has rejected both nonviolence and the whole so-called "swine-system," and therefore will pose a long-term and potentially revolutionary challenge. This is undoubtedly a real possibility. Yet, while such a profound political rupture would leave fresh forces searching for paths of opposition, the class position of the bulk of these forces makes them particularly susceptible to the various non-revolutionary trends which today are springing up in Europe like mushrooms after a rain. As we have pointed out before, the situation clearly cries out for the influence and leadership by a section of the proletariat organized around a revolutionary communist line.

The West German press laments that their present crisis coincides with the political emergence of at least three distinct disruptive social forces.

In the first place there is the widespread and general alienation of largely middle-class youth that form the core of the peace movement itself and the various alternative parties that have arisen out of it. A politicized countercultural movement growing out of the sixties has not only developed deep roots, but turned from a mood of "do your own thing" into a critical and far-reaching challenge to the existing structure of modern European society and its present political alignments. 40% of West German youth say that if there were no Green Party they would simply not vote at all, and they are viewed by the ruling classes of NATO as a force that must be recaptured at all costs, and kept nonviolent in the interim.

Alongside them are the millions of "Guest Workers" (immigrants largely from Turkey) who have been sucked into Central Europe by the international workings of capital. A significant section of these masses have brought with them the breadth of mind, and the often revolutionary sentiments, of proletarians who have seen imperialism from both sides, and who know (unlike most Germans) that enforced immiseration for millions throughout the world is the real, if often "hidden," underbelly of vaulted "European civilization." While not generally active in the present peace movements, these workers have nonetheless been a special target of the state clampdown, and have themselves intensified political struggle throughout this period. It is highly significant for the whole political future of the movement in West Germany that there exists among these workers the active presence of the revolutionary-communist/proletarian-internationalist trend.

And finally, there is a growing current of extremely alienated working class youth who are finding their political

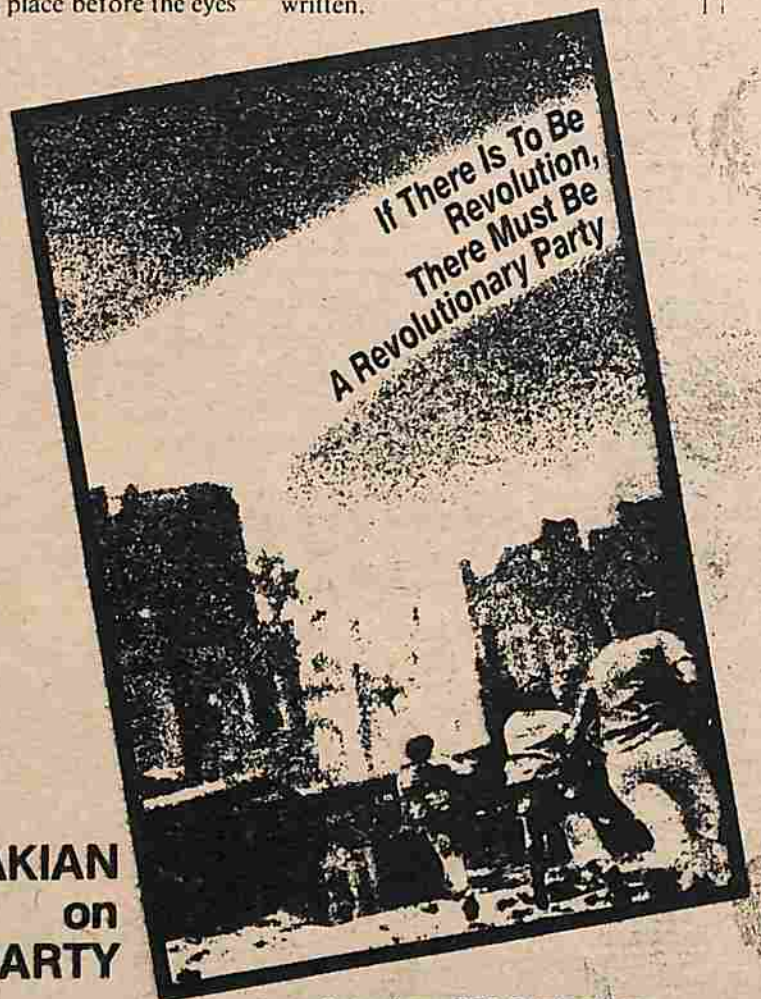
voice, in the "untamed" (and certainly defamed) movement dubbed "Chaoten." Influenced by punk, anarchism, and the urban guerrilla line of leftist revisionism, these prole-youth are anything but nonviolent; ominously threatening every rotten strand of European civilization and the "responsible currents" of the anti-missile movement when they appear, in Palestinian scarves, black leather and balaclava masks, ready to fight toe-to-toe with the defenders of order.

A fresh breeze is blowing from the old continent, where frankly, for a decade a stench of resignation and capitulation has depressed and smothered revolutionary sentiments. Political events are picking up speed, as the campaigns of "Hot Autumn" unfold. And, as always when political life runs through the rapids of disruption and crisis, tremendous experiences are concentrating themselves up into sharp collisions. These collisions are not only taking place before the eyes

of millions throughout the world, but are actually drawing millions (including extremely volatile, radical, and suppressed social forces) into political life.

One particular thing is clear here. The NATO imperialists have themselves provoked a crisis by wheeling these new high-tech super-weapons into place. They are brandishing their armaments and bellowing loudly about their power and invincibility.

But, in response, something else is being proven: even in the age of electronic warfare, even in the era of MIRVed megatons, even in Europe at the very heart of the armed forces of both imperialist blocs — even there, Mao Tse-tung was right when he said, "in the final analysis, it is people not weapons that are decisive." And what the oppressed of this world, and including Europe and West Germany, will say, when on the eve of world war they are drawn into political life, and what they will create, is not yet written.



BOB AVAKIAN ON THE PARTY

Order from RCP Publications
P.O. Box 3486, Merchandise Mart
Chicago, IL 60654

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

Report On A Conversation With Chiang Ching



Chiang Ching at the docket berating her captors.

Inside China Mainland, a newsletter put out by Taiwan, recently published what it called a "summary" of a conversation between Chiang Ching (Jiang Qing) and her daughter Li Na. The conversation supposedly took place last year, when Li Na visited Chiang Ching in prison. According to the Taiwan newsletter, the conversation was discussed in a study document issued this year by the Chinese Communist Party "Central Political and Legal Committee." The Taiwanese reactionaries have their own reasons for jabbing at the revisionists by publishing materials such as this. But overall, the "summary" of the conversation as printed in the newsletter seems consistent with the firm, revolutionary stand that Chiang Ching continues to take. At the time the conversation took place, Chiang Ching, along with her comrade Chang Chun chiao (Zhang Chunqiao), was still under the death sentence. Early this year, the revisionists changed the death sentence to life imprisonment because of various political considerations, including the fact that the two revolutionaries have refused to break in the face of tremendous difficulties and pressure and admit their "guilt." What follows is the dialogue that's printed in the newsletter.

Jiang: Who told you to come?

Li: The leadership allowed me to come to see you and to bring a few things. It's springtime; you also ought to celebrate the New Year.

Jiang: Are you well? How do they treat you? Have you been expelled from the party? Is life difficult?

Li: Things are so-so. The upper levels of the party have not announced my expulsion from the party, but they also have not told me to take up party activities. Some meetings of party members they want me to go to; and there are some they neither bar me from nor notify me of, so I don't go. Life is all right; wages are paid as before.

Jiang: They don't dare publicly expel you from the party, but you ought to resign from the party. Leadership of this party has already been seized by the bourgeois careerists; the party has already been transformed; the country has already changed its color. You are the daughter of the Chairman and ought to proudly stand up to defend the Thought of Mao Tsetung and the revolutionary role of Mao Tsetung.

Li: (No response.)

Jiang: Are there people who forbid you to read the books of the Chairman?

Li: (No response.)

Jiang: The Chairman is your father; you ought to have the determination to make sacrifices to carry on the unfinished work of the Chairman. . . you should struggle against those revisionist elements and bourgeois careerists. The great majority of the masses will support you; do you have this determination?

Li: (No response.)

Jiang: You must study well the thoughts of Mao Tsetung and be a good student of his. Work out well a plan for learning. Firmly grasp time to study and read a great deal — you especially ought to understand in detail and compare "On the Theory of Continuous Revolution Under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" written by the Chairman with principal "anti-revisionist" articles. (There is no known published article by Mao under that title, but in any case, he indeed did develop in an all-around way the theory and line of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship for the proletariat. Also, it seems from the context that the word "anti-revisionist" is a mistranslation and should read "revisionist." — *RW*) They try every way to deprive the Thought of Mao Tsetung of its essence and to distort it. They also want to block its voice and to prohibit the masses from reading his books. You should propagandize to the masses; tell the masses that it is only the Thought of Mao Tsetung which is capable of saving China.

Li: You should not still . . . still insist on being mistaken. The upper level of the organization says . . .

Jiang: I insist on the truth; they are the ones who are mistaken. The organization! What organization? The "revisionist" organization? You ought to withdraw from this organization. All Marxist-Leninists who are honest should bravely break away from this organization, raise high the glorious red flag of the Thought of Mao Tsetung and take the Chinese Communist Party seriously.

Li: The organization says that if you still insist on being mistaken then you will isolate yourself from the people and the death sentence will be carried out.

Jiang: You are my daughter; you came to see me; I hope not to hear this word "organization." They will not execute me. If they want to pass the death sentence, then they can carry it out. I am not afraid of death! Go back and tell the people who told you to come that, "The victory of the revolution has always sprung out from prison; the fruits of the revolution have always first blossomed forth from the execution grounds." I am a student of Chairman Mao; what crime is there in struggling for the thoughts of Mao Tsetung?

RW note: Unfortunately, we do not know the recent history of Li Na and therefore cannot be certain that her political stance is being accurately reflected here. But it is likely that there are many people who were active during the Cultural Revolution and who are now taking the line criticized by Chiang Ching — both quietly going along with the tide and not making a decisive break with the revisionists. One of the reasons that the revisionists are circulating this document could be to further demoralize such people ("Even Mao's daughter dares not oppose the organization") into more open capitulation. In this light, Chiang Ching's revolutionary stand becomes all the more significant and inspiring — ed.

Talks and Torpedoes

Continued from page 7

At Brezhnev's funeral, Andropov also met with China's foreign minister, thus putting a spotlight on the Sino-Soviet "normalization" talks. Although there are no signs that China is letting up on aid to Pakistan and the resistance as a compromise gesture to the Soviets, the very fact that the Chinese are sitting down at the negotiating table with the Soviets could well be a source of concern for Pakistan. Moscow is apparently trying to consciously fan Pakistan's suspicions. Although in the past the Soviets have attacked the U.S. and China with almost equal vigor on the Afghanistan issue, recent articles in the Soviet press and journals concentrate solely on the U.S. and do not mention China at all.

Such wavering on the part of Pakistan greatly worries the U.S. Especially with the unstable relations with Iran, the U.S. indeed is relying on Pakistan to be a solid "frontline state" (or, in the words of the Soviets, the "strategic bridgehead" for U.S. interests in south Asia). Millions of dollars have been poured into Pakistan from the U.S., China and pro-U.S. Arab states like Saudi Arabia and Egypt to prop up the Zia regime. Pakistan is now the fourth largest recipient of U.S. military aid and second largest recipient of economic aid. Pakistan, serving as the conduit for arms from the U.S. bloc into Afghanistan and Peshawar in northern Pakistan near the Afghan border, serves as the base for leaders of the reactionary Islamic parties that dominate the resistance forces.

There has also been some concern expressed within the U.S. about the effect that the Soviet political initiatives are having on the resistance forces. According to an article in *Foreign Policy*, "The Islamic fundamentalists are adamantly against any accommodations with Kabul, but this contrasts markedly with the 'con-

fused,' uncertain and war-wary mood most widely evident in Peshawar." A recent article in the *New Republic* raised the possibility that Gulbuddin, who leads one of the fundamentalist groups, might reach a compromise with the Soviets: "It is rumored in Pakistani and American diplomatic circles that the Soviets may be willing to invite Gulbuddin to join the Karmal government as part of a compromise peace plan. If Gulbuddin's ambition leads him to be amenable to Soviet influence, international Moslem criticisms of the Soviets might be diffused without sacrificing Soviet hegemony in Kabul."

Thus, the Soviet Union seems to be having some success with its "peace" initiative. The U.S., of course, has not been standing by idly. When Zia visited Washington a few weeks after his meeting with Andropov in Moscow, the U.S. moved to reaffirm its strategic relationship with Pakistan. Shortly before Zia's trip, the U.S. cleared the sale of F-16s to Pakistan. The sale had been held up due to opposition from some within the military circles to giving Pakistan the most sophisticated radar technology for the jets. Reagan also confirmed the five-year, \$3.2 billion military and economic aid package to Pakistan.

However, the U.S. has not relied mainly on sweetening the pot for Pakistan but has resorted to strong-arm tactics to undermine the UN negotiations and put Zia into line. One U.S. official has been quoted as saying that if an agreement was reached on Afghanistan, Pakistan would lose its priority status for U.S. aid. In May of this year, a "leak" from Reagan administration sources confirmed that the CIA is funneling mortars, bazookas, grenade-launchers and other light weapons to Afghan resistance forces through Pakistan. Such a revelation by itself was no surprise, since all this was already an open secret. But the significance of the "leak" was its timing — it came right after the UN negotiator had expressed confidence that 95% of an agreement had been worked out.

Then, shortly after the conclusion of the third and latest round of UN negotiations in June, Secretary of State George

Shultz, as part of his trip to Pakistan, swooped down on an Afghan refugee camp in Peshawar in the guise of a messenger of that great god that resides in Washington. According to press accounts, Shultz delivered a "fiery speech": "This is a gathering in the name of freedom, a gathering in the name of self-determination, a gathering in the name of getting Soviet forces out of Afghanistan, a gathering in the name of a sovereign Afghanistan, controlled by its own people. . . fellow fighters for freedom, we are with you!" This assurance of continuous divine support must have proved heartening to the reactionary mullahs whose hold over the masses depends a great deal on the supply of U.S. guns. Shultz also visited an outpost at Khyber Pass overlooking the Afghan border. The symbolism of this act was not missed by the U.S. nor the Soviets. It was at the very same spot that Zbigniew Brzezinski, the National Security Advisor under Carter, had his picture taken a month after the Soviet invasion, pointing a captured Soviet rifle towards Afghan territory.

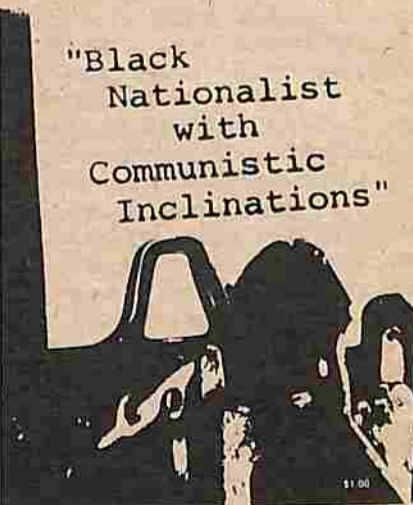
The Reagan administration "leak" and the Shultz visit were meant to make it clear that the U.S. would not tolerate any agreement that would make the halting of arms flow into Afghanistan a precondition for a settlement. This is obviously a slap at Moscow, but also, interestingly, a forceful reminder to Zia to cut out the wavering.

All this seems to have put a real damper on the UN negotiations. The communiqué issued at the end of the third round characterized the talks as "realistic and business-like" — in other words, nothing much got accomplished. Speaking in Geneva, the director of the Soviet Union's Institute on the USA and Canada claimed that Moscow was ready to pull out the troops as soon as Pakistan gave sufficient "guarantees," and charged that Washington was pressuring Pakistan to avoid a "peaceful settlement."

There is also some concern within the U.S. that the tactics employed so far have been too one-sided. Recent clashes between the authorities and Zia's op-

ponents were a reminder that the contradictions within Pakistan are very sharp and could boil over with the intense pressure coming down from both the Soviet and the U.S. sides. Moreover, simply torpedoing the negotiations could play into the Soviet maneuvers to point the finger at the U.S. for blocking "peace" in Afghanistan. The solution envisioned is for the U.S. to turn the tables on the Soviet Union by demanding that Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan be made a *precondition* for any agreement to stop arms shipments through Pakistan. Such a demand is bound to be rejected by the Soviets, and the onus for blocking a "peaceful settlement" in Afghanistan could then be thrust back on the Soviets. And the U.S. would more than welcome Pakistan's participation in UN negotiations on that basis.

Bob Avakian Replies to a Letter from:



Originally published in the *Revolutionary Worker*.

Order From: RCP Publications
P.O. Box 3486
Merchandise Mart
Chicago, IL 60654

Of all the expletives being offered up in the Western media to describe the Soviet downing of the South Korean Airlines plane, perhaps the most interesting is the liberal use of the word "unprecedented." As a matter of fact, the forcing and/or shooting down of commercial airliners with passengers aboard that have strayed — whether accidentally or deliberately and with or without secret intelligence gear — beyond the bounds of their duly registered flight paths is anything but that. This is not to mention the thousands of recorded international incidents involving straight-up aerial spying, with resulting interceptions and shootdowns, over the past several decades as the imperialists have relentlessly probed and mapped each others' military capabilities using virtually every type of military and civilian aircraft imaginable. (The largest part of these have involved U.S. spy flights over Russia and China, perhaps the most famous of which was the downing of the American U-2 intelligence plane piloted by Francis Powers in 1960 after four years of brazen, uninterrupted overflights of Soviet territory. By the '60s, however, there were countless exposures of Soviet spy-flights over NATO countries, probes of U.S. airspace, etc.) The history of such incidents, the accompanying belligerent responses as well as lying deceptions could fill volumes. But here we will, for the most part, confine ourselves to incidents involving attacks on civilian airplanes. Below are a few selected, relevant examples. And if the language used and "explanations" offered by certain parties concerned seems familiar... well, that's because it is!

1955—Bulgarian jets shoot off the tail of an El Al Israeli airliner, killing all 58 persons aboard, after it wanders 100 miles over Bulgarian territory and "repeatedly ignores warnings to land." Israel protests the "shocking recklessness" of the act and denies that the plane had ever veered from its course into Bulgarian airspace. The U.S. announces it "emphatically protests the brutal shooting" as a "grave violation" of international law. After initially attempting to cover up, Bulgaria finally expresses its "deep regret" and admits its pilots were "too hasty" in shooting down the plane.

1958—In one of a number of similar incidents that year, an "unarmed U.S. military transport" — i.e., spy-plane — is shot down over Soviet Armenia. U.S. claims that it became "lost" in a blinding storm are rendered silly as, à la Reagan last week, then-President Eisenhower subsequently releases extensive U.S. surveillance tapes and transcripts of conversation between Soviet interceptor pilots and flight leaders as they zeroed in on their target.

1961—French fighter jets intercept and fire upon a Soviet civilian airliner carrying USSR President Brezhnev over Algeria, after the plane enters "the French Zone." The shots miss narrowly. The French claim that the plane "did not respond" to radio communication and had not filed a flight plan, which it had. The French government eventually expresses regret, while justifying the action, saying that the plane had committed infractions of flight rules and was over an area of French responsibility. Gromyko states that the plane had in fact been in contact with Algiers and says, "This absolutely unprecedented action of the French warplanes directed at an aircraft of the Soviet civilian air fleet could have provoked a catastrophe. These actions cannot be interpreted otherwise than as an act of international banditry carried out by the French armed forces." Brezhnev has "no comment" for the press.

1964—Egyptian fighters shoot down a private U.S. civilian aircraft carrying executives of the J.W. McCom Oil Co. that violates restricted airspace over Alexandria, killing three. After the U.S. protests and threatens to delay economic aid to Egypt, Egyptian President Nasser tells U.S. officials to "go jump in the lake."

1970—U.S. Air Force plane carrying a Brigadier General, the head of the U.S. military mission to Turkey, flies deep into Soviet airspace and is forced to land in Leninakan, Soviet Armenia. During the ensuing furor over the general's release,

Soviet cries of spying, etc., the Soviets further charge that U.S. spy-planes have violated Soviet airspace over militarily sensitive portions of northeastern Russia no less than ten times over the past three years. U.S. officials straight-facedly respond that all ten of these incursions were in actuality made by "Alaskan polar bear hunters."

1973—In February, Israeli attack jets gun down a Libyan civilian airliner en route to Cairo from Bengasi, Libya, killing 106 people (mostly Egyptians) after the plane overflew the Cairo airport in bad weather and passed over the Sinai Peninsula. The Libyan Foreign Minister branded the act "premeditated mass murder." The Israeli Cabinet stated that the Libyan plane had flown "over a most highly sensitive Israeli-controlled military area and behaved in a manner that aroused suspicion and concern about its intentions." And the Transportation Minister stated, "There are international principles regarding the penetration of the airspace of another country whether deliberately or by error." "What are we to do?" asked a responsible Israeli officer, "let a Libyan plane roam at will through our airspace?" Ironically, tapes showed the plane's pilot thought he was still over Egyptian territory when he was shot down — and, the comments of the Israeli occupiers of the Sinai at the time notwithstanding, he of course was. Eventually Israel conceded an "error in judgment."

1973—In August Israeli jets threaten to shoot down a Middle East Airlines jetliner that was on course during a routine flight from Beirut, Lebanon to Damascus, Syria, forcing it to land at a military airfield in hopes of capturing Palestinian guerrilla leaders who were reportedly aboard — obviously a further violation of Israeli "national airspace." However, it turned out to be yet another "error in judgment" as the Israelis found they had skyjacked the wrong plane and ended up empty-handed.

1976—Czech Air Force jets force down an Austrian aircraft for airspace violations.

Israeli jets intercept and force down a Saudi C-130 mail transport with American advisors aboard in Tel Aviv for flying over settlements in Israeli-occupied areas.

South Korean artillery fire on an American Northwest Airlines Boeing 707 cargo plane after it penetrates restricted airspace over Seoul.

1976—Orlando Bosch (notorious U.S.-sponsored hit-man and godfather/patriarch of Miami's Cuban exile community) and another CIA man plant plastic explosives aboard a Cuban airliner in Venezuela which then explodes over the Atlantic, killing all 76 people on board. After Bosch is arrested by the Venezuelan government and goes on a hunger strike in a military prison where he is held, the Miami City Commission (city council) declares a public holiday — "Orlando Bosch Day" — to honor him in a fitting demonstration of U.S. imperialist concern for the sort of crimes which Reagan accused the Soviets of last week: i.e., a "heinous... appalling... act of brutality... this murder of innocent civilians... a serious international issue... (for) civilized people everywhere who cherish individual rights and value human life..." Reagan's recent trip to Miami to cultivate the reactionary Cuban forces, whom the U.S. considers an important social base, sheds further light on the nature of such

concern for "civilization."

1978—In a near duplication of the current international uproar, a South Korean Airlines Boeing 707 manages to do the impossible — i.e., to "stray" over 1000 miles off course deep into the Soviet Union, where it cruises about for hours before being detected by embarrassed Soviet defense authorities. The Soviets machine-gun it over Murmansk and it crash-lands on a frozen lake with two dead. Later, the pilot admits ignoring repeated requests to land on a military airstrip and taking evasive actions to elude Soviet jets. Various U.S./South Korean claims are initially made: for instance, that there was no inertial guidance system on this advanced Boeing jetliner. There was. U.S. officials purport to be "very puzzled" by the incident, the pilot's actions, etc., and just can't figure out what the hell the plane might have been doing so far over Soviet territory because of "extremely fragmentary information." The next day, Carter advisor Brzezinski "blows national security" by revealing that the U.S. knew the Soviets had fired and forced the plane down from the usual monitored conversations and so on — this before any Soviet admission or confirmation from passengers. A later Soviet suggestion that the plane may have flown further off course than originally intended because the entire crew was playing poker was hotly denied by the South Korean crew members, who were apparently well aware that they were supposed to be on the ball playing a somewhat different sort of "aerial poker" — something which South Korean commercial flights have now become notorious for.

1979—A Pan Am Boeing 747 on a New York City to Saudi Arabia flight is forced to land by Syrian jets in Damascus for "airspace violations."

1980—An Italian Itavia Airlines DC-9 jetliner is obliterated by a "mysterious" explosion near the island of Ustica in the Tyrrhenian Sea while en route from the Italian mainland to Palermo, Sicily during war games conducted by American, French, British, Italian and Turkish units of NATO's Southern Command in the nearby Mediterranean. All 81 people aboard the plane are killed instantly. However, there are no "deep regrets" or admissions of recklessness forthcoming from NATO since the incident — clearly an interfamily affair — is hushed up in the press and the plane's disappearance is dismissed as "inexplicable" and perhaps due to "gusting winds" or possibly a "collision with a meteorite." Six months later, the Italian Transportation Minister, in the midst of a heated parliamentary argument, blurts out that "I am certain my DC-9 was hit by a missile." Shortly thereafter, the West German magazine, *Der Spiegel*, publishes reams of evidence from an Italian investigative study that

confirms that the plane was hit by an air-to-air heat-seeking missile, most likely fired from one of a squadron of U.S. jet fighters that was engaged in target practice that particular day (something denied by NATO authorities). However, the same U.S. officials now pompously demanding "a full Soviet accounting" of the South Korean Airlines incident and that "the Soviet Union owes the world the fullest possible explanation for their inexcusable act" have yet to even mention, much less admit, any responsibility for the shooting down of the Italian airliner (and if they ever did they would probably point out that the entire Mediterranean lake is, after all, considered sensitive U.S. "airspace"). And while it was most likely a U.S. missile, the conspicuous silence of Italian authorities on this matter raised another intriguing, though definitely less likely, possibility: Could an Italian missile have blown away an Italian airliner over Italian "national airspace"???

1981—A missile explodes a few miles from another Italian DC-9 civilian cargo plane over almost the exact same spot in the Tyrrhenian Sea during NATO naval maneuvers taking place just east-north-east of Ustica. This time there are no denials of target practice in the area since the U.S. Sixth Fleet had previously given public notice of missile firing tests. However, an Italian Air Force general assured the press that the plane could not have been "in any danger" whatsoever since it was all of 22 miles from the maneuvers and flying a "safe" 2000 feet above the official firing level!

1981-82—Soviet Aeroflot civilian airliners manage to drift off course some 16 times, passing over such U.S. military facilities as Pease Air Force Base near Plattsburgh, New York, Otis Air Force Base near Cape Cod, and Groton, Conn. (just as General Dynamic's Electric Boat Corp. happened to be launching the first Trident nuclear submarine). In one case, Aeroflot had filed an adjustment to its normal flight pattern that would take them right over the Trident base at Groton and the FAA okayed this plan with no objections. No sooner had the Aeroflot plane flown over the base than the U.S. screeched that the Soviets had maliciously deviated from course on a spying mission and all Aeroflot flights to the U.S. were suspended for a week in retaliation.

1983—In April, Libya complains that Italian attack jets have recently intercepted Libyan civil aircraft in international airspace some twelve times.

1983—After the South Korean airliner "inexplicably" deviates twice over Russian territory and overflies two different highly sensitive military installations, the Soviets shoot it down in an "unprecedented" act of international air piracy, etc., etc....

High Priests of Mass Murder

To the RW,

It really burns me up to see these high priests of mass murder coldly manipulate the other side's mass murder. I know both imperialist blocs do it all the time, and particularly now as they prepare for the biggest blood feast in history. But September is the anniversary of two U.S.-sponsored "minor" events — Chile in '73 and Sabra-Shatila

refugee camp in Lebanon in '82. And with the U.S. cruise missiles going into Europe this fall — tens of thousands of dead, tens of millions — they could care less about 269 dead from a Soviet missile.

Revolution in the '80s! Go For It!
A Vietnam Vet
New Jersey

Dennis Brutus Given Political Asylum

On September 6, a federal immigration judge granted political asylum to Dennis Brutus, the South African poet and political opponent of apartheid. Although the INS says it will appeal the decision, this represents an important setback to their two-year effort to deport him to Zimbabwe.

The legal case for asylum revolved around whether Dennis Brutus's life would be in danger if he was returned to Zimbabwe. The State Department had previously claimed that although he had a "well-founded fear of persecution in South Africa... we are not able to confirm that Mr. Brutus's life or liberty would be at risk in Zimbabwe." In granting political asylum, however, Judge Schwartz said evidence at July's hearing had made it "clear" that South African squads cross the Zimbabwe border "to commit mayhem or murder or even kidnapping," and that Brutus is a "prime target" of South Africa.

The INS had made a final argument in court on this last day that Brutus should be deported to Britain. But in granting the asylum the judge also ruled against this — after living in the U.S. for 12 years

it would take quite a stretch of imagination to consider Dennis Brutus a permanent resident of Britain.

Increasingly as the U.S. government has pursued this case they have been caught in a bind. Deportation proceedings against Brutus, initiated on extremely flimsy technicalities, have taken place against a backdrop of the U.S. more openly allying itself with South Africa, even further projecting the role of the country as the economic and military heavyweight in southern Africa. But South Africa is extremely hated throughout the world, and Dennis Brutus is probably the best-known opponent of apartheid in the U.S., and one of the most prominent internationally. He is a well-known poet and has led a 20-year effort that resulted in South Africa's suspension from the 1964 and 1968 Olympics and expulsion after 1970. Over the past two years his struggle against deportation has gained support from people throughout the world and from widespread sections of people in the U.S.

The case also coincides with an inner-bourgeois struggle over how best to sta-

bilize southern Africa under U.S. control vis-à-vis the Soviets (see "Apartheid: Problem Child of Imperialism," *RW*, June 3, 1983). Significant voices among the ranks of the rulers have been trying to brand the policy of constructive engagement a failure for "one-sidedly" embracing South Africa and apartheid, leading to the destabilization of other southern African countries and possibly destabilizing South Africa itself. All this no doubt played a role in the decision to grant political asylum in this case.

Despite claims to the contrary, the U.S. hasn't really come out of this case emanating the sweet smell of human rights. The U.S. master behind the South African police dog in southern Africa was exposed even further. Along the way they have been forced to publicly admit South Africa does send murder squads across the border to wipe out political opponents. And much more came out into the open about the fascist repression of the black masses inside South Africa, including torture chambers like Robben Island where Dennis Brutus was imprisoned.



Speaking after the ruling, Dennis Brutus called the decision a political victory and thanked the support he has received. But, referring to the very real attempts by the INS to continue deportation efforts through appealing this decision, he cautioned that the case is not yet closed.

La Migra's Alley

Continued from page 2

tried to blame that on "alien smugglers" — that time for "abandoning" the victims. Today increasing numbers of immigrants are left to die in abandoned truck trailers, car trunks or even moving vehicles. Other "natural barriers" favored by the INS in raids on fields are rivers and irrigation canals. During a 10 month period in 1981, eight immigrant farmworkers drowned trying to escape INS raids, several times right in front of other workers and INS agents. Not only did the INS agents, despite the obvious possibility of drowning deaths, refuse to

carry any rescue equipment and refuse to allow other immigrants to go to the aid of the drowning victims, in one case the INS accused workers pleading to save a drowning man of trying to divert the agents' attention from doing their job!

The message conveyed by these bloody actions hovers just below the half-hearted apologies and routine expressions of concern which issued from INS spokesmen after the latest deaths. The U.S. is making it crystal clear that even if large numbers of workers must be allowed into the U.S. — because of international political considerations as well as those of the domestic economy — these

immigrants will be hounded, terrorized, murdered and otherwise "controlled" by time-honored American means. And in late August, the INS announced a new, euphemistically-entitled "Repatriation Program," in which, as a sixty-day experiment, the INS will begin busing some deported workers deep into Mexico — some as far as 900 miles — instead of the usual practice of busing them just across the border. This is obviously a far cry from the image the INS has sometimes fed the media of a little game of hide-and-seek down on the border, agents greeting their prey with a hearty "gotcha" and sending people back to Mexico with a parting "see you tomorrow night." The INS officially claims that the purpose of the "Repatriation Program" is to

"relieve pressure on the border," but the real intent parallels the motives behind the Migra's string of not-so-accidental deaths, and is precisely the opposite: to tighten control of the border, that is, control of immigrant workers, and to be able to drastically restrict the flow of people from other countries if need be in the future. These policies would be codified and vastly strengthened in the Simpson-Mazzoli Bill, now before Congress, and it is no accident that INS spokesmen such as Ezell accompanied statements on the latest murders with calls for passage of the bill. It is yet another sign that the presence in the U.S. of these oppressed proletarians from other countries remains for the bourgeoisie a dangerous — and pressing — problem.

Accumulating

Revolutionary

Forces

for the

Coming

Showdown

*An important and timely analysis
of the objective situation
and the role of the party*

*Report from a meeting of the Central Committee of the
Revolutionary Communist Party, USA
held in the latter part of 1982*

Available at Revolution Books:

- 859-1/2 MLK Dr. NW No. 103, Atlanta, GA 30314, (404) 577-4656
- 3126 Grove St., Berkeley, CA 94703 (415) 841-8314
- 90 River St., Cambridge, MA 02139 (617) 492-9016
- 2525 N. Lincoln Ave., Chicago, IL 60614 (312) 528-5353
- 110 W. McMillan St., Cincinnati, OH 45219 (513) 281-4275
- 5744 Woodward Ave., Detroit, MI 48202 (313) 872-2286
- 2648 South King St., Honolulu, HI 96826 (808) 944-3106
- P.O. Box 26A34, Los Angeles, CA 90026 (213) 484-2907
- 138 West 10th St., New York, NY 10014 (212) 691-3345
- (Everybody's Books), 1541 Grant Ave., SF, CA 94133 (415) 781-4989
- 5232 University Way, NE, Seattle, WA 98105 (206) 527-8558
- 2438 18th St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009 (202) 265-1969

Orders from outside the U.S. may be placed with:
Liberation Distributors, P.O. Box 5341, Chicago, IL 60680, USA

Statements of Support for Tina Fishman

The two-year long custody battle waged by RCP supporter Tina Fishman will soon reach its conclusion. The final custody hearing will be held in Chicago on September 15 before Cook County Domestic Relations Judge Richard Jorzak. Tina's daughter Riva will remain in a foster home pending the outcome of the hearing unless Judge Jorzak rules otherwise. For two years the courts have attempted to snatch Riva from Tina's custody by upholding the illegal kidnapping of the child by ex-husband Ted Fishman, but they have encountered serious obstacles in doing this.

The wide implications of this case as a political attack on the RCP with broad ramifications for women has drawn forth a diverse spectrum of support. Feminists in particular have strongly taken up this case from college campuses and women's studies programs to help activists. Radical feminists on the West Coast have participated in the committee against the kidnapping of Tina Fishman's daughter, publicized the case at many events including "women take back the night" demonstrations, and were instrumental in getting Tina to speak at an International Women's Day demonstration in Berkeley. In legal circles, from experts on child custody cases to lawyers concerned about political repression, the case has been the focus of increasing outrage, including at the National Lawyer's Guild convention last month in Chicago. The American Atheists, especially in Illinois and San Francisco, have also strongly supported the case with many letters of protest to the courts. Tina was invited to speak at one of their recent national events, and Des Moines, Iowa atheist Larry Carter took the initiative to picket the Federal Building in his city during a July hearing of the case. The case has also gained international attention from a Geneva, Switzerland-based organization of European feminists called Isis, and the committee has received letters from as far away as Australia. Various others from many walks of life have also taken a strong stand on the case.

Below is a partial list of individuals and organizations who have spoken out and given generously of their support in many ways, followed by some of the many messages of outrage sent to the court. Continued support is crucial to defeating this politically motivated kidnapping. The Committee Against the Kidnapping of Tina Fishman's Daughter urges letters and telegrams to be sent to:

Judge Richard Jorzak
Case No. 83-D-64-86
Domestic Relations Court
Circuit Court of Cook County
Daley Plaza, Room 1903
Chicago, IL 60602

For further information contact:
**THE COMMITTEE AGAINST THE
KIDNAPPING OF TINA FISHMAN'S
DAUGHTER**

1541 Grant Avenue
San Francisco, CA 94133
(415) 781-4989

2525 North Lincoln Avenue
Chicago, IL 60614
(312) 528-5353

Martha Thompson, sociologist
Bill and Yuri Kochiyama, New York
Women's International League for
Peace and Freedom, Mid-
Peninsula Branch
American Atheists, San Francisco and
Illinois chapters

Phil Berrigan
Alice Walker, author
Berkeley Feminist Alliance
The John Howard Association (prison
reform agency, Chicago)

Isis (Geneva, Switzerland-based
European feminist organization)

Bryant Fong, former Director
Chinatown Community Children's
Center*

Carl Kabat (of the Plowshares 8)*

Paul Harris, attorney
Women Against Violence and
Pornography in Media

The Center for Women and Religion,
Graduate Theological Union,
Berkeley

Leonard Post, attorney
National Lawyers Guild 1983
Convention, Chicago

72 women attending the National
Women's Studies Association
Conference, Columbus, Ohio 1983

37 women attending the National
Reproductive Rights Convention
1982 (Chicago)

18 participants at the American
Anthropology Association's
Annual Meeting, Washington,
D.C. 1982

40 women at the National Women's
Music Festival, Bloomington,
Indiana 1983

72 activists at the Women's Pentagon
Action, Washington, D.C.

Kathleen M. Flaherty, attorney
Patricia Rush, M.D.

Florence E. Babb, Assistant Professor,
Anthropology & Women's Studies,
University of Iowa*

Oakland Feminist Women's Health
Center

Renny Golden, Northeastern Illinois
University*

Deborah Rosenfelt, Coordinator
Women's Studies, San Francisco
State University*

Paul Bigman, Editor Prison Law &
Advocacy*

Ralph J. Caro-Capulungo, Oakland
Doug Cassel, attorney, Chicago
Nancy Whitley, Yellow Ribbon Burner,
Oregon

Ed Voci, attorney, Chicago

Dickelle Fonda

Dr. Donald Brauner

Ladies Against Women, San Francisco
Bay Area

59 people at Holly Near concert,
Chicago

Melody Moore, Citizens Against
Nuclear Power and People Against
the LaSalle Start-Up*

Larry Carter, American Atheists,*
Des Moines, Iowa

Rev. Natalie Shiras, Campus Christian
Center of San Francisco State
University

* Organization or institution listed for
identification purposes only.

*The following is the text of a telegram
sent to Judge Ragan during the December
hearing by Isis, a network of twenty-six
European feminist organizations based in
Geneva, Switzerland.*

Commissioner James Browning: We the
women of Isis Geneva protest against
"The Legal Kidnapping" of Tina
Fishman's daughter Riva and think it in-
tolerable to call her an unfit mother. We
earnestly urge you to give her permanent
custody of her daughter.

November 8, 1982

Commissioner James Browning
Superior Court of San Mateo County
Hall of Justice
Redwood City, CA 94063

Dear Commissioner Browning:

I am writing with respect to the pending proceedings regarding the custody of Riva Fishman. While I recognize that a determination of this nature should be predicated on legal considerations, and not on the volume of mail received, I would strongly urge that the child's mother, Tina Fishman, retain custody.

There are two aspects of the effort to deny Ms. Fishman custody of her daughter which I find deeply troublesome. The first is the implication that Ms. Fishman's political activities or professional involvement in some way detract from her fitness as a mother. I do not happen to share Ms. Fishman's political views; indeed, I have strong disagreements with the philosophy and actions of the organizations to which she belongs. This should, however, have no bearing whatsoever on whether Ms. Fishman retains custody of her daughter. It is clearly untenable as either a legal principle or as social philosophy to suggest that custody may be denied because a parent has particularly unpopular views. This aspect of the case calls to mind the *Painter* case in Iowa several years ago,

where a rural judge denied a mother custody because he felt her to have a "bohemian" life style — chiefly because she did not attend a mainstream church. A finding of that nature would, I think, strike the more cosmopolitan population in San Mateo County as incredible; it is, however, essentially indistinguishable from denial of custody on the basis of espousing "Maoist" doctrine. There must, I think, be overriding concerns to warrant denying Ms. Fishman custody of Riva; surely political philosophy cannot, must not be grounds for denial of custody.

The second issue that concerns me is one that more directly relates to my own work. It is my understanding that one factor which affected your earlier decision was the criminal charges facing Ms. Fishman at that time. I gather that, while acknowledging the presumption of innocence to which Ms. Fishman was entitled, you nonetheless felt that the mere existence of criminal charges constituted a partial basis for a finding that Ms. Fishman was in some way unfit as a parent.

The presumption of innocence until proven guilty is a cornerstone of Anglo-American jurisprudence. Implicit in this presumption is an understanding that no collateral adverse impact should result from criminal charges beyond those necessary to the orderly processing of those charges. I can conceive of no circumstances under which it would be appropriate to deny a parent custody on the ground that unproven criminal charges are pending. I recognize that the situation has been somewhat altered at this time in that Ms. Fishman entered a plea of guilty to two misdemeanors, for which she was sentenced to a brief term of probation. I don't think that it needs pointing out that were every parent found guilty of a misdemeanor denied custody of her or his children, we would soon become a nation of orphans. It is difficult to understand how misdemeanor convictions, whether resulting from negotiated pleas or from trials, could be seen as a factor in a custody case, except under certain unusual circumstances. Participation in a political demonstration, no matter how ill-advised, can hardly be considered a circumstance which would warrant such drastic action as denying custody.

I have had the opportunity to work briefly with Ms. Fishman on issues relating to medical care for prisoners and jail inmates. There is no question in my mind that Ms. Fishman is as dedicated a parent as she is a nurse and a political activist. I frankly find it difficult to see the

effort to deny her custody of her daughter as anything other than political persecution of an individual with unpopular views. I strongly urge that Ms. Fishman be permitted to retain custody of her daughter.

Sincerely,

Paul Bigman, Editor
Prison Law and Advocacy

The University of Iowa
Iowa City, Iowa 52242
Department of Anthropology

June 9, 1983

Judge Richard Jorzak
Case No. 83-D-64-86
Domestic Relations Court
Daley Plaza, Room 1903
Chicago, Illinois 60602

Dear Judge Jorzak:

As an anthropologist and a feminist concerned about women's right to raise children and to engage in work and political activity outside the home, I am writing to express my deep concern about the custody case of *Fishman vs. Fishman*.

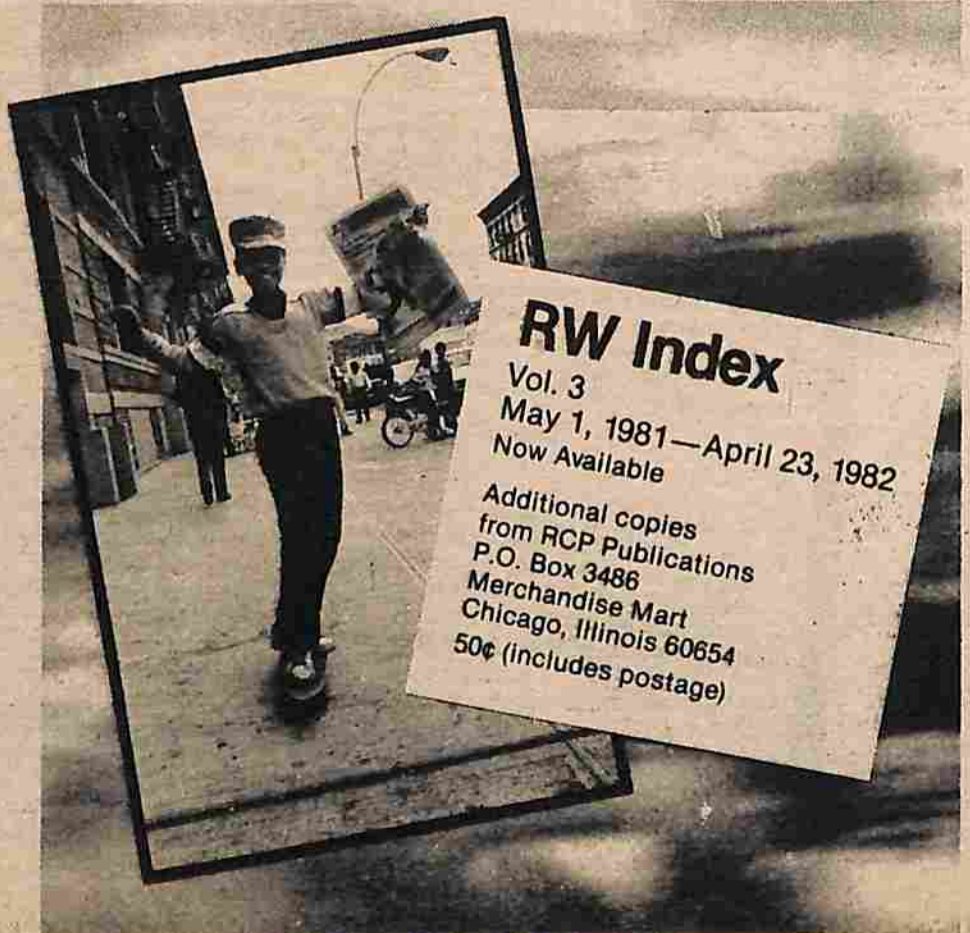
I have followed this case with increasing alarm since December 1982, when my professional organization, the American Anthropological Association, protested the decision by Judge Gerald Ragan to remove Tina Fishman's daughter Riva from her custody. From all that I have learned, it is clear that Ms. Fishman is being threatened with the loss of her child because as a working woman and a mother, she also has a commitment to radical politics. The implication this has for all women who have children and work for social change is obvious, and it is horrifying.

I want to urge that the state of Illinois take jurisdiction of this case, in the upcoming hearing June 21, 1983. Furthermore, I strongly urge that Tina Fishman be awarded legal custody of her daughter Riva.

Sincerely yours,

Florence E. Babb
Assistant Professor of Anthropology
and Women's Studies

cc: The Committee Against the
Kidnapping of Tina Fishman's
Daughter



AVAILABLE NOW!

**FULL TEXT OF DEBATE
RAYMOND LOTTA vs.
ALBERT SZYMANSKI**

**THE
SOVIET
UNION:
Socialist or
Social-Imperialist?**

Part II: The Question Is Joined

Raymond Lotta vs.
Albert Szymanski

In May 1983 a major conference was held in New York City focusing on the question "The Soviet Union: Socialist or Social-Imperialist?" It culminated in a face to face debate between major spokespersons for the opposing views. Speaking in support of the Soviet Union's socialist character was Albert Szymanski, author of *Is The Red Flag Flying?* and *The Logic of Imperialism*. Presenting the Maoist and Revolutionary Communist Party analysis was Raymond Lotta, editor of *And Mao Makes Five* and co-author of *America in Decline*.

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.

"Careful analysis and open discussion on the successes and failures of past socialist revolutions is of the utmost importance. This debate on the nature of the Soviet Union is a welcomed guide to two major opposing positions on the left in advanced capitalist countries."
— Anwar Shaikh
Associate Professor, New School for Social Research;
Associate Editor of *The Cambridge Journal of Economics*

"A long overdue and much needed step in the secularization of Marxism in the Western world. This is a serious debate in which many of the old conceptualizations which no longer apply are reexamined. Through the reassessment of all sacred cows, including Russia, Marxists will be moving toward a reexamination of the entire revolutionary process, embellishing instead of merely mimicking what has gone before."
— Nathan Hare
Clinical psychologist and sociologist;
founding publisher of *The Black Scholar* (1969-1975)

"The importance of the current debate on the nature of the Soviet Union is perhaps the reflection of the increasing interest and the perceived significance of the subject of political economy during the last two decades in the United States. I am sure that the serious students of political economy cannot remain indifferent in this debate which has been going on for some time and will undoubtedly continue in the future. It is in this connection that I strongly recommend reading this volume with critical understanding and enthusiasm."
— Cyrus Bina
Professor, Olivet College; Editorial Board of the
Review of Radical Political Economics

\$4.95 plus 75¢ postage
ORDER FROM:
RCP Publications
P.O. Box 3486, Merchandise Mart
Chicago, IL 60654