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Firepower For "Peace" Expands in Lebanon

Straight forwardly and straight facedly, the Lebanese Ambassador declared to the press a few days ago that "the struggle is to free Lebanon of all foreign forces." Assorted other U.S. lackeys said the same thing, as they've been saying for a while. And how is the goal of a "sovereign Lebanon," free of "foreign forces" to be accomplished? Through a sharp escalation of the role of French troops, British troops, Italian troops, Israeli troops and, oh yes, the U.S. marines! Foreign forces? Say what? Considering the fact that at this late stage imperialist spokesmen can still rant and rave about "foreign forces" in Lebanon, one really begins to wonder: Do these people practice their routines, or does it come naturally?

On September 13, the Reagan administration took a major step in escalating the U.S. role in Lebanon, giving wide-ranging authorization to its off-shore naval and air forces to pursue a policy of "aggressive self-defense" in

support of U.S. marines and other "peacekeepers" stationed in Lebanon.

This authorization empowers the U.S. marine command to call in tactical bombers and naval gunfire to "defend" the 1,370 marines stationed in Beirut as well as the other multinational "peacekeeping" contingents. This notion of "self-defense," according to State Department spokesman Alan Romberg, includes action taken to support the Lebanese army as well, if attacks upon it are deemed to "threaten" the marines. Given the situation in Lebanon today, this amounts to a wide open mandate.

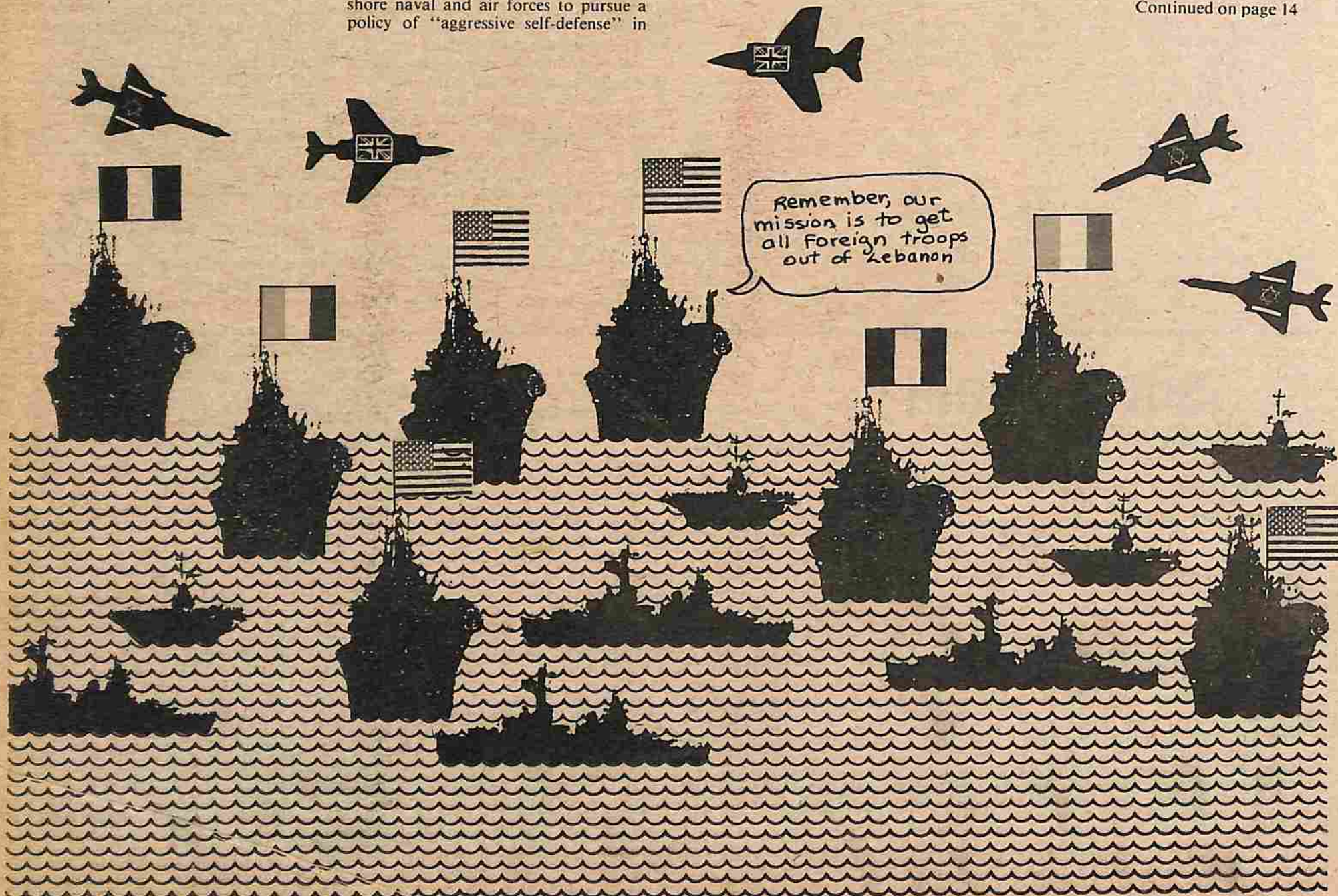
The U.S. announcement was made after a weekend series of meetings held between Reagan and national security and foreign policy advisors; it followed a two-week period of active promotion in the national media of the notion that it was high time the marines be allowed to "defend themselves more aggressively." Compared to the generally meager and selective information the U.S. media spoon-feeds the public concerning Lebanon's situation, this is one point that they have handled rather thoroughly. Even while hundreds, probably thousands, of Lebanese casualties have mounted over the past two weeks'

fighting, the deaths of the four U.S. marines provided a singular focus for the home audience. How patiently the marines endured the repeated provocations and attacks! How exemplary our peacekeepers' comportment! With the news packaged in this way, the reactionary character of the political order propped up by the marines' presence essentially covered over, the Israeli role in having fomented the current bloodletting in the Shuf mountains obscured, a U.S. escalation has been made to appear as reasonable and restrained as possible. As ABC News proclaimed in its September 14th telecast: "U.S. Marines now have the power to *strike back* in Lebanon." Meanwhile, at a marine bunker near the Beirut airport ("COMBAT POST NO. 5"), a sign went up — next to the bragging "We strike back" inscription were the words, "KILL ALL THE RAGHEADS," (a reference to the kaf-fiyeh headdress many Arabs wear). Certainly, this is "aggressive self-defense" in the finest American tradition.

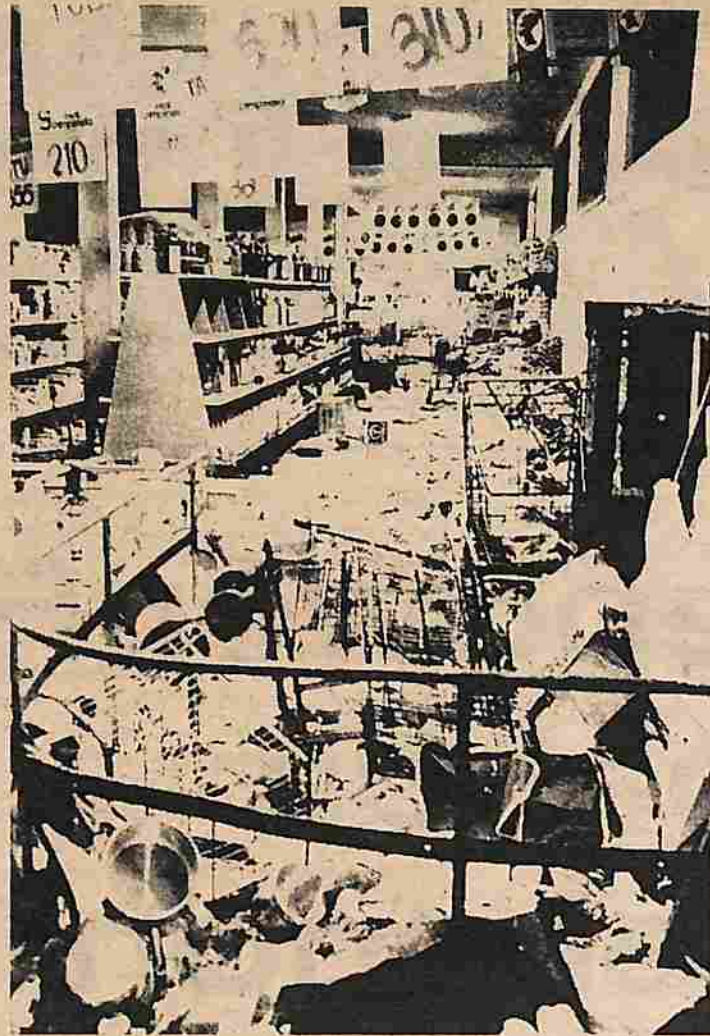
U.S. Buildup

The U.S. escalation has, in fact, been in the making for some time. Over the past month, U.S. forces stationed off the Lebanese coast have risen from 1,900 to 12,400 marine and naval personnel. This figure does not include the battleship USS *New Jersey* (armed with cruise missiles)

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Brazil: Starving to Death in the Economic Miracle



Rio de Janeiro supermarket after food riot.

In a fitting comment on Brazil's much heralded "economic miracle," last week in Rio de Janeiro 34,000 civil and military police were mobilized to try and stop invasions of food stores by crowds of slum residents who attacked and looted more than 50 shops, chanting "We are hungry!" and "We want food!" and confronting police with sticks and rocks. Platoons of shock troops were stationed around large supermarkets. Police fired rounds of tear gas and two were wounded by "warning fire." Authorities expressed alarm that the assaults showed too much organization to be purely spontaneous. Though the forces leading these food uprisings are at this point unclear, these clashes underscore the difference between the image of "modern Brazil" — long touted by Wall Street as a "showcase" of imperialist economic development — and the reality of profoundly deepening crisis that has gripped the country which now has the largest foreign debt of any dependent nation in the world, topping some \$90 billion.

The food outbreaks are only the latest in a series of revolts that have rocked Brazil over the past few years as the disarticulation of the economy has become more pronounced and the population further squeezed by various austerity measures imposed by Western financial institutions like the IMF as a condition for further debt rescheduling. And in spite of such measures, inflation is skyrocketing at over 10% per month with the cost of basic staples of the Brazilian diet like beans, rice, macaroni and coffee accelerating at even faster rates. The

government's response has been to unleash more repression while pointing with alarm to the spreading upheavals as they lobby for a debt moratorium. One newspaper, *O Globo*, criticized the governor of the state of Rio de Janeiro for not dealing more harshly with the latest upheavals: "If every crisis of this size produced a breakdown of public order, we would not have the right to call ourselves civilized. Organized societies stand up to adverse winds, even cataclysmic ones."

In Brazil's entire northeast — which was drained of resources and left to deteriorate when the imperialists' investment "boom" took off in '64 — 35 million people are suffering through the fifth year of a drought and food riots have been commonplace for some time now. Here, according to the governor of Ceará State, last month's figures showed that no less than 250 of every 1,000 children died from lack of food before reaching the age of one. By next month, he predicted, the figure will rise to 400 per thousand. Last Wednesday, in the town of Santa Cruz in the neighboring state of Piauí, some 18 onlookers fainted during the parade celebrating Brazilian Independence Day. All faintings were diagnosed by a local clinic as being "due to advanced malnutrition."

In one of the Rio neighborhoods affected by the recent food riots, a local community figure said, "In our school, at least three children faint daily from hunger." The name of this neighborhood: Vila Kennedy. □

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A Voice Suppressed, A Voice That Must Be Heard

*Sailing the seas depends on
the helmsman.
Making revolution depends on
Mao Tsetung's Thought
(popular saying during the
Cultural Revolution in China)*

*The uprising had begun.
On the night of October 24 Lenin arrived
at the Smolny and assumed personal
direction of the uprising. All that night
revolutionary units of the army and
detachments of the Red Guard kept arriving
at the Smolny. The Bolsheviks directed
them to the center of the capital, to sur-
round the Winter Palace, where the Pro-
visional Government had entrenched
itself. (History of the Communist Party
of the Soviet Union, p. 208)*

*The appalling state of public affairs of
which the workers were becoming ever
more keenly aware, naturally affected
their mood. Everybody clamored for
change. But since there was no leadership
fully conscious of the needs, with a clear
vision of the goal and enjoying con-
fidence; and since there existed no strong
organization that could rally the forces,
the mood petered out. Never did a move-
ment, so splendid in its essence, turn out
to be so futile in the end.... (Bebel,
writing about the "constitutional" crisis
of the 1860s in Prussia)*

Such is the role of revolutionary leadership. The difference can be the difference between victory and defeat, between another length on the loom of bourgeois history and a needed rip in the fabric of heaven and earth. The world is headed for explosion; of that there is no doubt. But whether or not there will be a leadership to carry through to the other side, that depends on us, on revolutionaries in every country. And today, as is often the case, that question finds expression to no small extent in the defense of revolutionary leadership.

Here we must speak of Bob Avakian.

In its recent decision rejecting his appeal for political refugee status in France (see *RW* No. 215), the French government made its blunt point. They want nothing to do with Bob Avakian and his politics and will not offer him protection. As the *RW* article on the decision pointed out, "the imperialists are moving to make it so Chairman Avakian has no place to put his feet down." Bob Avakian's situation is increasingly untenable now, pressed as he is by these international moves to suppress him and stifle his contributions — to stifle his voice.

To act, to understand both why and how to respond, it is necessary to look not only at the decision to cut the ground from under Chairman Avakian, but to



review as well the reasons the French government gave for doing so:

Bob Avakian, guilty of proletarian internationalism. The judges went out of their way to reach out of the court and produce the *Joint Communiqué* of autumn 1980 to make their point clear that not only does Bob Avakian call for revolution in the U.S., but supports the revolutionary position in every country.

Bob Avakian, guilty of "calling for violence." This gem comes from the champions of the Euromissiles and the *force de frappe*, who (in a preliminary hearing) again dragged out that *Joint Communiqué* to argue that it was a call to violence since it said that revolution was the only way to prevent world war.

Bob Avakian, legitimate target. The judges upheld the right of "any state" to "control" and carry out "surveillance" on "its citizens deeply committed to revolutionary activity." They even put the icing on the cake by upholding "the

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A Voice Suppressed, A Voice That Must Be Heard

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FBI's own methods" — a license to kill if there ever was one.

Thus, the imperialists are quite clear. They have given us a picture from yet another angle that we all live in a war zone. Their statements make it plain that they are not simply out for an individual but, once again, to wound the head of a movement; that this is an attack on a vanguard, and through it on the proletariat and its ability to have a leadership; and that this is not only necessary but timely — part of the preparations on their side for when things go up for grabs.

We thank them for their clarity. As we have said, it is a pleasure to be condemned by such as these for proletarian internationalism, and Bob Avakian and the RCP are proud of it. But as great a pleasure as that is, it will be a far greater pleasure to defeat these imperialists and to overthrow them — especially for those of us in the U.S. who may have the chance to pull down a major pillar of a worldwide system of oppression and plunder. And thus, there is some work to do. Today, as part of preparation on our side, there is the crucial task of defeating such attacks at every turn and to strengthen a vanguard.

Flux and Struggle

We are now faced with a new phase of this struggle. When Bob Avakian first was forced into exile, there were questions raised about some of the implications of this, especially whether he would still be able to lead the RCP from exile, would he lose touch with developments, etc. The article "Can Anyone Say Geography is Key in Revolutionary Contributions?" (RW No. 102) written at that time addressed some of those points. Many of these questions have since been laid to rest in practice as the Chairman has continued to provide the kind of genuine communist leadership described in that article, making major contributions to developing and applying Marxism-Leninism in relation to the burning and fundamental political and ideological questions confronting the international proletariat.

But the fact that he has done so should lead no one to complacency. The French imperialists, with the U.S. looking on approvingly, have upped the ante and changed the terms. Because of this, Bob Avakian's ability to continue functioning as he has in the recent past is thrown into question. And it's not exactly like Bob Avakian shouldn't be able to do even more than he has been able to, especially given the continued sharpening of world contradictions. Besides, the situation is not a static one. True, Bob Avakian has been able to continue and expand his leadership work in some important aspects, but that has not been a given. This itself has been a product of struggle: struggle mounted against the Mao Tse-tung Defendants' railroad; struggle against reactionary attacks in many forms; struggle to throw political obstacles in the path of the French bourgeoisie. Defense of revolutionary leadership is always a battle in flux, and today a political fight is necessary to enable Bob Avakian's voice to continue and expand as a part of the political scene.

Will the Proletariat's Banner Be There?

With a look at the present world situation, the stakes involved in the battle for

defense of revolutionary leadership become still clearer. The "leaders of the free world" (and of the Soviet camp, for that matter) speak of their system's survival, even as they plan nuclear war. They actually believe that the masses of people will be carrying out their orders while they prepare to launch, and perhaps succeed in launching, nuclear war. But this is not only because they are crazy men who believe their system will last forever. It is also because they are preparing their own survival, their own communications, their own ability to lead — and preparing as well to eliminate any threat, in particular any genuine revolutionary leadership, from the scene so that their orders will be the *only* orders to follow in these circumstances. And it is precisely for those circumstances that the RCP is preparing: for making revolution to prevent world war if that is possible; for making revolution in the midst of it if it can't be prevented; preparing to lead in every aspect that those circumstances demand — ideological, political and in actually leading the masses in the military onslaught.

Thinking ahead to circumstances like those, a general truth becomes still clearer: contrary to bourgeois-democratic prejudices, the fact is that the greater the role of a genuine revolutionary vanguard, the greater the chance for the masses to actually take things consciously in their hands (and out of the hands of the imperialists and other opposing class forces) and really transform the world.

And the importance of defending and strengthening specifically the *proletarian internationalist/revolutionary communist* trend should be clear from such recent experience as Iran, where for various reasons that trend was relatively weak and other class forces led the revolution. The results there should speak for themselves. No proletarian should be satisfied with that.

A party and a leader should not be defended because they are some kind of "institution" that "should" — in the abstract — be defended. It's like Bob Avakian himself put it in relation to socialist states: "that depends on the content of them and the role they play." And that is the whole point of that particular piece of his, "A Party's Not a Holy Thing — It's Got to Be a Vanguard." The *content* of the leadership is the key question. And, in fact, it is precisely for that reason that Bob Avakian's leadership should be fought for. With that kind of leadership, there are no guarantees it is true. But without it, there is only the guarantee of defeat — either in the form of the smashing of the revolution, or its smothering by some bourgeois reformist coup. Either way, the ultimate result will be the same.

Leaders such as Bob Avakian are not produced overnight. They are a product of the struggle, but not in a narrow way. Rather they are a product of the struggle of the proletariat internationally and historically. And they are not replaced in a minute. What class-conscious proletarian can say that they want to go into the coming period without this kind of voice, this kind of leadership?

A look around the political spectrum today, particularly in the U.S., demonstrates the rarity and value of this voice. In times when the leadership that is offered up to the oppressed is trying to "be somebody" within the most hated oppressor class in the world, such a voice as Bob Avakian's is sorely needed. And when the great majority of the "leftist" types are trying to hitch onto this same "be somebody" phenomenon (and maybe trying through such methods to "finesse their way through" for their particular brand of "revolution"), then such a voice as Bob Avakian's is needed all the more. Who else, it may be asked, is taking all this shit on in such a consistent way — from a proletarian internationalist view? And who else has the outrageous — and *profoundly realistic* — vision to speak in today's contradictory situation in the U.S. of preparing for nothing less than *seizing power*, and to declare that such an opportunity to seize power for the international proletariat may possibly arise in this country in the '80s? It can be said without hesitation that with Bob Avakian and the RCP, the proletariat in this country has the programme and the leadership to carry through. Without this leadership, the proletariat would be without a voice seriously contending in an

all-around way on the political stage.

Confronted with the present attacks on Bob Avakian, it is worth recalling another time of major assault on him and the results. When the charges were piled on in 1979 in the Mao Defendants' case, mounting to 241 years, not only did he and the RCP refuse to bend, but instead worked to turn the whole thing around. By the time that case was concluded, it could definitely be said that the ruling class had been more exposed and that the leadership of Bob Avakian was more firmly planted, more widely known than before. Today, while circumstances are not exactly the same, still the political essence of that approach to the question of defense of revolutionary leadership remains valid and a lesson to learn from.

Some might point to the experience of Malcolm X and Fred Hampton and despair of the possibility of successfully defending revolutionary leadership. True there is that experience, a lesson in the viciousness of the state, but there is also the experience of Mao and of Lenin who not only survived the schemes of the reactionaries of their day, but led the revolution through complex twists and turns and fought to victory. Some might point to the gap that exists today between those who have taken a revolutionary position and the great majority of people in this country, even of the most oppressed proletarians, and again despair. True there is such a gap — a product of the situation right now and more generally the division

of labor in society, the tugs and pulls of everyday life, all of which tends to foster a bourgeois outlook among many people. But what is this other than a crucial reason to build a vanguard today, so as to rise above this and be prepared for the future? Anyone who would use this difficult situation as an excuse, when a vanguard leadership exists, to fail to build and defend it is either ignorant (a state of affairs that shouldn't be enshrined) or is choosing the often self-serving road of chasing the wisp of painless progress. But who really wants to kick themselves in the ass later for that wrong choice?

From all the experience of the international proletariat, it is clear that there will be a *constant* need for the defense and the wide promotion of revolutionary leadership. Certainly if we let the possibility of overthrowing U.S. imperialism slip through our hands on account of a failure to do so this will be a failing not appreciated by the international proletariat.

Today, as the imperialists sharpen their knives of every sort, official and unofficial, against Bob Avakian as part of their overall preparations for the future, we, too, need to step-up our preparation, including on this front, and turn necessity into freedom. The proletariat has no country, but in the U.S. today it does have a leadership — and a future to tear from the future of the imperialists. □

A Task At Hand

Right now, a statement protesting the international political persecution of Bob Avakian is being circulated for signatures. It is to be run as an ad in one or more major newspapers. This statement is being circulated among people from all walks of life who potentially support this protest for many different reasons. Proletarians can assist the RCP particularly in reaching, speaking to and uniting with many prominent people and organizations around this ad. Copies of this ad can be obtained from the Committee to Free the Mao Tse-tung Defendants, P.O. Box 6422, "T" Street Station, Washington, D.C. 20009 or from the RCP, USA.

And in general in this period it is important to find every way to promote Bob Avakian's leadership and the RCP's line and to call attention to the attacks on him.

Chile: Democracy and the September Generals

Democracy is going to return to Chile, there can be little doubt. All the generals say so, and it is still against the law to question the word of a general in Chile.

The same interests that dictated Pinochet's 1973 fascist coup now find it necessary to adorn the Chilean state with a congress and some kind of elections. Since profoundly political struggles involving masses of people have burst through the cracks of economic and social crisis, the legal political parties will have to be brought back. Both the pro-U.S. Christian Democrats and the pro-Soviet revisionists who are their main rivals within the opposition agree on one thing: "It's up to the armed forces and them alone to immediately reestablish democracy," as Christian Democratic chief Gabriel Valdés put it. It is no surprise to hear the Christian Democrats propose to base this democracy on the same military that has imposed fascism for ten years. What may seem more scandalous, at least to those unfamiliar with the goals and strategies of pro-Soviet revisionism, is that the Communist Party is in exact agreement on that point. But exactly how this is to be worked out and exactly how the interests of the two imperialist blocs will be served through all this is the source of the fiercest contention — and a question that (whatever happens) will not be resolved by any elections.

The news from Chile last week showed scenes long overdue: thick lines of police, with space helmets, plastic shields and riot sticks in hand, wavering and finally breaking into full-scale retreat under relentless rock barrages from fifteen- and sixteen-year-olds, their faces covered with bandanas, international outlaw style, who pursued the pigs right down the street and back into their steel-plated buses. Of course the police did not throw down their guns; in fact they killed ten people. But the panicky police retreats that occurred repeatedly during the four days of street fighting and barricades following the fifth national day of protest on Sept. 8 indicated a political retreat by the regime, which found itself politically unable to open fire freely. Indeed, in an

effort to head off these outbreaks, just before Sept. 8 the government abandoned the ten-year state of siege which had forbidden all demonstrations.

Last month the junta sent out 18,000 troops who failed to restore order; this time the carabineros (national police) were sent out alone. The head of the air force, General Matthei, had gone so far as to announce that he would not allow his men to be used in the streets this time. A manifesto issued by "patriotic officers of the armed forces" in July declared, "Ten years ago we assumed the responsibility of the government in response to popular clamor. Today, the duty of the armed forces is to listen to this same clamor and not to silence it." The "people" who clamored the loudest for the armed forces to take over were the U.S. and the most powerful forces in the Chilean ruling classes. Today, above all due to the fact that certain middle strata that had once formed their social base have gone over to the opposition where they are being courted by pro-Soviet forces, it is these people who have found that a change in the form of government is as necessary and urgent as it is difficult and dangerous.

The Christian Democrats, whose support made the coup possible, have simultaneously tried to ride and rein in the mass protests against the Pinochet regime. Ex-Pinochet hack and Christian Democrat head of the copper workers' union, Rodolfo Seguel, spent Sept. 8 running out from behind police lines with his hands over his head trying to get the youth to drop their rocks until finally, at day's end, no doubt exhausted, he was granted an arrest to safeguard his opposition credentials. Gabriel Valdés, head of the Christian Democrats and the Democratic Alliance which called the monthly national days of protests, was seen in a similar posture before various crowds. With a background of tumultuous confrontations behind him, Valdés gave a TV press conference in the streets. "This can't go on like this for three or four more months," he warned, until a tear gas canister falling at his feet cut him off.

In the days before this month's protests there were hints that the Christian Democrats might drop their demand that Pinochet resign if there were sufficient other concessions. At a meeting with Pinochet's new civilian Interior Minister, his "architect of the democratic opening," the former Nazi Onofre Jarpa, the Democratic Alliance leadership reportedly did not mention Pinochet's resignation among their other demands. It was very likely a desire to avoid a direct clash with Pinochet that led the Democratic Alliance to reschedule the protest (which they had scheduled for the 11th of every month) so that it would not fall on Pinochet's gala celebration of the tenth anniversary of his coup — which as it turned out was overshadowed by fighting against police raids in Santiago's *poblaciones* (shantytowns). But when General Pinochet failed to produce expected concessions in his speech that day, Christian Democrat leaders announced that the monthly protests would have to continue after all.

The Democratic Alliance's program has had three main points: Pinochet's resignation, new elections in 18 months, and in between, "a government of national transition which will fully reestablish democracy." "This democracy," they state, "should be headed by a soldier who has ceased active service and who can offer guarantees to both sides: respect for the public freedoms of the opposition, and protection of the army against any reprisals." In other words, the centerpiece of this program is the preservation, right down to the last torturer and murderer, of the state apparatus and especially the armed forces upon which it rests — the same armed forces who have served Chile's ruling classes and U.S. imperialist domination for generations of coups and elections. The nature of these armed forces was written forever in blood in the 1973 coup, when the armed forces which the Popular Unity government of Salvador Allende had counted on to defend the elected president instead defended the interests that created them and to which they'd always been beholden: Chi-

le's comprador capitalists and big landlords and above all U.S. imperialism. At this point it hardly needs saying that what the Christian Democrats propose is not some democracy in the abstract but the bourgeois-democratic form of imperialist domination.

Another Attempt At Historic Compromise

The exigencies of the international situation are determinant in Chilean politics. As analyzed and detailed in Jorge Palacios' *Chile: An Attempt At "Historic Compromise,"* the U.S. unleashed the 1973 armed forces coup in order to prevent the pro-Soviet CP from drawing a section of the Christian Democrats into a coalition government — an achievement which would have had consequences throughout the U.S. "spheres of influence" where revisionists are working to establish a pro-Soviet wedge and split the ruling classes, accepting the overall hegemony of the U.S. today in preparation for the day when that hegemony can be disputed on a world scale. It is this political danger to the U.S. bloc and not immediate economic or military-strategic considerations that have been and still are at stake in Chile.

This is why the most mainstream Christian Democrats waited so long to demand Pinochet's resignation and are now wavering on this demand. The problem is how to have a "democratic opening" just big enough to let them in and keep the CP out. One ingenious solution proposed by a former civilian associate of Interior Minister Jarpa is to have Pinochet appoint a congress. Of course, as pointed out in the article which appeared in Santiago's Christian Democratic newspaper *El Mercurio*, Pinochet would have to appoint quite a few of the diverse currents among the opposition to satisfy them — but at least he could keep out or keep down the CP and its allies. What is revealed in this proposal is a fear that anything more than such a modification of the existing regime would allow the CP too much leeway. This is the stand of the

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Santiago, Chile

Stunned by the U.S. propaganda blitz over the shooting down of agent, er, aircraft 007, the Soviets put on a heavy show-and-tell display of their own, staging an unprecedented press conference with the chief of staff of the Soviet armed forces fielding questions from both Western and Eastern bloc reporters. Obviously feeling a growing sense of confidence, the Soviet war masters were out not only to make their case but to demonstrate some of the reality of the world situation. Yes, we did it, said Marshall Ogarkov, and we'll do it again. "Unrepentant!" howled the U.S. media, as if imperialists, U.S. or Soviet, were ever repentant about their bloody crimes.

But the Soviets also had more to divulge than their tough guy message to the world. They presented a detailed account of the flight of 007, the attempts made by the airline to evade pursuing aircraft (including a map of its twisted path over Sakhalin Island), and a description of the attempts to communicate with the airliner by radio and force it down with cannon fire (using luminous tracer shells) across its path. Then in a message directed to the U.S., which had been bandying about its tape recordings of the Soviet pilots at the UN and from every rooftop, Marshall Ogarkov added: "Look, everything that is shown on this diagram has been registered and documented. It is documented by our radio-technical means. So if there is any need for this evidence, there it is." Just in

case anyone was asleep, Deputy Minister Koriyenko pointedly remarked about the U.S.-released tapes, "History knows quite a few cases of what is done with recordings."

Indeed the U.S. rulers are no strangers to gaps in tapes. Hardly had the Soviet threat to release all its tapes been made, than startling new accounts began to appear in the West. *The Sunday Times* of London was the first major Western media to openly declare that the U.S.-supplied tapes were more than a little kinky. But, then, if the tapes were going to be exposed as doctored anyway, better that the Western "free press" be the ones to break the bad news. In its September 11 edition *The Sunday Times* reported: "By last Sunday, it appeared irrefutable. The Soviet pilot had actually told ground control that the target was a commercial airliner, according to the democratic leader in the Congress, Jim Wright, on emerging from a meeting with Reagan at which the taped communications were played.

"A week later, however, nothing seems further from the truth... There is no evidence that a Soviet fighter pilot clearly identified the target to his ground controllers or that ground control knew that it was a commercial airliner.

"But *The Sunday Times* has discovered that Japan's Air Self Defense

Force *did* intercept ground control transmissions — and, furthermore, supplied tape recordings to the Americans. This second, unrevealed tape contains no reference to the target which would identify it as a harmless civilian airplane. The Americans maintain, however, that they have only the pilot's transmissions.

"The Soviet pilot *did* attempt to make contact with the Korean airliner 13 minutes before he shot it down, but there was no response. Even those chilling words, widely quoted last weekend, when a ground controller supposedly instructed the pilot to 'take aim at the target' and 'fire', do not exist on the available tapes. They are attributed to unnamed Japanese sources." (All emphases in original — *RW*)

The same day that these frank admissions appeared in *The Sunday Times* in London, the U.S. State Department hastily (and on Sunday yet!) called in reporters to issue a "revised transcript" of the Soviet pilots' messages. At the United Nations, the Dragon Lady, Jeane Kirkpatrick, had smugly declared, "Contrary to Soviet statements, the pilot made no mention of firing any warning shots." Now, lamely explaining that sections of the tapes that were previously unintelligible had now been translated with the help

of "electronic enhancement," the State Department added the sentence, "I am firing cannon bursts" to their version of the transcript. Since the previously released version contained no indication of the existence of an unintelligible portion where the new sentence was inserted, one might wonder how many more sentences await electronic (or political) enhancement.

While the State Department revision did not go so far as the sweeping revelation of the London *Sunday Times*, its hasty release did serve as a convenient pretext for the U.S. press failing to mention the disclosures run out in England. But given the number of tapes available to U.S., Soviet and Japanese officials, it is likely that we haven't heard the end of the "tape wars" over the shooting down of 007.

If not another tape were published, however, close examination of the existing tape reveals, if not a smoking gun, some rather damning evidence against the U.S. accounts of the incident. In the first place, all the U.S. media's ponderings and musings over how 007 could have gotten so far off course, show the airliner traveling on a straight course (appearing as a gentle arc on some map projections). In the map displayed at the Soviet press conference, 007's route is shown as first turning to the right and then to the left in apparent evasive maneuvers over Sakhalin Island. Now the Soviet pilot's tape, put forth by the State Department as the gospel truth of what happened, shows Pilot 805 trailing behind 007 over Sakhalin. Then at 18:09 Greenwich Mean Time, 805 reports "Yes. It has turned. The target is 80 degrees to my left." For a 747 to suddenly get 80 degrees (almost a right angle) to the left of the trailing fighter is quite a maneuver for an airliner that is supposed to have not the slightest inkling that it has strayed into Soviet air space and is being pursued.

Then we are told in great detail in the U.S. press how 007 asks for permission to climb from 33,000 to 35,000 feet. This climbing maneuver, so the story goes, caused 007 to lose forward air speed which resulted in the pursuing Soviet fighter overtaking 007 and, unable to slow down, in fact, actually passing it. The point of all this in the U.S. media was to demonstrate that the Soviet fighter *did* get close enough to 007 to identify it. So once again we turn to the Soviet pilot's transcript, the U.S.'s premiere "evidence." At 18:21:40 (18 hours, 21 minutes, and 40 seconds) Pilot 805 reports "The target is at 10,000 (meters)."

18:22:02 (805) — "The target is decreasing speed."

18:22:42 (805) — "It should have been earlier. How can I chase it, I'm already abeam of the target."

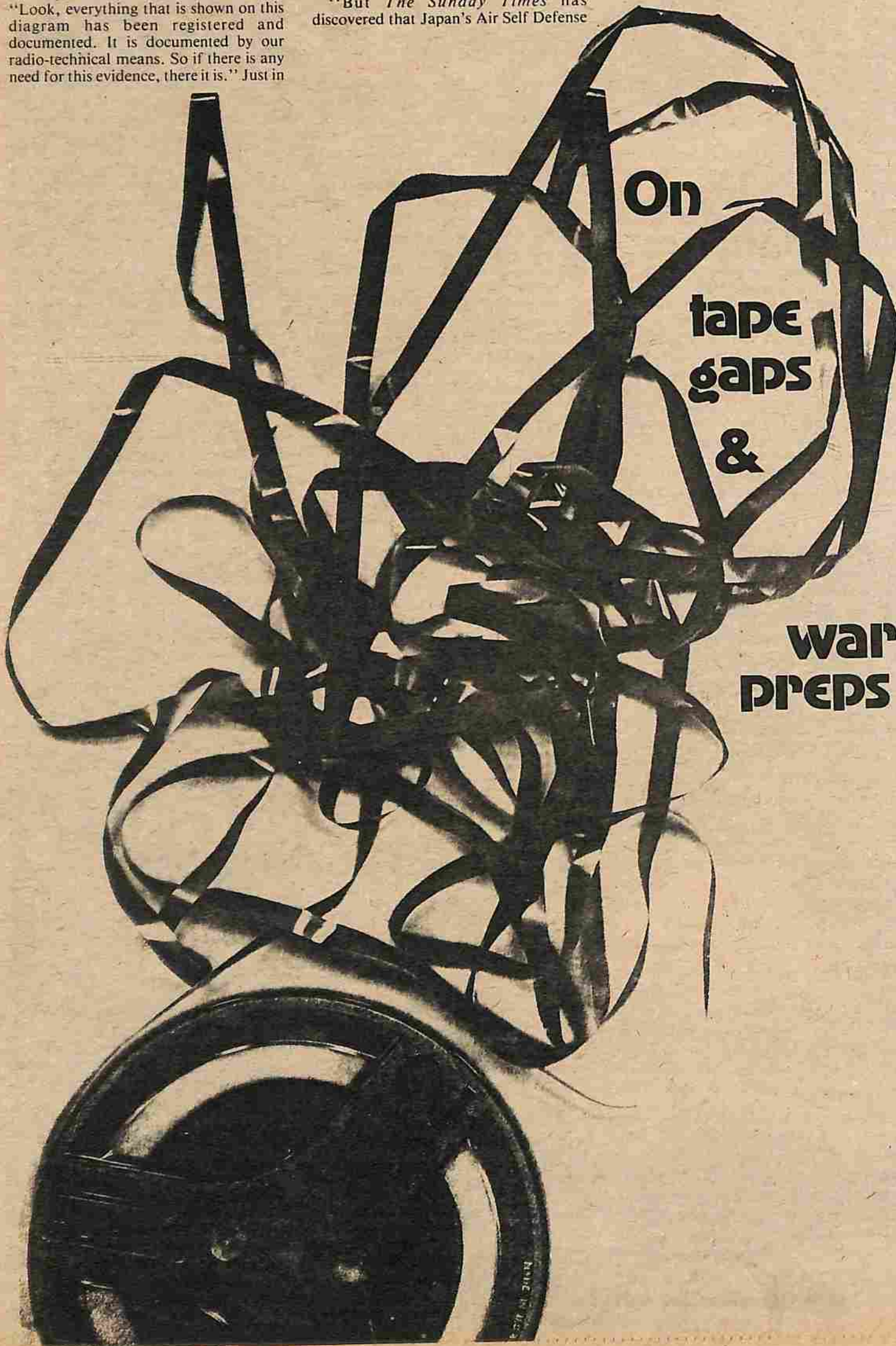
18:22:55 (805) — "Now I have to fall back a bit from the target."

Then, 18:23:10 (805) — "The target's altitude is 10,000."

In other words, 007 did not climb in altitude at all. It simply slammed on the brakes, causing the pursuing fighter to shoot past it. Again quite a maneuver for a passenger aircraft that was supposedly oblivious to being off course and being pursued by hostile fighters. But then we shouldn't be surprised at the Korean pilot's skill, since we now learn that Captain Chung Byong-in wasn't exactly your run of the mill Korean Airlines pilot. He was the personal pilot for South Korean President Chun Doo Hwan during his 1981 tour of Southeast Asia.

As the U.S.-Soviet tape wars continued to unfold, the various conflicting explanations for 007's wandering put forward in the West began to trip all over themselves. The preferred theory is that wrong instructions were fed into 007's inertial guidance system. But, as Marshall Ogarkov was quick to point out, if 007 had taken off with wrong guidance coordinates, its deviation from the correct path would have been observed by U.S. flight controllers during its first 200 miles of flight. This theory also requires the crew to fail to check their position at every single checkpoint along the way. That is, incorrect entries would have produced an incorrect flight path, but the instruments would also have displayed the plane's exact position — one that was obviously off course.

Since this is so improbable, the nimble
Continued on page 15



DESERT AMERICA'S WARMONGERING

BE AT THE EUROPEAN FRONTLINES



We are reprinting this call which was issued last week in RW No. 221 and is currently being circulated for endorsement and participation among various forces in the U.S. Take up this call and join these efforts. Time is of the essence.

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 pitch almost daily. Rapidly they escalate actual war-mongering 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**

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

Protestors Sentenced for Denouncing U.S. Role in El Salvador

On September 14th, in a crowded U.S. District Court in Columbus, Georgia, three peace activists, Father Roy Bourgeois, Father Larry Rosebaugh, and Army Reserve Warrant Officer Linda Ventimiglia were convicted on several federal misdemeanor counts each and sentenced to 18 months, 15 months, and 15 months respectively, to serve in the federal pen. The three had participated in a series of actions in July and August inside a highly restricted area at Fort Benning, the area where troops from El Salvador are receiving special training by the U.S. army. The actions protested the U.S. role in El Salvador, and also attempted to influence the Salvadoran soldiers stationed here. All three had been charged with two counts of "impersonating a military officer" (including Ms. Ventimiglia who was wearing a uniform of her actual army rank) and three counts of "re-entering a military base after being officially ejected." Father Bourgeois also received the patently outrageous charge of "assault." Federal District Judge Robert Elliott rendered a guilty verdict on all counts. All three defendants had been in jail and on a hunger strike since their arrest 33 days earlier. They were taken back in custody following the trial to begin serving their sentences.

The verdicts and sentences were met with a flurry of outrage from the courtroom spectators. People pounded the wooden seats with their feet so loudly that the bailiffs rushed in to drag a well-known local activist from the courtroom. A spokesman from the Columbus, Georgia group that has held bi-weekly vigils at Fort Benning's main gate for weeks, announced afterwards that the

group has no intention of stopping until there are no longer any Salvadoran troops at the base. People from as far away as New Orleans, Louisiana, as well as Auburn, Alabama, Atlanta and Americus, Georgia, had come to watch the trial, many of them drawn into the struggles at Fort Benning by the work of Father Bourgeois, who has traveled throughout the south this year speaking to churches, colleges and community groups in opposition to U.S. intervention in El Salvador.

At the trial, Judge Elliott repeated over and over, "This is a judicial court not a political court," yet many of the state's witnesses (mostly MPs and other assorted officers from the base) painted a vivid picture of the extremely charged political concern at the base for any possible influence the activists may have had on the Salvadoran troops.

In describing the security conditions in the area at Benning where all the Salvadoran troops are housed and trained, the guards told of special "permanent badges" that everyone has to wear on their uniforms. Only those with that insignia can pass through the fenced guard gates. No one else is allowed to get near the Salvadorans. Apparently the Salvadorans themselves are under the same restriction, only in reverse. They are literally under lock and key.

Father Bourgeois and the others had managed to get into the barracks of this guarded compound, distributing leaflets all over the place and even talking to some of the Salvadoran soldiers, as well as getting into the Catholic church on the base. The three also took a large "ghetto blaster" on the night of August 9th, and

climbed 60 feet up in a pine tree near these same barracks, playing a tape in Spanish of a speech by the murdered Salvadoran Archbishop Oscar Romero. MPs struggled to climb up the tree to turn it off. This was the incident in which Bourgeois was charged with "assault" — one of these MPs, an instructor to the Salvadorans, got a splinter in his eye when he was in the tree.

Once the MPs had the three back down on the ground, they had to physically restrain Father Bourgeois from continuing to shout out his message. Then the two priests were strip-searched, and all three were handcuffed and dragged back to the Provost Marshall's Office (PMO).

Two days later the same PMO was on the horn to the MPs in an agitated "emergency call that there was a disturbance at the commanding general's house," as one MP described it on the witness stand. When asked by U.S. Prosecuting Attorney Wilson to tell the court what he found when he arrived at the general's house, an MP replied, "Eight people kneeling on the grass, holding candles and reading the bible." In response, MPs arrived from everywhere, and all 8 people were thrown in cars and thrown off base. Only the three already well-known activists were charged with this incident.

An interesting side note that was revealed by the testimony from one lieutenant is that not everyone on base feels the same way about either the activists or the war in El Salvador. In a fairly obvious act of sympathy with the three defendants, the only Fort Benning officer to actually catch the three inside the barracks just somehow couldn't remember

what they looked like. All three were sitting directly in front of him in the courtroom and were clearly the defendants in the case. Yet he refused to point them out even though the prosecutor asked him to do it three separate times, going so far as to hand him 8 x 10 pictures of the three, all the while asking leading questions like, "Didn't the female have on wire-rimmed glasses like these?" The lieutenant steadfastly refused.

The defendants waged a political struggle, openly admitting what they had done, insisting at every juncture in the trial to explain why they had done it. Father Bourgeois said in his closing argument, "If you let me out today I'm going right back out. We have an opportunity. I can never understand World War 2, how so many people can be silent. So if we don't do it now, who will. If this is not the time, when will be the time."

Father Larry Rosebaugh, said in his closing argument, "The charge of trespass against us must be reversed to read U.S. intervention in El Salvador and the rest of Latin America must be stopped!"

And in his closing argument, the U.S. attorney said, "We have freedoms here, freedom of religion, freedom of speech. Where else in the world can three people do what these three have done. . . ."

Judge Elliott didn't need a closing argument. He simply followed up the prosecutor by convicting the three and sentencing them to jail for 15 to 18 months.

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Chris Craft

Up Against
The Wardrobe Strategy

In 1980 a Dallas consulting firm suggested to Kansas City KMBC-TV that they get a woman co-anchor who would bring "warmth and comfort" to the news. More than this, the consulting firm had at the touch of its fingertips and could go through video files of hundreds and hundreds of faces, all categorized by hair color, eyes, height, weight, nationality, and whatever else — and produce a likely candidate.

Soon after this, Christine Craft was interviewed by Ridge Shannon, the local news director. Craft told them that she wanted to be hired for her journalistic abilities and didn't want to be "made-over." She had already been through an experience with CBS where they had made her cut her hair, bleach it blonde and blacken her eyebrows in order to report the sports. But KMBC-TV hired Craft with the assurance that they were looking for more than a "pretty face." She was then turned over to Media Associates of Dallas for training, and they went to work on Chris. They coached her on how to best put on make-up and come up with attractive hairdos, and were most helpful in setting up a "wardrobe strategy" to ensure that she would wear each outfit only once every three weeks. Media Associates considered Craft's clothes "too masculine" and the new wardrobe strategy called for, among other things, more bows and ruffles.

Only seven months later, Chris Craft was demoted to reporter (an effectual dismissal) and told she was "too unattractive, too old, and not deferential enough to men." And as for the "warmth and comfort," they told her that the demotion was based on research studies in which viewers not only criticized her for lacking "warmth and comfort" but also for being "too casual in her dress and too opinionated."

This would have probably been the end of it, like perhaps many other similar cases, except that Chris Craft took KMBC-TV's then-owner, Metromedia, Inc., to court for \$1.2 million, charging that KMBC-TV had practiced sex discrimination when they fired her, that she had not been paid the same as the male co-anchor for doing the same job, and that the station had fraudulently misrepresented the co-anchor position to her.

On August 9, after two weeks of testimony, the jury ruled in favor of Craft on the fraud charges and issued an "adviso-

ry verdict" urging the judge to find Metromedia, Inc. guilty of sex discrimination. They disagreed, though, with Craft's contention that equal pay laws had been violated. Craft was awarded a \$500,000 settlement.

In the course of the Craft trial, it did become quite clear that a "special code" is applied when it comes to women co-anchors. As one news consultant was quoted in the *New York Times*, "When I go to local stations and say do you want to hire this or that woman, the bottom line is, she doesn't look good on the air. That's a heck of a lot more of a factor in hiring a woman than a man." True to this, KMBC's station manager, R. Kent Replogle, who hired Craft, testified in court that "appearance was the top priority in selecting an anchor." He also testified that Craft was a skilled journalist but "lacked interest in her appearance."

Of course there were those quick to refute Craft's claim of sex discrimination by saying that such standards are "equally applied" to men co-anchors. As *Newsweek* retorted, "Even Dan Rather was hired for his job in part because of the way he looked and sounded on the air, and when someone suggested that he was more appealing in a sweater, the most watched anchor of them all began wearing sweaters every night." But as Craft supporters pointed out, Dan Rather, needless to say, was not given a "clothing calendar" and told to appear in the male equivalent of a "madras plaid J.G. Hook

Blazer and yellow clubhouse silk blouse," as was Chris Craft. And neither was Craft's male co-anchor told what he had to wear each day.

As for the charges of sex discrimination in pay practices, one interesting bit of information came out in the court testimony. The new woman co-anchor at KMBC-TV, Brenda Williams (who replaced Craft), testified that the station management indicated, without ever specifically saying so, that she would be paid substantially less than the male anchor, Scott Feldman. She testified that when negotiating for the job, she requested \$70,000-80,000, but only got a contract for \$37,000. Her co-anchor, meanwhile, continues his contract with the company, which started in 1977 at \$57,500 and is now \$75,000 a year.

The station's efforts to get rid of Chris Craft were, of course, all done with "objective, independent research" methods. With the guidance of the Dallas consulting firm, Media Associates, KMBC conducted "focus sessions" in which viewers were invited to criticize videotapes of Craft. In videotapes entered as testimony in court, Steve Meacham, the "objective" researcher conducting the session, was heard saying, "Let's spend 30 seconds destroying Chris Craft." And then he offered his own opinion, "Is she a mutt? Let's be honest about this... Move her back to California? If we all chip in, can we buy her a ticket?" Further, as Craft testified, KMBC's news director told her that "when people see your face, they turn the dial," and that "research showed that the people of Kansas City liked

warm, pretty things...."

Significantly, the tapes of the coarse and degrading comments made by the consulting firm were played in court by *Metromedia*, the former owners of KMBC; Craft twice walked out of court to avoid listening to them. Like the victim in a rape trial, she was made to sit through a gauntlet of court testimony and publicity picking apart her looks and character. "I knew they were going to play the dog tapes," said Craft. "It was the price of the trial. But it was tougher than I thought...." Perhaps it is hoped that no women will want to attempt such a suit again.

For Craft, the half-million dollar settlement (of which she might walk away with \$100,000) was "a victory for civil rights," as she put it. In her view, "the station has the right to hire and fire anyone it wants, but breaking federal law is another matter." Another TV newswoman from L.A. agreed with Craft and added: "They've gone too far hiring people because of their smile."

Evidently, if ironically, Craft (and other TV newswomen) have not realized some of the deeper issues — more damning than the legal questions, and more basic than the (very real) problems of sex discrimination against individual newswomen — which her own suit has, in fact, unearthed. In fact in the legal arena it appears that the case will have limited impact. Craft's lawyer, Dennis Egan, said that he did not consider that the case had broad ramifications for the policy of TV stations: "We did not seek to put the TV industry or consultants on trial," he told reporters. This was the consensus also of most major bourgeois commentary, typified by the *New York Times*, which wrote: "After the verdict, Miss Craft and other television anchors expressed hope

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Wardrobe Strategy

Continued from page 9

that henceforth television executives would place more emphasis on journalistic skills than on cosmetics in selecting anchors. But the likelihood seems slim, since the trend in local television in recent years has been in the opposite direction." Some industry analysts maintain that if the case has any broad effect, it would specifically be limited to "medium and small markets," that is, local news and significantly *not* network news. All of which indicates that there are deeper questions concerning what is *behind* all the "clothing calendars" and "hairdo coaching" that goes on when a woman is put on to deliver the news. Beyond the usual fuss over looks that is made over all women on TV, why is there such blatant treatment of women anchors, why such a defense of it by TV station managers, and others higher up, even after the publicity over the Craft victory?

Even after the Craft case, news stations remain extremely "touchy" about the whole issue of "image." It might not be good public relations for them to come right out and say "we are trying to create an illusory image with these women" — but this is in fact what they are doing. From the video files that tabulate voice inflection and hair wave, to the consulting firms that are paid to "come up with the right effect," to the yearly budgets of millions that stations use for advertising these "personalities" on billboards and bus stops — there is the most extreme care and watchful control over the cultivation of news figures. And in particular there is the utmost attention paid to what gets put out for public consumption when it comes to the "woman who has the authority to tell you the news." Everyone admits that "credibility" is key (or as Craft was told, the "illusion of credibility") — and the development of this "credibility" has a lot to do with creating an image of people who the stations hope will be accepted and believable. The woman who achieves this "credibility" does so because she comes with certain desired qualities and is willing to have these developed and honed.

Weathergirl to Anchorwoman

As recently as a decade or so ago, women in the news was not much of an issue. There were few to speak of. There were the mini-skirted "weathergirls" to "brighten up" the forecast; those women that did report news were rarely given the "important" stories. But with a Federal Communications Commission order in 1971 requiring local stations to begin affirmative action programs, a 1975 multi-million dollar anti-discrimination suit filed against NBC by female employees, and the effects of the women's movement, the number of women in TV news has gradually increased.

One survey shows that while only 11% of all anchors in TV news in 1972 were women, today it's about 36%; 92% of local news stations have at least one female news anchor. Figures for the networks are considerably lower than local stations, clearly due to the "more serious" nature of the national news and of national news personalities who are important figures in their own right. The bourgeoisie has been reluctant to allow many women to "shoulder such responsibility"; CBS boasts the highest percentage of women at 24% while NBC comes in with a 16% and ABC around 14%. (These figures, though, reflect percentages of *total* news staff and *not* just on-camera personnel.)

With an unprecedented influx of women into the news, it became even more important to ensure that the "proper image" would be conveyed. According to "good ol' American logic," a woman who is attractive is already half-way there to "credibility." No longer is the blonde, bubble-brain "playgirl" the only woman on the news, but an equally sexist yardstick has been fashioned to determine the special qualities that define the anchorwoman.

The "image" sought after here is not solely based on "looks" — but much weight is put on this and, in general, dominant and sexist values of what is "appealing" in a woman are applied with care. As in the Chris Craft example, making it up the ladder and successfully becoming an anchorwoman (or being

shoved out of the business) has a lot to do with attention paid to appearance and dress.

Another example of this is the way that these "image-makers" in the news have attempted to restrict the use of older women as anchors. As Craft commented herself, "wrinkles are 'seasoning' in a man, but 'disqualification' in a woman." Indeed, within a value system where "credibility" for men may mean a "distinguished," fatherly, authoritarian figure, wrinkles or grey hair might as well be the kiss of death for any woman who wants to be a "pretty (and credible) young thing." As in many aspects of society, in the newsrooms a woman is often judged with a male chauvinist ruler, where youthfulness and "sex appeal" are measures of success, social value, and thus, "credibility." Such criteria are so rampant in the circles of news stations that, it is reported, many women anchors consider cosmetic surgery when they reach their late 30's in hopes of keeping their jobs. Of 1,200 anchors around the country, nearly half of the men are over 40 years old, while 3% of the women are over this age.

The outlines of the mold women anchors must either "come as" or be "made over into" mirror the distorted relations between men and women and the general oppression of women in society. Thus the ideal anchorwoman must be "sexually attractive," but business-like. She must not be too old, and must be "warm and soothing" (especially when reading tragic news, a "mother's" intonation is quite appropriate). And of course, when all is said and done (the "equity" of co-anchoring aside), she must be deferential enough to men.

The effect of all this is that not only are a woman's looks pivotal to her "credibility," but in addition women (and young girls) are given this distorted "image" to aspire to. As one third-grade girl put it when Jessica Savitch asked her to define "anchorwoman": "It's when they pay you a lot of money to look pretty and read words on television."

Promoting Values

This "image" is not only encouraged, but strictly enforced. At an Atlanta news station Judy Woodruff was *ordered* to cut her shoulder-length hair in 1972 and in 1979 another woman reporter was "urged" to change her eye color with tinted contacts. In 1980, Dorothy Reed, a Black reporter in San Francisco, was forbidden to appear on the news with her hair in corn-rows. And recently there was a case where a station's general manager asked one woman reporter whether she would like the station to pay for straightening her teeth.

These unofficial rules of the TV news-managing rooms are open and public. As one male executive told Jessica Savitch, "Women's voices aren't authoritarian enough to give the news...." With the publicity of the Craft case, there has been an outcry from those with liberal views on the subject, who denounce this use of women as "models" in the newsrooms. They deplore the pandering to the "American psyche that is geared to the picture on the locker room door," but nevertheless ultimately defer to the supposed final arbiter, the American public, and conclude in the end that, "that's the way it is." Even within the TV/News business, amidst the most "outraged" critics of the treatment of women anchors is found the view that not much can be done (certainly other "images" cannot be promoted!) because, after all, isn't this what the public really wants?

In actual fact, the manufactured "image" of women in the news not only reflects certain sexist values in society but, even more so, *promotes and reinforces* these values. Living rooms are barged daily with subtle (and not so subtle) messages that, while women today may be allowed to sit in front of a camera and deliver the news, they must not overstep their inferior status in society. Not only is the "image" of "more beauty than intelligence" projected, but there is also the division of labor in the newsrooms that tends to give the lighter, more homey news to the women co-anchors and leave the real "heavy" stuff for those (men) who possess a "more authoritarian" tone

in their voices. As Marlene Sanders, TV journalist and correspondent for "CBS Reports," put it, "The problem is that when assignments are made for such subjects as war and peace, defense, crime and foreign affairs, the male executive often thinks somehow it is 'not right' or 'appropriate' for a woman to handle them. His image of a woman's place is more restricted." (Of course there are those anchorwomen called upon to do the "heavy" stories as well — more on this later.)

Finally, the "image" of women that is strived for by TV news stations must also have a certain *class* content to it if it is to fulfill its purpose. While there certainly is acquiescence to the lowest philistine chauvinism of the good ol' red-blooded American male, there is more to image than just a "pretty face." The model women on TV news not only look "attractive," as if they had just stepped out of a Macy's store window (indeed, Neiman-Marcus actually uses mannequins made as replicas of Jessica Savitch!), but they also must paint a picture of the wholesome, upstanding citizen — a woman who thinks, but still knows her proper place — a woman, in short, who is plainly of, or in service to, *bourgeois* class.

What is the basis for this "image," the starting point for its manufacturing? This is determined by the *content* of the job itself. Ron Powers points out, in his book *The Newscasters*, that there are interesting similarities between the sense of mission of the U.S. news establishment and the role of the U.S. public schools. Powers points to Jonathan Kozol, a radical education critic who believes that "the first and primary function of the U.S. public school is not to educate good people, but good citizens...manageable voters, manipulable consumers, and if need be, in the case of war crisis, willing killers." In Kozol's book, *The Night Is Dark and I Am Far From Home*, it says: "The first objective and the most consistent consequence of public school is the perpetration of a U.S. value system: one that dominates both how we think and how we feel about those people who do *not* live in this land, or else who *do*, but live here in those Third World colonies which are the non-white ghettos. The goal is self-protection in the face of activating guilt and shame.... The surfeit, overfulness, over-richness we enjoy, exist somehow upon a plateau of untouched and non-malignant privilege." Powers goes on to point out that while TV news may differ in some ways from the methods of education in this country, the effect is essentially the same. He observes that "a crucial ingredient in the value system taught in U.S. public schools... is a sense of impotence. The pupil must feel that he is powerless to effect change — to take an intervening, ethical stand — because of the overwhelming vastness of the social forces at work." Quite an apt description, one might add, also, of the nightly news reports.

Indeed, news anchors are important public figures and have this important job for the bourgeoisie — that of "getting over" their class propaganda and daily summation of world events. "These newly powerful TV personalities," one commentator said, "are directly responsible in no small degree, for the quality of the nation's social fabric." The lives of these personalities are as open to the public as a moviestar or politician, and when they die, if they are a national TV news figure, you can be sure the president will be at the funeral." On local stations news programs earn the highest advertising revenues, and local news personalities are usually among the highest-paid personnel. The woman who is entrusted with this job must radiate the proper "image" in order to do this. The class basis for this is quite apparent in the "image" of the top anchorwoman in recent years. And here, "image" goes far beyond just physical appearance. In a more all-encompassing way, the "image" projected rests on an active political and social life that enables the anchorwoman to successfully do her job.

Barbara Walters, et al.

Looking at a few of those who have "made it to the top" gives some insight into the politics behind this. Barbara Walters, the first woman anchor on national news, is perhaps the most celebrated pacesetter in her league. And indeed, she is the success story of the "torturous" rise of women to equally participate in the

quest for credibility in the service of bourgeois propaganda. Her entrance into the hallowed halls of the male-dominated nightly network news was met with tremendous controversy. Upon hearing of her signature on ABC's contract to co-host the Evening News with Harry Reasoner in 1976, CBS News president Richard Salant muttered, "Yecch... I'm really depressed as hell. This isn't journalism — this is a minstrel show. Is Barbara Walters a journalist or is she Cher? In fact, maybe ABC will hire Cher next. If this kind of circus atmosphere continues and I have to join in it, I'll quit first." Soon afterwards, the *New Yorker* magazine published a cartoon of Walters in a chorus line, holding a hand mike and telling viewers, in mid-kick, of the latest news from Beirut.

Undaunted, Walters went on to fulfill her million-dollar contract with ABC, and proved not only that she could report the bourgeoisie's news as faithfully as any man, but that she could become accepted in the public and private circuits of the most prestigious bourgeois figures. After all, if Walter Cronkite could achieve the notoriety of mention on George McGovern's list of possible vice presidential candidates in 1972, Barbara Walters could surely become known as a political pipeline to top heads of state around the world and as a social confidante of Henry Kissinger.

Walters boasts that her house is filled with artifacts she treasures as mementos of her "success" — trinkets/medals for service in helping get the right interview at the right time...with the right slant for public consumption. Autographed pictures of Anwar Sadat... a scribbled note from Fidel Castro on the grand piano... Amidst the jeweled cigarette cases and music boxes on the glass-topped coffee table is a grouping of miniature earthenware jugs, with one that bears the inscription, "To Barbara Walters, All Best Wishes, Moshe Dayan — 4000 B.C." — and on the telephone machine, perhaps a recorded message from Henry Kissinger to cancel or confirm a luncheon date. Her rise to the top in the news has been facilitated by, and in turn opened the doors to, a privileged position in the circles of politicians, businessmen and heads of state around the world who "make the news."

As *Vogue* put it, Barbara Walters is "bright, beautiful, efficient and assertive... the universal analyst everyone wants to talk to...." In fact, she should be given credit for skillfully living among and reporting about the most important figures of bourgeois power. There are, after all, many different ways to create public opinion for the bourgeoisie — and while Walter Cronkite's "serious and authoritarian" approach is quite useful, the method of reporting the "intimate" and personal side of those who rule can also have its desired effect.

Then there is Diane Sawyer, another top anchorwoman who was painted in a March 1983 *Newsweek* article as "brilliant, magnetic, industrious, inquisitive, disciplined, witty, gracious, charming and loyal...." Note, though, that this string of adjectives has been awarded, not in the realm of fashion and make-up, but in concrete service that rests on the most important description above... her "loyalty." Starting off with the "thrill of victory" by winning America's Junior Miss of 1963, Sawyer then went on to become Vice President of the prestigious Wellesley College Student Body in 1966. Then, after a slow start as local news weather girl in Louisville, she eventually graduated to become State Department correspondent for CBS. With the election of Nixon her career leaped ahead, as she left the more "partisan" journalism of television news and worked as the president's top press aide for four years. Later, after the demise of Nixon and his hurried retreat to San Clemente, Sawyer was again called into service. She left network news for three years to personally assist Nixon in attempting to repair his "credibility" — a challenging task indeed — and composing his memoirs. And while there was some hubbub about her returning to anchoring TV news because of her up-front political allegiances, she remains as one of the top network anchorwomen, and is referred to by *Newsweek* as "the Princess Di of CBS."

This portrait would not be complete without saying at least a few words about Jessica Savitch, whom *Vogue* described in 1979 as "the hottest new face in TV newscasting, a cool-voiced blonde — let's

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Piggery Revealed in Preparations for Oakland Trial

The "Lost" File

On October 3rd, an important political trial is scheduled to begin in Oakland, California. The case is three and a half years old, the charges stemming from events that built toward May Day 1980. The charges are also serious — three counts of felony battery on a police officer for one defendant, and one count of felony assault on a police officer for the other defendant. That the case has been kept alive for so long by the court system, and that it is coming to trial now is an indication of the intensified attempts on the part of the government to attack the RCP legally and in other ways; this case in particular is part of ongoing attempts by California authorities to brand the RCP with the tag of "violence prone" by getting convictions in railroad trials. At the same time, the case poses the possibility of some very damaging exposure of the apparatus of the political police in California and the ties of that apparatus to Black elected officials in Oakland.

The charges stem from a police attack on a demonstration of about fifty people, who went to Oakland City Hall on April 22nd to demand a permit for the march on May Day 1980. The Oakland city government, which had routinely granted permits for every May Day march since 1975, had in 1980 demanded posting of a \$2100 permit fee to cover police costs for the march, a fee never before levied against a march of any kind held in Oakland. When Mayor Lionel Wilson, chairing the meeting, denied the group permission to speak, and the revolutionaries demanded dropping of the fee, Wilson ordered police, who had been hidden in the basement of city hall and had been waiting on nearby streets, to clear the chambers. In an obvious set up, squads of pigs poured into city hall, pushing people out of the chambers and onto a marble stairway leading down to the ground floor of city hall.

There, members of the Special Operations Squad of the Oakland police, who had rushed into the building just as Wilson gave his order, started beating the first people out of the council chambers. One of those now standing trial had been one of the first out of the chambers, and he now faces the 3 counts of felony battery on a police officer. Two days later, at a memorial meeting for Damián García, murdered in L.A. by the political police on the same day revolutionaries were attacked in the Oakland City Hall, police again attacked. As the revolutionary who is now the second defendant walked down the street, 4 or 5 squad cars screeched to a halt beside him, and about ten pigs jumped out attacking and beating him, and then hauling him to jail. He was later charged with felony assault on a police officer at the Oakland City Hall two days before.

It seems clear that the assault on the Oakland City Council meeting and the Damián García memorial was part of a coordinated move by the political police, in L.A. and the Bay Area and in other parts of the country, to intimidate people and raise the political ante and political stakes of participation in the May Day '80 march. The murder of Damián García was the most important focus of these slimy activities; the attack on the demonstration at Oakland City Hall and the vicious arrest and beating of another revolutionary at the Damián García memorial, was part of the same political design, coordinated to happen at roughly the same time — approximately one week before May Day 1980 — and obviously meant to heighten the impact of the assassination of Damián.

Despite the attempt to intimidate and drive people away from May Day '80, the march was attended by 1,000 people in the Bay Area alone, including hundreds of Black youth from Oakland, and thousands took part nationally. In Oakland, the viciousness of the attack on the May Day activists at city hall had brought forth dismay even from some city council members. The police attack was front page news in the Oakland

papers, where local politicians at the scene were quoted making remarks like, "If the police do this in city hall, what do they do in the streets?" And if this naiveté sounds 100% phony — "gosh, you mean there's police brutality right here in Oakland?" — what comes through here is some very sharp embarrassment at the spotlight directed right in their City Council chambers of what the Oakland pigs "do in the streets." One council member told the police, in an internal police department investigation, that the RCP had been in City Council meetings before, and "in all of these instances I have never seen them provoke a fight or take a swing at anybody." And one reactionary member summed up for all, "I felt almost immediately that it was going to give them a cause and I am deeply concerned about this group."

A few days after the attack, the city relented on the question of the permit for the May Day march, and the May Day march in Oakland was the only one in the country that was not openly attacked by the police. The charges on the two revolutionaries have remained, however, and now, three and a half years later, the trial seems to be set.

The fact that this case is coming to trial now, after the recent outrageous railroad in San Francisco in the case of 3 defendants from May Day '81, carried through under a press blackout and with blatant denial of basic bourgeois trial "rights," indicates what the authorities are planning. (The May Day '81 case resulted in a hung jury for two defendants, and conviction for a third, and the two defendants not convicted are now scheduled for a re-trial in November. See *RW* No. 212 for analysis of the sentencing of the convicted defendant.) At the same time, the upcoming May Day '80 trial poses some complicated and difficult political problems for the authorities. They have the problem of not only resurrecting the exposure of the Oakland city government that resulted from the police attack on city hall, and the resulting squabbling among various politicians; they also have the problem that the apparatus of the political police in California is a rather touchy and dangerous issue for them right now; particularly in L.A.

One important expression of the problem the government faces in this case is the problem of the missing Oakland Police Intelligence file. This file first surfaced in December 1980, at a trial of party supporters active in the protest over the bloody police murder of Melvin Black, a Black teenager. This case resulted in a politically costly defeat for the government and, in the course of things, the exposure of portions of an 8-inch thick intelligence file on the RCP. Then, during the process of discovery motions around the current May Day '80 trials, the Oakland City Attorney revealed that this file had been "lost," some time in the late summer of 1980. Not too surprising for beyond the exposure of the activity of low-level operatives of the political intelligence branch of the OPD against the RCP, the file — that portion of it made public — showed that it was active through May Day 1980, and thus very relevant to the current case. There are two things about this file that are particularly important.

The first is that this is one of very few cases of the political police admitting any kind of activity against the RCP or any other organization or social movement in the entire San Francisco Bay Area in the whole period of the late '70s and early '80s. The overall political character of the San Francisco area on the one hand has included the development of numerous revolutionary and rebellious political forces, and on the other has made it necessary for the government to disguise as much as possible the work of its political police. One report by the State of California Bureau of Organized Crime and Criminal Intelligence, which we will get into more deeply later, complains that new state laws are needed because in-

telligence gathering is severely limited by "local political climates." Few with any political experience would deny that the political police have to be very active in the Bay Area — yet very little of the actual mechanism of this has been exposed and even less has been admitted by the government. In the course of the May Day '81 trial in San Francisco, for example, the judge was able to say with a straight face that there is no political harassment of revolutionaries by authorities in San Francisco! The second aspect of the "lost" OPD file is this: the file contained intelligence summaries of regional meetings held by police forces in the Bay Area. Only the judge in the Melvin Black trial was allowed to see these summaries, and all that is publicly known of these meetings came from a "finding of fact" that he made to the jury in that trial: The meetings were supposed to deal with "organized crime, narcotics, and terrorism," and out of 411 subjects discussed in the period around 1979, 55 were related to the RCP.

Certain other developments help put in perspective the revelations in the "lost" OPD Intelligence file. In 1978, then-State Attorney General George Deukmejian, now governor, convened the Organized Crime Control Commission (OCCC). This commission, which included current Reagan advisor Ed Meese III as a prominent member, made a number of sweeping recommendations: (1) Establishing a "RICO"-type law for crimes committed within the state of California. (The federal RICO statutes now existing apply, of course, to crimes in "interstate" jurisdiction.) (2) Establishing a statewide task force to deal with "organized crime," and setting up training programs for police officers across the state to handle, among other things, "terrorism" and "extremist groups." (3) Developing more coordination between federal, state and local law enforcement agencies. (4) Setting up a legal task force on "terrorism." And (5) setting up a "criminal terrorist" index. In one form or another, all of these recommendations have been at least partially implemented.

California now has a police training facility, the Western Regional Organized Crime Training Institute, which does train police in dealing with "terrorists" and other forms of "organized crime." The recommendations of the OCCC led to the establishment of the Bureau of Organized Crime and Criminal Intelligence (BOCCI), under the State Attorney General's office, which has carried forward the work of the original commission. BOCCI has taken considerable care to integrate the revamping and building up of the political police with necessary changes in the legal arena. It proudly claims credit, for example, for the passage of the California "anti-Klan Bill," a bill which, among other things, allows a court, once it has established that a certain organization has "a history of violence," to outlaw even the discussion of certain topics by members of the group, including at non-public meetings of as few as two people — and meetings of target groups can be banned altogether. From its beginning in 1978, the BOCCI stressed the importance of police informants and electronic surveillance, and how the existing laws were supposedly hampering the police. According to the *L.A. Times*, it was the BOCCI which paid an informant in the L.A. area who spied on 14 different political groups, focusing her efforts on activity and preparation for the 1981 blockade of the Diablo Canyon nuclear power plant. (See *RW* No. 217, "Piggery Revealed at Diablo Canyon.")

The BOCCI has regularly issued annual reports to the California legislature on its work. These reports are revealing and show the political targets of the BOCCI. In the 1979 report, for example, the RCP is discussed several times, once in connection with political groups demonstrating against the Nazis: "All of these groups advocate the use of violence,

often directing it toward law enforcement officers as well as the groups against which they are demonstrating." The report portrays the danger of groups like the Nazis and Klan "in their ability to create trouble by attracting violence from those on the extreme left"; as the report tells us, "the Klan has attempted to shed its image of the 'rough-talking promoter of racial violence' and promotes white supremacy with an air of 'respectability'." Thus, the very supposed subject of the "anti-Klan" bills is pictured as going legit, and no real threat to law and order in its own right.

In the 1980 report, BOCCI announced the formation of a Special Investigative Task Force to "serve as a statewide clearinghouse and coordinator of information and activities of extremist groups." This unit was already in operation on May Day 1980. The 1981 report mentions that regionwide meetings of law enforcement agencies were held regularly during the year, and makes mention of statewide coordination of law enforcement agencies to help them handle violent demonstrations. Improvements in exchange of information between state, local and federal agencies is also discussed. This report also recommends a push for a law to give the police the authority to collect and store information on extremist groups, making this information both *confidential* and *not subject to discovery*. There is need for this law because in some areas, apparently, such intelligence gathering is severely limited by "local political climates."

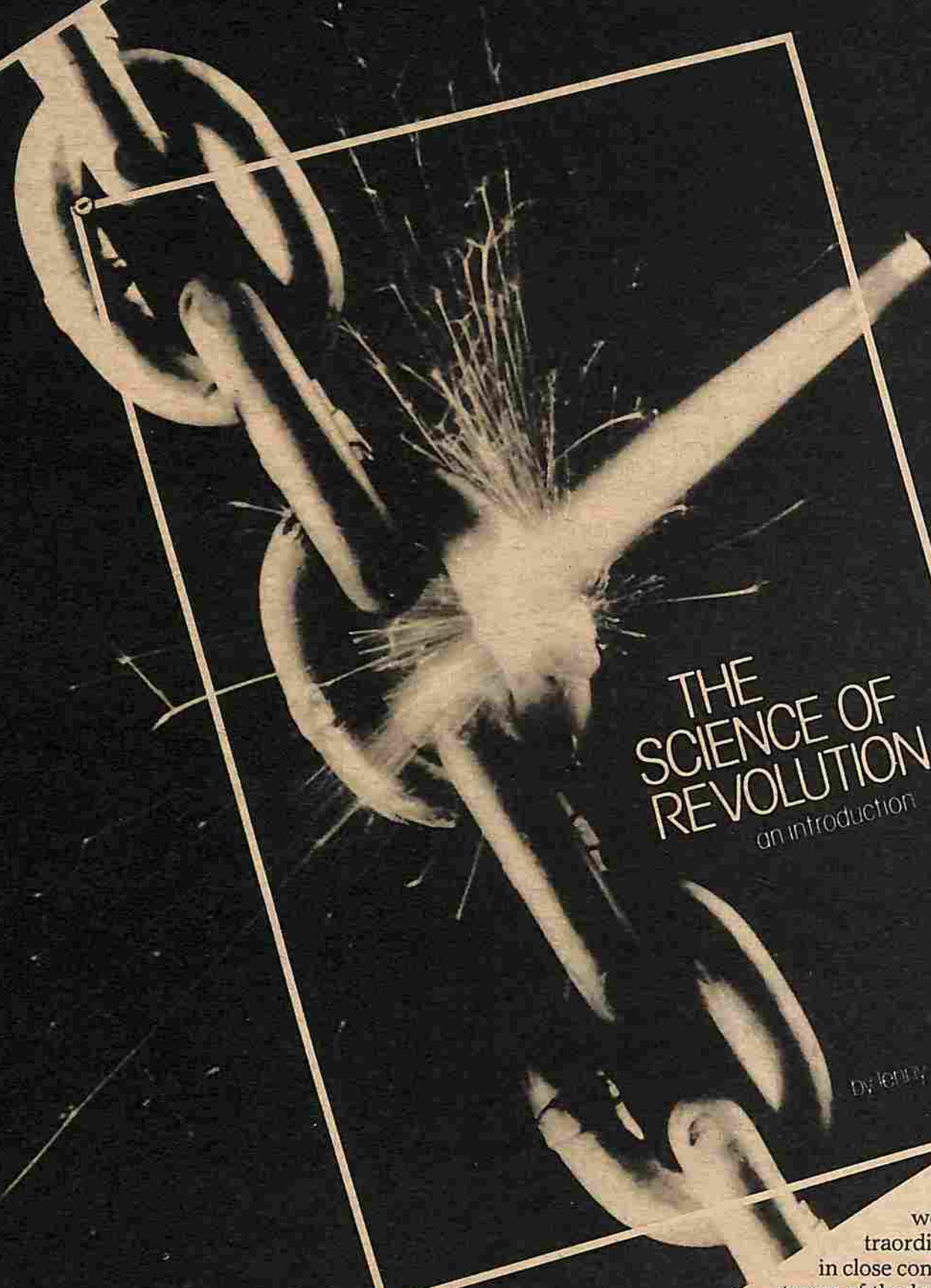
The BOCCI is clearly an important and central agency in the operation of the political police in California, and in coordinating the role of the armed thugs with the kind of legal changes which will make their work more effective, more advanced technologically, and more protected from discovery or exposure. The "regional meetings" in the Bay Area mentioned in the "lost" OPD Intelligence file are almost certainly the meetings coordinated and directed at the state level by BOCCI. The possibility is also raised that the BOCCI had a hand, perhaps an important one, in the police attacks that resulted in the murder of Damián García in L.A. and in blood on the City Council steps on the same day in Oakland.

Little wonder then, that the Oakland Police Department Intelligence file, which could certainly shed even further light on these and no doubt many other matters, has been "lost" with supposedly no copies surviving. This shows one of the major advantages to the bourgeoisie of organizing their political police work at least in part through local police departments: should political police activity come to public light in one place, it would only constitute exposure of the local department, not a much larger network (even if, as in the case of the LAPD, that "local" department is part of a national and international web of operations and connections).

This file and its supposed loss is of course central to the upcoming case of the May Day '80 defendants, and it has been central in the legal battle around the case in the last 3-1/2 years. After Oakland authorities "discovered" that the file was lost, the defendants filed for dismissal of charges on the grounds of suppression of evidence. The Oakland City Attorney, in a brief argument against dismissal wrote: "The impact of dismissal in the instant case would be even more far reaching since the evidence sought here is related to a claim of discriminatory enforcement. A member of one of the listed organizations [the reference is apparently to the RCP and the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade, RCYB — *RW*] could raise the unavailability of the lost evidence in any criminal action for which he might be charged in the future, making him immune from criminal prosecution." A rather curious argument, since the current case is the only case involving party supporters in Oakland that dates back to

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the revolutionary
essence of
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Chile

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right wing of the Christian Democrats, who call for a "dialogue" with Pinochet and Jarpa. But the same fear is also reflected to some extent in the stand of the left wing of the Christian Democrats, those holding out for a new general and elections in 18 months... enough time, they say, to "reorganize" their party. Why do they need so much time? Because right now the Christian Democrats are badly split, with some clinging to Pinochet and others being driven by this stand into the clinging arms of the CP as the situation grows increasingly chaotic. Even those Christian Democrats who advocate some understanding with the CP want to be the swallows and not the swallowed.

This has led to a situation where the CP is able to play the role of the "backbone" of the opposition; they are the one force that even though barred from the Democratic Alliance demands that the Alliance stick by its program. On the same day that Valdés was meeting with Jarpa, five leading members of the Chilean CP held a public press conference in Santiago to assert this demand: "Dialogues won't resolve anything. What is needed is democracy right now." Even the *Wall Street Journal* was alarmed at this revisionist expropriation of the Christian Democrats' thunder. Chile's Christian Democratic Party, brought into the government in the 1960s by the Alliance for Progress and CIA money, represents Chile's ruling classes and not the "middle class" as it claims. But it is true that like the CP, a very important part of its social base does come from the "middle classes," including the small capitalist farmers and businessmen and especially professionals and white-collar workers. Since unemployment among engineers in Chile is now 40% and among architects is 60%, and 403 companies went bust in the first half of 1982 alone — just to give a few examples of the economic disaster wrought by the imperialists' pumped-up orgy of speculation in Chile even among strata that in other times produced eagerly pro-U.S. imperialist forces — it is likely that more than a few Christian Democrat leaders understand the danger of unending and fruitless "dialogue."

In the face of Christian Democratic wishy-washy wavering, the CP has managed to portray itself as the proponent of militant demonstrations. But Chile is an example, if ever there was one, of the fact that mass demonstrations themselves cannot bring about any fundamental change in political power. Material force must be met with equal material force, as Karl Marx said. In September 1973 Chile saw the biggest demonstrations in its history. Almost a million people filled the streets in support of Allende's Popular

Unity government. Yet a few days later Allende was dead and the National Stadium where Allende's government once rallied its supporters was instead being used to hold them prisoner. The CP was a proponent of "the peaceful road to socialism" because it never intended to get to socialism; what it sought was the creation of a state-capitalist section of the economy where new exploiters could nestle beside old ones. The CP offered to drop all the essential points of Allende's reforms in return for an alliance with the Christian Democrats; on the eve of the coup it preached non-resistance and carried out gun control against the masses so as to grease the way for a post-coup alliance with the Christian Democrats. What else could an alliance with certain sections of the pro-U.S. ruling classes be based on except their armed forces? Even after the coup, in 1976, after three years of massacres, the Chilean CP wrote: "Within the armed forces, in the private consciences of those who wore the uniform, there is a heterogeneous collection of ideas and feelings. The majority now think that the coup d'état was the most tragic error in the history of the Army and of Chile. Many are beginning to understand that the anti-communist and anti-Popular Unity campaign was an essential part of this great error." (Quoted in Palacios, p. 445.) Today, another seven years and countless arrests and murders later, the CP still declares that its only enemies within the armed forces are "the fascist officers"... Pinochet and his closest associates. In a word, the CP, like the Christian Democrats, finds that the democracy which they are fighting for in Chile is the one that "only the armed forces can immediately reestablish."

The Candidate Generals

The armed forces hierarchy is indeed "heterogeneous," in the sense of containing different bourgeois political currents and interests even among the highest ranks. The question of just which superpower-led imperialist bloc will benefit most from Chile's "return to democracy" has more than a little to do with just which general presides over its "re-establishment." There are more than a few candidates. Interestingly, one of the strongest military critics of the Pinochet regime — a "soldier who has ceased active service," thus meeting the Democratic Alliance's proposed requirements — is General Roberto Viaux, who criticized the use of the armed forces against demonstrators during the August national day of protest, declaring, "The police function is not incumbent upon and never will be incumbent upon the armed forces. I remind my comrades in arms that their mission is above all to look after

the greater interests of Chile." This lucid proponent of U.S. imperialism's greater interests had been paid \$20,000 by the CIA and guided by U.S. Ambassador Edward Kerry when in 1970 he staged the kidnapping of Rene Schneider, commander in chief of the Chilean armed forces, in a bungled attempt to spark a coup that would prevent Allende, who had just been elected, from being allowed to take office. The effort was so badly botched that Schneider was killed; the coup attempt proved to be premature because the Christian Democrats weren't yet ready; and Viaux was packed off to ignominious retirement — only to re-emerge today, probably still on the CIA payroll, as a prime candidate for Pinochet's replacement. It might be hard for such a hardbitten and widely hated symbol of reaction to be accepted as a harbinger of "democracy," but if his old political associate Onofre Jarpa can be reborn, why not Viaux? He certainly couldn't be accused of hypocrisy for offering to protect the same interests he's always served.

Another leading contender, as we've pointed out before, is retired Air Force General Gustavo Leigh, a former junta leader whose monthly calls for Pinochet's demise increasingly mark him as an "historic compromise" candidate. His successor as head of the air force, General Matthei, also obviously meant to throw his hat into the ring with his announcements that his men "would not use their weapons" against demonstrators — a bit late, after 30,000 and more have been killed by the armed forces since 1973. Matthei is said by *Le Monde* to be considered a "traitor" by the rest of the air force hierarchy for not joining Leigh in something stronger than words. *Le Monde* also reports that "the admirals, for their part, feel no sympathy for the president. The defection of these two services will also carry with it a good part of the army." The very fact that *Le Monde* did what amounts to a poll of Chile's top officers — surely not an ordinary journalistic assignment — is in itself a sign of U.S.-bloc jitters about "heterogeneous currents" among Chile's armed forces, despite *Le Monde's* conclusion that none of them regret overthrowing Allende. (This article was republished in *Le Monde's* weekly edition of Aug. 11-17.)

An example of how the coming "general election" will be settled and of the revisionists' attitude towards it can be seen in the case of former Chilean commander in chief General Carlos Prats, whose resignation a few months before the 1973 coup cleared the way for Pinochet to become head of the armed forces. Prats was lionized by the Chilean CP as a true guarantor of "democracy"; a few

years ago, in a criticism of the Chilean CP, Salvadoran CP head Shafik Handal wrote that their greatest error was not getting Prats to stage a coup to head off Pinochet's coup. (Actually, it seems likely that Prats, a Christian Democrat type, deliberately accepted being forced out of office to make way for Pinochet.) Despite this recommendation, Prats can't come around to apply for the job today because in September 1974 he was murdered in exile, in Buenos Aires, by Michael Townley, an American who later claimed to have been working for Pinochet.

Then there are the civilian candidates, whom the generals need just as much as they need the generals. Can it be only coincidence that the Sept. 4 arrival of Andres Zaldivar, the heir-apparent to the throne of ex-Christian Democrat head Eduardo Frei and leader of the most openly pro-U.S. wing of the party, was followed only a few hours later by the arrival of ex-Senator Renan Fuentealba, a leader of the pro-"historic compromise" Christian Democrats, whose airport rally, the *New York Times* nervously noted, "was greeted by at least as many people as greeted Mr. Zaldivar"?

Someone who could not fly in that day was Bernard Leighton, who was once slated to head the Christian Democratic Party. The bomb which crippled this leading proponent of the historic compromise and his wife in Rome in September 1975 left Zaldivar the victor. That bomb was also masterminded by Michael Townley.

Another absence will be that of Orlando Letelier, the most prominent of those who survived the Popular Unity government. He was a close friend of Gabriel Valdés and was engaged in a series of meetings with him in September 1976 when he and Ronnie Moffitt were blown away in Washington, D.C. by Michael Townley. Townley had lived in Chile for many years and had been a constant fixture at the U.S. embassy. He was convicted of carrying out the murders as an agent of the Chilean government, jailed briefly, then released. (All this is detailed in the book *Assassination on Embassy Row*, by John Dinges and Saul Landau, who conclude that Townley probably wasn't CIA, contrary to all the evidence, because the U.S. government would not have wanted the embarrassment of a prominent exile getting blown up right in the nation's capital. This conclusion leaves out the possibility that the U.S. wanted Letelier murdered in Washington, as an irrefutable U.S. vote on any "historic compromise.")

September is a great month for imperialist democracy in Chile. □

The "Lost" File

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the period when the OPD file was admittedly an active file. Unless, of course, the file contained such sweeping revelations of the work of the political police that it would in fact be directly relevant to future cases, cases that might be brought to trial even years after the file "disappeared."

The motion for dismissal was denied in Alameda County Superior Court and appealed in a writ to the District Court of Appeals. In a somewhat unusual move, that Appeals court agreed to hear the writ and granted a stay in the trial, clearly because of the political sensitivity of issues to be raised in the trial. Finally, after a non-routine delay, the District Court of Appeals denied the request for dismissal, giving no reasons. When the State Supreme Court refused to hear the writ at all, the case of the Damián García memorial defendants was scheduled for trial.

It is clear that the case is precisely the kind of case on which the BOCCI group wants to be able to get convictions, both to sweep under the rug the rather messy exposure of the statewide political police network that is coming into view through the case, as well as to continue the recently intensified attack on the RCP, which in turn will help enable them to use the "anti-Klan" law as well as other such laws now in preparation.

However much a conviction might be desired, the case is so potentially damaging that there has been some obvious

hesitation in pushing it to trial. One problem for the bourgeoisie involves a deep involvement of Oakland city officials, particularly the mayor, in the attack at city hall. Oakland is one of the national models in developing a loyal Black political machine, which now holds most positions of power, including the mayor's office; a trial in this case could very possibly involve the spectacle of Mayor Wilson on the witness stand, with defense lawyers digging into his degree of complicity with the political police. This has to be discomforting to astute bourgeois politicians in places far beyond Oakland City Hall in this year of the Black presidential candidate, particularly when the Democratic Convention is scheduled for next summer right across the bay in San Francisco.

Considerations like the above have led the Oakland D.A. to offer the defendants a deal involving a plea of guilty to assault on police in return for no time in jail. The defendants have refused this deal because even these lesser charges would nevertheless further the overall political aims of the government in branding the RCP "violence prone." The D.A., clearly acting under orders from above, has refused to give up on getting charges of violence on police officers against the defendants and at this point it looks like the case will go to trial. One can only eagerly anticipate more revelations creating an even more hostile "political climate" for the government in prosecuting its latest railroad.

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Lebanon

Continued from page 1

and its escort ships, which are scheduled to arrive in the area shortly. It does include 2 aircraft carriers, the USS *Eisenhower* (with 30 aircraft aboard) and the USS *Iwo Jima*, along with 12 other warships, and the 2,000 marines who comprise a second assault unit now awaiting off shore. Along with this off-shore war fleet must be added the support complements of the other multinational peacekeepers — including the French aircraft carrier *Foch* and a destroyer, and two Italian frigates. The British use air facilities in nearby Cyprus (from which two Buccaneer fighter bombers took off Tuesday, flying a rooftop sweep over Beirut in order to, as a British commander said, "show the flag.") One reporter commented that this is the largest concentration of weaponry seen in the Mediterranean since World War 2.

This enormous assemblage of NATO firepower has grown as the Lebanese government of Amin Gemayel has become increasingly engulfed in crisis, and it has played a major role in preventing thus far the collapse of that government's waning "central authority." As has been reported in these pages over the past weeks, Gemayel's government has failed miserably in holding together any national "consensus" amongst Lebanon's diverse communities, and has fallen back increasingly on its Maronite Christian, Phalangist, social base. This social base in turn has become more embattled and intransigent as its position has continued to deteriorate — most dramatically in the Shuf mountains in the past two weeks. The self identity of the Phalange and other right-wing Christian circles, is very much bound up in retaining and extending their position of privilege within Lebanon's political system and society at large, and while it is too early to determine in full the effects of their heavy losses in the Shuf, it is doubtful that the Phalangist-dominated "Lebanese forces" militia will readily accept compromise on the heels of military defeat.

Druse advances in the Shuf threatened to put the Gemayel government in a checkmate position, adding greatly to the negotiating strength of the opposition forces. And the U.S. has apparently made it known to the Druse that if they attempt to press their advantage, they can expect to receive a U.S. demonstration of its new policy. According to a Tuesday report from Lebanon's Central News Agency, which has access to President Amin Gemayel's inner-circle of aides, "if any of the Lebanese army's current front lines in the mountains are penetrated, the Lebanese government can count on U.S. navy, air and artillery intervention."

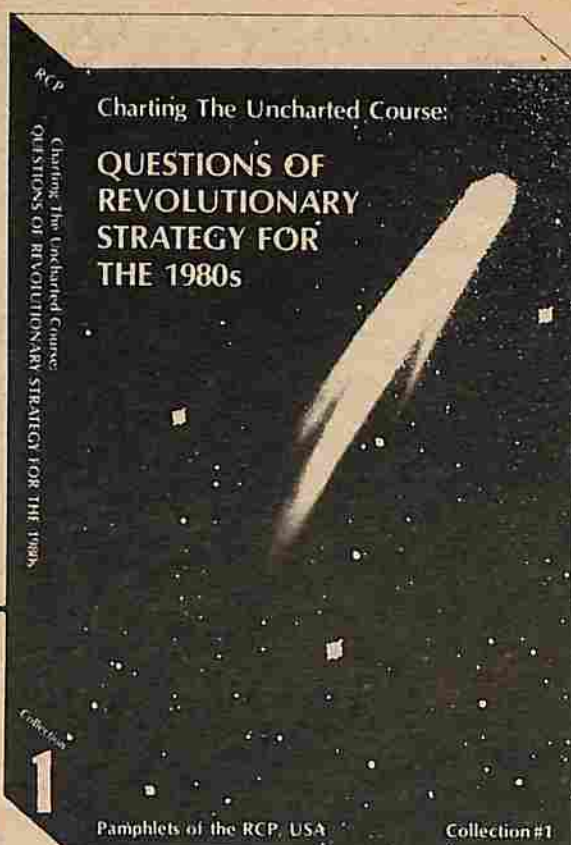
As for the Syrians, the U.S. has apparently threatened to up the ante still. As one indication, Radio Israel, citing

Washington sources, said Tuesday that the Reagan administration had threatened to bomb Syrian positions in the Bekaa Valley — quite a distance from the current focus of fighting — "if the situation did not improve." The Israelis are certainly in a position to know. U.S. officials have now confirmed that they had asked the Israelis, "on behalf of the Lebanese government" to use their air power against Druse positions last week in the Shuf mountains. (While the Israelis apparently declined at the time, they have since sent reconnaissance flights over the Shuf and are now deploying army patrols north of their Awali River line.)

That the U.S. is upping the ante against the Syrians is very much a function of the growing political contention over just what is going to emerge from the current round of fighting. Observers, including Israeli officials, say that Syrian troops themselves have not been directly involved in the Shuf conflict, although Syrian logistical and artillery support has been an active and growing factor (as has, naturally, similar U.S. support for the Lebanese army). The key development has been the emerging centrality of the Syrians' political influence. Having accumulated important leverage over various political leaders among Gemayel's opposition, perhaps most importantly Druse leader Walid Jumblatt, Syria now frankly enjoys greater political "legitimacy" in Lebanese political terms than does the U.S. at this point. Given the long-standing notoriety of Syria amongst Lebanese, in particular for its counter-revolutionary suppression of Moslems and Palestinians during Lebanon's '75-'76 civil war, this is no small turn of fortunes, and itself attests to the bankruptcy of the Gemayel government.

The U.S. recognizes that for the Gemayel government to survive, some accommodation with its opponents is important. And all the mediating efforts of U.S. Envoy Robert McFarlane have been aimed toward keeping such a process of accommodation clearly under U.S. control. But in dealing with the opposition, the U.S. increasingly finds itself having to deal with Syria. It is not only the regional aspirations of the Syrians, which include restoring a strong measure of Syrian influence and control over Lebanon, with which the U.S. must contend. Behind the Syrians, the Soviets are most certainly pushing to take advantage of current U.S. difficulties.

The regional ramifications of this are hardly lost on the U.S. As a White House official said on Tuesday, "Chaos in Lebanon with the Syrians shaping events there would almost put an end to any influence we might have in implementing the President's Middle East peace initiative. It would undermine the confidence of Persian Gulf states and our ability to defend our interests there. Loss



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of the government in Lebanon would cause moderate Arabs throughout the region to see little benefit in siding with the U.S."

Of course, the U.S. has no intention of losing "the government of Lebanon." But how does one prevent "chaos in Lebanon"? And more, how does one "influence" the implementation of Reagan's "Middle East peace initiative"? Simple: expand the Peace-

keepers' firepower! Whatever the upshot of McFarlane's shuttle diplomacy between Beirut and Damascus, events of the past week have proven what has been proven time and time again: the guarantor that the U.S. position in Lebanon won't be "compromised" lies, among other places, in the 16-inch guns (and cruise missiles?) of the *New Jersey*. The U.S. is saying: "Let Syria (and the Russians) negotiate with *that*." 11

Wardrobe Strategy

Continued from page 10

face it — bombshell correspondent for NBC Network news." In her autobiography, there is an exposure, even if unintentional, of what constitutes the bottom line in rising to the top as an anchorwoman. And that bottom line is successfully digging into, investigating and reporting the crucial stories the bourgeoisie must report and achieving the desired public opinion.

Savitch's career story is held together with a string of "assignments" successfully carried out. Starting out as a local news reporter, she recalls one of the first stories that won her acclaim — a firsthand account of what it's like for women to enter the police academy with first-class recruits. Savitch talks of the grueling obstacle course, the two years that it took to complete the documentary — and then proclaims, in satisfaction: "Today

17 of Philadelphia's 572 detectives are women. 2 of them sergeants, the highest rank yet attained in the city." Much bigger and better things were ahead for Savitch, though. Later, as a network reporter, she covered the Panama Canal debate, and a group of senators on a tour led by General Omar Torrijos. In her own words, "the real breakthrough came" with her assignment as podium correspondent at both of the national political party conventions and anchor at the House and gubernatorial desk on election night (1980). As Savitch was to remember fondly, "The Republican convention was one of the most thrilling events of my career."

Certainly this gives a flavor of what type of "partisan" politics these anchorwomen (must) hold.

While the above "trend-setters" are of the national network mold, the "image requirements" on the local level are similarly enforced, even if on a lower, less critical plane. While there is the different character of the local news, filled with

homey localism and happy talk, women anchors here are still very public figures and must also be carefully cultivated. If anything, the "warmth and comfort" of the model anchorwoman is more useful, along with, of course, the ability to "get over" the bourgeoisie's propaganda with a seemingly objective and non-partisan standpoint, all the while never losing sight of who (what class) you are reporting for. (Of course, some allowance might be made for a small amount of sympathy for the "plight of the lower classes" — as long as identification with, or worse yet a reporting of *these* classes' point of view, is kept out of the newsrooms.)

Weeding Out

In the 1980s increasing attention must be paid to "how" and how effectively news gets into the living rooms across America. And for the anchorwomen this has meant a calculated and cruel process of weeding out. Only a few will meet the strict requirements that are necessary to

fulfill the "image" — the total package of looks, lifestyle and political allegiance that reeks of a bourgeois stamp. In this way, the weeding out has gone on — with the use of stereotypes, discrimination, promotion of male chauvinist values and the demeaning enforcement of a certain "appearance" — in order to come up with and wield a "few good women" to carry out the highly political job of anchoring the news. Chris Craft is only one victim of this "weeding-out" machine.

The business of reporting the news is a political task of key importance to the bourgeoisie. Those entrusted with this job are relied upon to operate in the most public arena and to establish the confidence and trust that will enable them to fulfill this function even more effectively in times ahead. For the woman who is given this position, there will continue to be close and careful "guidance" — over every scarf, blazer and shade of eye shadow — by a class which has increasing need of an illusion of credibility to cover their crimes, present and future. 11

A BAD BEGINNING

The mission of the U.S. marine "peacekeepers," as U.S. officials reiterated this week, is to support the government of Amin Gemayel and assist the Lebanese army in restoring (U.S. dictated) "order" in that country. The role of the Lebanese army itself remains of critical importance to the whole U.S. venture in Lebanon. Building up a credible "sovereign" army is not only essential in providing the Gemayel government with some badly needed national legitimacy and backbone, but serves to thinly legitimize the ongoing U.S. military presence there as well — in a "support" role, of course. To this end the U.S. has subsidized the \$550 million Lebanese Army Modernization Program (LAMP), a training and outfitting program under the supervision of 80 U.S. Special Forces experts. In addition, the Lebanese have received impressive firepower from the U.S. — 75 new M-48 and M-60 tanks, 100 55 millimeter Howitzers, hundreds of armored vehicles, etc. Even the new uniforms the army has been provided are virtual replicas of U.S. marine fatigues. Publicly, the U.S. commanders have expressed delight at the progress made by their fledgling force. It was not so long ago, after all, that the Lebanese army — which had basically fallen apart during the '75-'76 Lebanese civil war — was being derisively called the "hairdresser's army," its military style defined by skin tight pants, pointed boots, and the hairstyles preferred by many young Maronite Christians.

Against such standards, the Lebanese army has arguably come a long way. During the first half of 1983, 12,000 new

draftees and recruits went through four week training under the LAMP program, and the Lebanese army now numbers about 32,000 troops.

The figures are a little deceiving. The poorest and largest population grouping in Lebanon, Shi'ites — largely from rural areas — are the largest group within the army. Along with other Moslems, they comprise an estimated 60% of total troop strength. Some have pointed to this as an indication of the army's strength; in broadening the ranks of the army, they suggest, the way has been paved toward reconciliation of Lebanon's diverse factions. But, as the London *Times* observes, "With Gemayel reluctant to have potential Muslim enemies taught the art of warfare, the new recruits have received minimal training. So although the army has increased in numbers, it is barely improved in quality or strength."

At the same time, although the army is decisively dominated by Maronite Christians throughout its officer corps, many of them Phalange associates or sympathizers, it has had trouble in recruiting broader numbers of Maronites as army regulars. Whether as a prerequisite of privilege, or because they prefer to serve in the Christian militia instead, many Maronite youth have evaded service; the imposition of a compulsory draft has led many to seek medical exemption or become students and thus gain deferment.

The upshot of this is that the Lebanese army still has relatively few reliable troops, its 32,000 troop strength notwithstanding. This helps explain why American and Lebanese officials are publicly

voicing fears that after two weeks of minimal engagement in the Shuf, the army is threatened with "exhaustion."

The army's baptism by fire, and to date their greatest achievement by far, occurred during the five days of fighting throughout West Beirut that began August 28th. The fighting was precipitated when Phalangist gunmen fired at Shi'ite youth who were putting up posters in the Shi'ite suburbs south of Beirut. When members of the Shi'ite militia, Amal, took to the street in response, the Lebanese army — long associated with providing tacit support for Phalangist terror activities in the Moslem neighborhoods — stepped in. The battle which ensued quickly spread into other Moslem areas. Amal militiamen were joined by Druse fighters and even those from the Marabitoun, the Sunni militia which had put away guns a year ago and has largely cooperated with Gemayel & Co. Although outgunned and outnumbered by the Lebanese army, these militias moved quickly to assert effective control over most of West Beirut and the southern suburbs.

On Wednesday, August 31st, the Lebanese army hit back with a force of some 10,000 troops. In a three-pronged attack the army brought in tanks and armored vehicles in a display of violent force unmatched since the Israeli invasion of a year ago. After intense block-to-block, house-to-house fighting in many areas, the army could claim that it had regained control. The official casualty figures given for the day were 94 dead and 413 injured. Lebanese and American officials pointed to this assault as a glowing

indication of the army's progress.

Yet once again, things were not as they seemed. Journalists who ventured into Moslem areas August 30th and 31st noted that in many instances, Amal fighters were seen packing away their weapons and leaving the scene. As it turns out, the leader of Amal, Nabih Berri, had entered into an agreement with the Gemayel government on Tuesday, agreeing to get his men off the street if the government promised to disarm the Phalangist militias in East Beirut. According to Berri, the government had also agreed to a demand to set up a new government of "national unity" that would include all major factions. At 8 p.m. Tuesday, a government official phoned him and accepted these terms. In exchange Berri gave the government a radio broadcast message, telling his militiamen to leave the streets.

It was the next morning, of course, that the army launched its massive assault on West Beirut. While Berri put out the word through his street network to cancel the radio announcement, it was too little, too late.

Such was the situation leading into the Lebanese army's "baptism by fire," an auspicious beginning to be sure. While the army took an undisclosed number of prisoners off to the Ministry of Information "for interrogation," most militiamen got away. And the Amal leaders, who have tried very hard to strike up a deal with the Gemayel government these past months, are now considerably more suspicious. [1]

Tape Gaps

Continued from page 6

ideologues of the Western media have come up with a new explanation, one which *The Sunday Times* of London runs out in its exposé: "...there is now a growing conviction in military, political and aviation circles that Captain Byong-in was not in Soviet airspace by accident. (No kidding!) That he was flying the shorter Great Circle route, there is no doubt. It cuts 390 miles off the normal route, saving more than six tons of fuel, costing nearly £1,500." So, Captain Byong-in wasn't really spying after all — he was just a conservationist trying to save energy! But the "economy" theory of 007's deviation gets the U.S. account into even worse trouble. First, it requires that the KAL transmissions reporting its position to be right on course to be con-

scious lies (certainly a possibility we would concede). Second, the reactionary British magazine *The Economist*, also a devotee of the "economy" theory, brings up another damning exposure. The U.S. admits that Japanese air control radar picked up an "unidentified blip" over Sakhalin, but supposedly had no way of knowing that that was 007. The problem here is that all commercial airliners are equipped with a device known as the transponder. A transponder emits an identifying radio signal when the plane is probed by radar. The transponder signal is received by the air traffic control radar and causes the four digit identifying number to appear next to the "blip" on the controller's screen. *The Economist* blurts out that for the "blip" on the Japanese radar to be unidentified must mean that 007's transponder was turned off (something a commercial airliner would never do). Then *The Economist* proudly announces that 007 would have turned its transponder off if it were trying

to sneak a shortcut across the Soviet Union to save fuel!

Honest, you guys should quit while you're ahead.

So clumsy has the U.S. case become, that after all of Jeane Kirkpatrick's histrionics at the UN, the U.S. was threatened with the real possibility of not even being able to get the nine votes needed to pass a condemnation of the Soviet Union in the UN Security Council. At the last minute the U.S. succeeded in twisting the arm of little Malta to get the ninth yes-vote. Even so the Maltese delegate told the council that the circumstances surrounding the downing of 007 "have been clouded with too much uncertainty." *The New York Times* reported on the UN vote by saying "The result of the voting in the United Nations Security Council spared the United States what had threatened to become a political humiliation. As late as this morning (the day of the vote), there were only eight certain votes for the resolution. Had the total gone unchanged, the document would have failed and the negative Soviet vote would not have counted as a veto."

That the U.S. government's account of the 007 incident doesn't hold enough water to fill a teacup, hasn't fazed the U.S. media one bit in dragging out a two-week campaign of denouncing the "Soviet atrocity." With a common consensus that "we shouldn't be surprised that the Soviets acted in kind," media attention began to shift to the alleged estrangement between Reagan and the right-wing. "A president's measured response to Moscow makes a divorce almost inevitable," proclaimed *Newsweek*. "What would you have me do short of going to war," said President Reagan to his right-wing critics.

In so saying, Reagan spoke reams to what the incident is all about. As one news headline crowed: "Soviet Has Handed Reagan Powerful Argument For MX." Thus, production of one of the world's most powerful atomic weapons has become one of the "moderate" products the administration hopes to come sailing out of the airliner affair, as well as a bonanza of further and much-desired concrete steps in preparation for war which could come easier now... if, as its European allies and others warn, the U.S. doesn't overstep certain bounds.

In Japan, for example, the bloc appears to be making important headway coming off of the affair. Situated right at

the confrontation point in this incident, and on a background of deepening tension between the Japanese and Soviet imperialists, Japan has come literally nose-to-nose with the Soviets in the aftermath of the airliner downing. On Tuesday, Japanese interceptors scrambled against an unusually large formation of Soviet bombers which made a deliberate run at Japanese borders right in the area where the airliner was downed; the bombers veered off after being challenged by Japanese jets. Nearly all mainstream bourgeois Japanese political forces have apparently closed ranks around a condemnation of the Soviet action by Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone, an important step in itself in Nakasone's ongoing campaign to arouse support for Japan's increased responsibilities in the war preparations of the bloc.

Western European imperialist leaders, no less eager to score gains around the affair, and making pious and hypocritical denunciations of their own, find themselves in a somewhat different position. For various reasons, they are unwilling to apply sanctions stronger than the limited air boycott of the Soviets, and like West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, warn the U.S. away from an "overinflated" response which would cast the U.S. back into the role the West wants to firmly pin on the Soviets for once: aggressor, warmonger. Citing these worries, columnist Joseph Kraft — no dove himself — had concluded by Wednesday that "the airliner incident is plainly running out of gas as an international event." Whether the Western bloc — and not just the U.S. — will want to call it quits yet on such a wealth of opportunity for their bloody strategic objectives is a question. But such a position, clearly held by important forces in the West, gives some understanding of the need for the "calm, measured response" of the Reagan administration.

The underlying dynamic has been this: the airliner incident has unleashed a torrent of rabid calls for making the world "safe for freedom" by eliminating you-know-who, while at the same time posturing the reactionary chief imperialist executive as the voice of outraged but reasoned moderation. In this way, the U.S. hopes to squeeze the maximum mileage, both in chauvinist self-righteous moral fervor against the Soviets, and in concrete political measures, "short of war" of course... for the time being.

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FOR A HARVEST OF DRAGONS

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

By Bob Avakian

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

An Essay Marking the 100th Anniversary of Marx's Death

1983 marks the one hundredth anniversary of the death of Karl Marx. Over this past century and more, Marxism has animated and aroused millions. Few can deny that the political landscape of the world today has been profoundly shaped by the struggles and revolutions Marxism has inspired. On the occasion of this anniversary, Bob Avakian has written a landmark essay, *For A Harvest Of Dragons*. Avakian's previous books include a major study of the thought of Mao Tsetung and an analysis of the events leading up to and the significance of the 1976 coup in China. Here he guides the reader through a synoptic history of Marxism.

Avakian begins by summarizing the theoretical revolution ushered in by Marx's investigations — in the realms of philosophy, history, economic theory, and politics. He then proceeds to examine some of the controversies that have swirled around the course and development of Marx's thought, in particular the relation of Marx's early writings to his mature work and the possible divergences between Marx and Engels. Turning next to the work of Lenin and Mao, Avakian argues that their theoretical innovations represent the most important enrichment of Marxism of the twentieth century. Finally, in one of the most provocative sections of his survey, Avakian subjects Soviet Marxism to withering criticism. He analyzes several representative works by Soviet scholars and shows that their method, content, and outlook cut against and suffocate the revolutionary essence of Marxism.

This essay appears at a time of a widely proclaimed "crisis of Marxism" — when the validity of the labor theory of value is being questioned, when the applicability of Leninist forms of organization is being debated, when the whole revolutionary experience of the 1960s is being reassessed, and when the feasibility of socialism is being called into doubt. But Avakian's defense of Marxism is no mere liturgical reaffirmation. He stresses that Marxism is not a closed system, that it advances precisely in connection with the new problems posed by developments in the world, and that there is both an invigorating Marxist tradition to uphold as well as a deadening "conventional wisdom" to renounce. Avakian argues powerfully for the contemporary relevance of Marxism. Indeed, *For A Harvest Of Dragons* is itself striking testimony to Marxism's continuing vitality.

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

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

