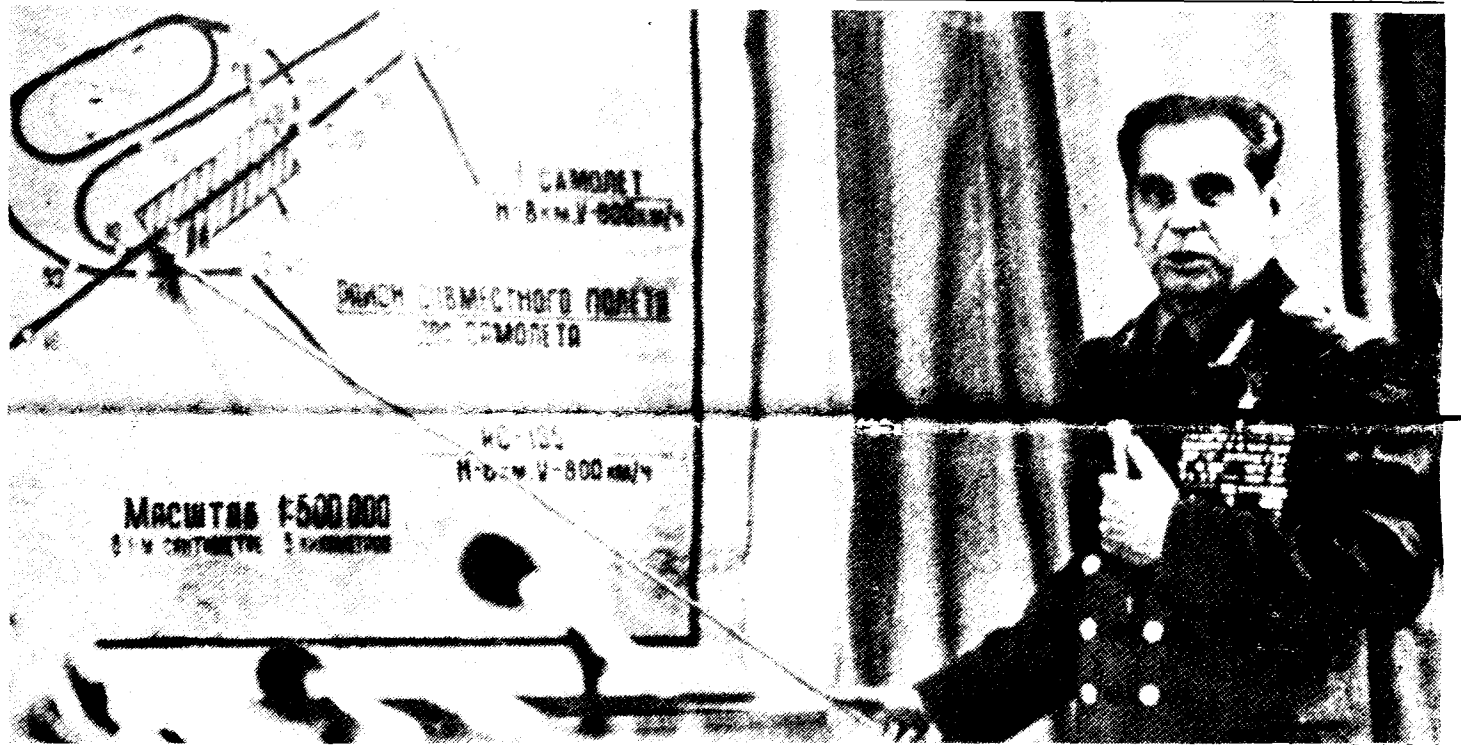


Reagan's 007 War Fever

SEPTEMBER 20—The war drums are beating in Washington. Even people who thought Ronald Reagan just talked loudly and waved a rhetorical big stick now worry that the "rough riders" in the White House and the Pentagon might actually drop the bomb. Having cynically sent the passengers of Korean Air Lines Flight 007 to their deaths in a demented anti-Soviet provocation, Reagan is now making his move to push through the Pentagon's two main first-strike weapons: the construction of the MX missile and deployment of Pershing IIs in West Europe. The latter have a flight time of only *eight minutes to Moscow*, forcing the Russians to adopt a policy of "launch on warning." Make no mistake, Reagan is driving toward thermonuclear war directed at the Soviet Union, birthplace of the first workers revolution in history.

Over and over, Reagan repeats that it is "the Soviets against the world"—or to turn it around, it's world war against the Soviets. Unlike Cold War liberals and New Right conservatives, this administration isn't much interested in sanctions which only hurt American capitalists, such as a grain boycott or the fiasco last year of U.S. efforts (which foundered on interimperialist rivalries) to halt the Soviet gas pipeline. What these warhawks want is not pinpricks but the Big Bang. Thus Reagan's successful appeal to use the 007 uproar to ram through his \$187 billion "defense" budget, including funds for the MX and binary poison gas weapons, was not a "jarringly inappropriate" note, as *Time* (19 September) claimed, but a central

Don't Mess With Russia!



Marshal Nikolai Ogarkov exposes Reagan's lies in Moscow press conference, September 9. Shaded area on map indicates site of rendezvous between RC-135 spy plane and 007.

purpose of this elaborately orchestrated war provocation against the Soviet Union.

Now Washington is moving ever closer to breaking off diplomatic relations with the USSR by denying Soviet

foreign minister Gromyko and any other Soviet diplomats the right to land in New York aboard an Aeroflot airliner. In times gone by such an outrage against a high official of a major power could in itself have led to war. To

say the least, as the Russians tersely replied, the question arises whether the United States is a "suitable" location for UN headquarters. Whereupon a petulant U.S. delegate taunted, we'll see you *continued on page 8*

Defend Vietnam/USSR Against U.S. War Drive!

Oust Genocidal Pol Pot Gang from UN!

We protest the obscenity of the genocidal, ousted Pol Pot forces holding the United Nations seat for Kampuchea (Cambodia)! Even in the UN, whose predecessor Lenin aptly called "a den of thieves," even among bloody U.S.-backed Central American dictators, Pakistan's General Zia, or even compared to Idi Amin, the murderous Pol Pot and his number two mass killer Ieng Sary are an obscenity. Since early 1979, when the Vietnamese toppled the Pol Pot regime, which killed *two million* of its

own people, the U.S. in alliance with China has armed the terrorist bands of the deposed dictator for attacks against Kampuchea. On September 21, 1979 and each year since the UN has voted to seat the universally despised Pol Pot forces instead of the Heng Samrin government as part of U.S. imperialism's unrelenting drive to punish the victorious Vietnamese Revolution and undo its own humiliating defeat. *No UN Seat for Pol Pot/Ieng Sary—Bloody Imperialist/Chinese Toys! Seat Heng Samrin*

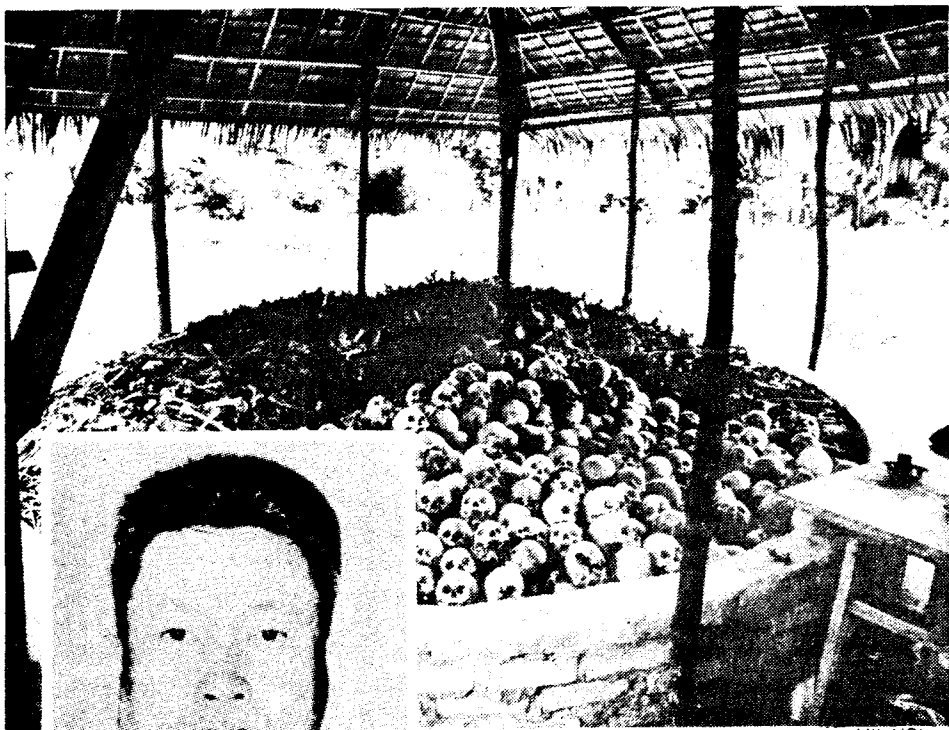
Government, Real Government of Kampuchea!

The U.S. attempt to strangle the heroic Vietnamese, whose strategic Cam Ranh Bay naval port is a roadblock to American ambitions, is part of the U.S.' all-out war drive against the Soviet Union. From Pol Pot to the deadly Flight 007 Cold War provocation to Diego Garcia to Sri Lanka's Trincomalee, U.S. efforts to whip up war hysteria and encircle the USSR with a ring of nuclear launching pads have left a bloody trail of terror

and death across the globe. Criminally, the Peking government has eagerly backed this deadly imperialist policy, repeatedly launching military attacks against northern Vietnam in line with U.S. policy. *China: Keep Out of Indochina! U.S.—You Lost! Yankee Imperialism Out of Southeast Asia!*

When the U.S. and its corrupt henchmen like Lon Nol fled Indochina after the triumph of the Vietnamese Revolution, the Khmer Rouge occupied Phnom Penh. Pol Pot's Khmer *continued on page 2*

Seat the Real Government of Cambodia—the People's Republic of Kampuchea!



Ullal/Stern

Genocidal Pol Pot...

(continued from page 1)

Rouge were led by a bunch of college boys who sat out the war against French colonialism in Paris, then returned to take over the Cambodian party by murder and whipping up Khmer chauvinism. The first to be wiped out by Pol Pot's forces were the Cambodian Communist cadres associated with the Vietnamese. *Pol Pot Killed Real Khmer Communists, then Committed Genocide!*

The logical extension of Pol Pot's Cambodia wasn't even Stalin's purges and labor camps, it was Jonestown! Pol Pot's abolition of cities, of factories, of money and his massive reversion to subsistence agriculture—a pre-feudal program based on fantasies of recreating the barbaric Angkor Wat slave kingdoms—utterly shattered any rational economic base for the regime, thus any restraints on the ruling clique. Just after the Khmer Rouge took power in 1975, we denounced Pol Pot's brutal depopulation of the capital, noting that "for Marxists, it is crucial to preserve this economic infrastructure." The mountain of skulls found in mass graves at Cheoung Ek, the torture chambers in Phnom Penh, the stories from every survivor of people beaten to death with poles, starvation and brutal slave labor—this was Pol Pot's Cambodia.

Even former U.S. diplomat Emory Swank, who was U.S. ambassador to the Lon Nol regime in Phnom Penh, admitted in an interview (*Far Eastern*

Economic Review, 17 March) that "The Vietnamese, who occupied a totally disorganized, almost destitute land, have provided assistance of all sorts.... Practically starting from scratch, Cambodia has made an astonishing and remarkable recovery." When the Vietnamese army intervened in 1979, we declared our opposition to a long-term occupation army, which could raise to the fore the national question for the Khmer people, but did not demand immediate withdrawal. We asked: Given a choice, would the Khmer people prefer to retain the irrational peasant xenophobia of the murderous Pol Pot or to have schools, marriage of their choice, food, children, medicine and wages? The verdict is clearly now in. *Hail Liberation of Khmer People! Hail Reconstruction—Kampuchean People Now Have a Future!*

Though Pol Pot's murderous horror helped bring the Khmer people to the edge of extinction, the mass murder was started long before—by the U.S. In 1969 under Nixon and Kissinger the U.S. began four years of devastating secret carpetbombing of Cambodia, with at least the passive acquiescence of then-ruler Prince Sihanouk. From 1970 to 1973, the U.S. rained down more than 100 tons of bombs for every person in Cambodia, shattering the fragile economy. Probably more than a million died during the civil war against U.S. puppet Lon Nol, and famine was raging when the U.S. brutally imposed a blockade in 1975. Today U.S. imperialism tries to starve Vietnam and Kampuchea via a Washington-orchestrated blockade of trade and credits. Most criminally, some two and a half million Vietnamese have had to be withdrawn from the desperately necessary work of economic construction in order to defend northern Vietnam against Chinese military pressure, backed by the U.S.

Today the U.S. and their puppets back a witches' brew of capitalist cliques with the bloody remnants of the Pol Pot forces clinging to the Thai border for survival. They have tried to force together an unholy alliance of the CIA-favored semi-fascist monarchist "businessman" Son Sann, the shameless playboy pimp Prince Sihanouk (much of whose family was slaughtered by the Khmer Rouge!) with the Pol Pot/Ieng Sary/Khieu Samphan forces. This wretched gang, committed to capitalist restoration in Kampuchea, could only come to power on the back of an outright imperialist military onslaught. *Prince Sihanouk—Stay on the Riviera! Capitalist Restoration Never! Smash Imperialist Blockade of Vietnam!*

The Trotskyist Spartacist League/U.S., as American revolutionists in the "belly of the beast" during the Vietnam War, raised the slogan "All Indochina Must Go Communist!" and called for labor strikes against the war. In 1975 the international Spartacist tendency hailed the victory of the Vietnamese Revolu-



Pringle/Newsweek

Legacy of mass murderer Pol Pot (inset): mounds of skulls found near Suong. Vietnamese army saved Cambodians.

tion and the driving out of capitalism from Indochina as a historic victory for the world's working people. Today, as we call for military victory to the heroic leftist rebels in El Salvador and Central America, we raise the slogan against the bourgeois defeatists: *Vietnam was a Victory! Two, Three, Many Defeats for U.S. Imperialism!*

The legitimate national rights of the Khmer people can only be fulfilled in a genuine Soviet federation of Indochina (in which Vietnam would necessarily play a leading role) based on revolutionary internationalism. The Stalinist bureaucracies from Peking to Moscow have for decades sold other people's revolutions for their own narrow nationalistic interests and utopian reactionary dreams of "coexistence" with capitalism, with bitter effects from Central America to Sri Lanka to

Indochina. Despite the heroism of the Indochinese workers and peasants in defeating U.S. imperialism, that war-torn and imperialist-blockaded but Soviet-aided area faces great difficulties in holding out against the U.S.' war drive and unrelenting pressure. It is the historic misunderstanding of Marxism/Leninism/Trotskyism which can lead the working class to the shattering of the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracies and to placing the enormous economic resources of the degenerated and deformed workers states from Peking to Moscow to Hanoi fully in the service of world revolution. *For a Genuine Soviet Federation of Indochina! Forward to a Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in Southeast Asia! For the Rebirth of an Authentic Communist, Fourth International—World Party of Socialist Revolution!* ■

Stop Deportations to Turkey!

Turkish Leftist Driven to Suicide in German Jail

WEST BERLIN—On August 30, West German authorities finally succeeded in hounding Kemal Altun to death. Altun, a former leader of a leftist student group in Turkey, had spent 13 of his 18 months in West Berlin languishing in jail, awaiting deportation to certain death in the torture cells of the murderous Turkish junta. Already this year, several Turkish leftists have been deported and immediately arrested upon their return. And Christian Democratic interior minister Zimmermann had made a special target out of Altun. So as soon as handcuffs were removed on the second day of his asylum hearing here, Kemal Altun jumped from a second story window in the courthouse.

The case of Kemal Altun had taken on particular significance in West Germany as a test of the government's determination to sharply cut the immigrant workforce (now an integral part of the German proletariat) and especially to expel foreign leftists to persecution, torture and death. Only a few weeks before, in the midst of the anti-Tamil pogroms in Sri Lanka, five Tamils had been deported from West Berlin, and on August 12 some 40 Turks and Kurds had been deported. In particular, the West German government, in a division of labor amongst the imperialist powers, has taken on special responsibility as the overlord for Turkey. Both under the Social Democrats and Christian Demo-



Spartakist

crats, West Germany has supplied arms and tanks to NATO member Turkey as part of NATO's war drive against the Soviet Union, which shares a common border with Turkey.

At a protest demonstration called the very afternoon of Altun's suicide, the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD), German section of the international Spartacist tendency, called for political asylum for all Turkish, Palestinian and Tamil refugees. TLD slogans included "Deportation is Death!" "Full Citizenship Rights for All Foreign Workers and Their Families!" "German Imperialism Tramples Corpses in its Anti-Soviet War Drive! Vengeance for Kemal Altun!"

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U.S. Up Lebanese Creek

Marines Get Out!

When Israel invaded Lebanon last summer, wreaking genocidal terror against the Palestinian people, then-secretary of state General Alexander Haig exulted that the Zionist blitzkrieg created "a great strategic opportunity" for "redrawing a new political map for the region." Lebanon was going to become the beachhead for Pax Americana in the Near East. The U.S. thought it could rush in, find the most unsavory and reactionary gangster among the competing feudalist chieftains, and create a viable puppet government. The Gemayel clan was supposed to be the Pahlavi dynasty of Lebanon. The Marines were to be out by Christmas.

But things haven't worked out that way. Instead the U.S. is now committed to defending the Phalangist gangsters with an additional 2,000 troops drawn from the American fleet in the Indian Ocean, a total of 14,000 Marines both on shore and off with 12 warships standing off the coast and 100 warplanes. Further, the battleship *New Jersey*, after doing duty off the coast of Nicaragua, is now steaming to the eastern Mediterranean to aid Reagan's "besieged" Marines. So the U.S. is getting sucked ever deeper into the bloody vortex of Lebanese feudal politics. It is facing a war of attrition in which there is no light at the end of the tunnel.

Behind the military escalation in Lebanon is U.S. imperialism's global war drive against the Soviet Union. Syria, whose army controls eastern Lebanon, is the principal Soviet client state in the region. If fighting develops between U.S. forces and the Syrian army, this would almost certainly involve the latter's Russian advisers. And the borders of the USSR itself are only a few hundred miles to the north. Across the globe the U.S. is provoking the Soviet Union, seeking to humiliate its allies and so-called "proxies." As one Reagan adviser put it, "We need a win somewhere, whether it's Latin America, the Middle East or with the Russians" (*New York Times*, 18 September).

But the problem for U.S. imperialism in Lebanon is that their Phalangist puppets are losers and are losing. Not only do the Maronite Christians constitute no more than 20 percent of Lebanon's population, but the Gemayel clan is hated by the other Maronite clan chieftains. Odds are that the late, unlamented Bashir Gemayel, elected president last year by Israeli bayonets, was blown away by a fellow Maronite. Despicable cowards, the Phalangists infuriated their Israeli patrons by refusing to fight the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) commandos in last summer's battle of Beirut. The only thing these scum could do for the Israelis was massacre unarmed Palestinian refugees in the Shatila/Sabra camps. Trying to rebuild a Lebanese state around the Phalange is like trying to rebuild an Italian state around one Mafia family.

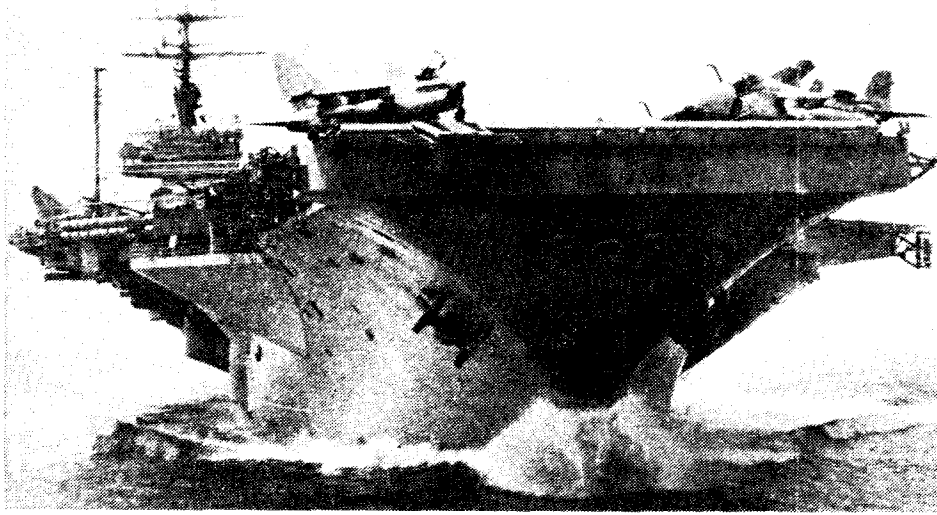
But Washington has committed itself to defending the Phalangist mafioso as a vital part of the "free world": "Officials said Mr. Reagan saw the survival of the [Gemayel] Government as essential to American interests, even if this meant moving more American forces into the region" (*New York Times*, 13 September). To keep Amin Gemayel in Beirut's presidential palace, the U.S. will have to

either massively expand its forces on the ground or reach a "power-sharing" deal with the Druze leader Walid Jumblatt, his Lebanese allies and Syrian backers. Washington is now rapidly moving along the former course. The Pentagon has abandoned the pretense that U.S. forces fire only when fired upon. A few days ago U.S. warships shelled positions deep in Syrian-controlled territory in retaliation for anti-Phalange forces bombarding the defense ministry in Beirut. U.S. forces are now routinely providing artillery cover for the Leba-

was intended to demonstrate the ruthlessness of their new order and to terrorize the subject population, Lebanese Muslims as well as Palestinians.

But all of the myriad ethnic/religious communities in Lebanon have their own armed forces and were not easily cowed. The Phalange "government" and Israeli occupiers faced diffuse guerrilla warfare in Beirut and the neighboring Shuf Mountains. On average four Israeli soldiers were killed a week. This may not seem like much, but, given Israel's small population, it was equivalent to

Hailot/L'Express



Mattison/Time

Biggest display of U.S. combat firepower since Vietnam: aircraft carrier Eisenhower off the coast of Lebanon. Marines under artillery fire in Beirut run for cover.

nese army. The Pentagon's rapid escalation could well change the nature of the conflict, posing a *direct* struggle against American imperialism. Should this occur, revolutionaries would give military support to any and all forces in Lebanon battling U.S. imperialism and its local agents.

The U.S. is now much more heavily involved militarily in Lebanon than in Central America both in the number of troops and the direct role they play. And that role is rapidly expanding. A year ago when sections of the reformist left (e.g., Socialist Workers Party and Sam Marcy's Workers World Party) supported sending U.S. "peacekeepers" to Lebanon, we wrote: "The U.S. forces in Lebanon are a beachhead for large-scale military intervention in the region—directly posing the danger of a nuclear World War III" ("Reagan/Begin Reign of Terror," *WV* No. 315, 15 October 1982). With every passing day this danger becomes more immediate.

Israelis Cut Their Losses, Phalange Battered

When a year ago several thousand disarmed PLO commandos sailed from Beirut to be placed in concentration camps across the Arab world and the Gemayel clan was installed in the presidential palace, Begin and Sharon no doubt believed themselves to be the new masters of Lebanon. The Israeli/Phalange massacre at Shatila/Sabra

American losses in Vietnam. And given the intense chauvinism of the Israelis—their belief that one Jew is worth a hundred Arabs—the casualties in Lebanon became intolerable. The Israeli population came to despise their ineffectual Phalangist allies much as the American people, especially GIs in "Nam," despised the cowardly and corrupt South Vietnamese ARVN.

The Lebanese occupation enormously intensified the internal contradictions of Israeli society with its triple-digit inflation, falling living standards, constant military mobilization and net emigration of Jews. While Ariel Sharon dreamed of making Lebanon an Israeli protectorate under the Phalange, his successor as war minister, Moshe Arens, decided the Americans had better police that quagmire. So early this month the Israeli army, disregarding the strong protests of the U.S. and the Gemayel regime, pulled back from the outskirts of Beirut and the Shuf Mountains and consolidated its buffer zone in southern Lebanon extending about 25 miles from Israel's northern border.

The Israeli pullback set the stage for a renewal of civil war pitting the Lebanese Muslim forces, spearheaded by Walid Jumblatt's Druze militia and the Shi'ite Amal militia, against the Phalange "government," now more hated and isolated than ever. Despite their American, French, Italian and British protectors, the Phalangist forces are being

battered. But as in the 1975-76 civil war the Muslim clan chiefs like Jumblatt are exploiting the just hostility of the impoverished Muslim toilers against the dominant Maronite elite and its backers in the service of communalist politics and bloodletting. The reports of atrocities committed by the Druze militia against Maronite villages in the Shuf are undoubtedly true, and this only serves to drive the Maronite population at large into the arms of the Phalange and U.S. Marines.

Predictably, much of the fake-left are glorifying the Syrian-backed National Salvation Front led by Jumblatt. It is now conveniently forgotten that the Druze militia not only stood on the sidelines during the Israeli blitzkrieg last summer, but that Jumblatt declared that the PLO was "finished" and urged Arafat to surrender at the very beginning of the invasion. Today Jumblatt is not opposed to Pax Americana in Lebanon; he isn't even demanding the unconditional withdrawal of the Marines. Rather the Druze sect leader is using the fighting as a *means of pressure* to force the Americans to broker a clan chieftains' "coalition" government of the kind that existed until the 1975-76 civil war. Interviewed on ABC television's *Nightline* (14 September), Jumblatt stated:

"...you Americans are backing Amin Gemayel unconditionally. It is stupid and a big mistake...."

"Stop backing the Lebanese army who's killing Lebanese people, and help the Lebanese to try to achieve a political compromise."

Asked if "the Phalangists will have to give up the position of president," Jumblatt replied:

"Up till now Mr. Amin Gemayel is governing as a Phalangist representative. I hope he will be able to govern as a Lebanese representing all the powers and factions in Lebanon."

No less treacherous than Jumblatt is his present patron, Syrian strongman Hafez al-Assad. When Israel invaded Lebanon last summer, the Syrians signed an immediate ceasefire with them, thus allowing Begin/Sharon to concentrate their entire war machine against the Palestinians. And remember how the Syrian army came to be in Lebanon in the first place. In the spring of 1976 the Syrians, *with the blessing of Washington and Jerusalem*, intervened on the side of the Maronites in the civil war! This shifted the balance of forces, setting up the massacre of Palestinians at the huge Tel Zaatar camp by the Phalange and allied Maronite militias. Today, however, it is U.S. imperialism which has intervened militarily to

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 338 23 September 1983

Fremont GM: Protectionism Comes Home to Roost

UAW Bureaucrats Pave Way for Union-Busting

OAKLAND—Last July, the United Auto Workers (UAW) International suddenly announced it was revoking the charter of UAW Local 1364 and had seized the union hall belonging to the laid-off workers from the Fremont, California General Motors assembly plant. This stab in the back came just four days after the *Wall Street Journal* reported an agreement by Solidarity House to "abandon demands that (GM-Toyota) hire laid-off UAW members" in order of seniority when they reopen the mothballed plant next year in a joint production venture which has received national attention as a prototype for union-busting.

On September 15, a federal district court rejected a suit by officials of Local 1364 to stop the talks between the union and GM/Toyota and to block the International's axing of the Fremont local. The same day the San Francisco judge turned down the local bureaucrats' appeal to the capitalist courts against the union. UAW vice president Donald Ephlin was addressing a Flint, Michigan meeting of GM stockholders on the need for labor and management to "work together" to make the company more competitive. Certainly the labor fakers are collaborating with the company to screw the workers, but as the *New York Times* (16 September) noted, "There is considerable question whether the new spirit has filtered down to the shop floor."

In a motion passed in February the Local 1364 membership demanded that the union fight to ensure hiring by seniority with no substandard contract. But the UAW tops are doing the companies' own work in liquidating the local to disperse and destroy organized opposition, treacherously clearing the way for GM/Toyota to reopen *without any union*.

The GM/Toyota deal is truly protectionism come home to roost. UAW officials have used racist protectionism as sucker bait to put the blame on Japanese workers for American unemployment and get themselves off the hook so they don't have to fight the U.S. auto companies for jobs. The logical consequence of the UAW-sponsored "local content" bill (requiring companies selling over half a million cars a year in the U.S. to manufacture 90 percent of the parts here) is for Toyota to come here and be GM's front for breaking the union.

The UAW has said from the beginning it is willing to bend over backwards, to do *anything* to ensure the success of this GM/Toyota deal. International and local officials have acted as cops for the companies at every turn, selling their members' jobs, their hall, even their bodies down the river. Hundreds of high-seniority Fremont workers including many blacks and Chicanos are being forced to leave their homes and families to work out their final years to retirement in Oklahoma, Kansas and Missouri under the terms of the new "Guaranteed Income Stream" (GIS). "Now I know how the Jews felt being loaded into cattle cars for the camps," said one conservative white long-time committeeman leaving his wife of 21 years to report to Fairfax, Kansas for work.

The union tops deliberately drew up GIS to help ram through the multi-billion-dollar concessions package in

March '83. They sold it to the members as "lifetime income" for high-seniority victims of plant closures, and they used it as a club at Fremont and elsewhere to prevent any fight against the shutdowns. Once out of the plant, the workers learned they lose the GIS and everything else if they don't report to distant plants as probationary employees on back-breaking new-hire jobs subject to the first layoffs to come along. "They don't want us to take the jobs, they want to

Local 1364 financial secretary Newt Kamakani told the crowd, "If you go rushing over there and try to storm the place we'll never get back in." Kamakani counterposed a lawsuit against the union. You can't fight the Solidarity House gang by bringing the bosses' government into union affairs! The independence of the unions from the capitalist state is a necessary precondition to waging struggle against the companies. The suit of the Local 1364

WV Photo

At August 16 rally, union militant Ruth Ryan (center) calls for mass picketing to force GM/Toyota to rehire on the basis of UAW seniority.



force us to drop out," as one embittered older worker put it.

Even as workers with September reporting dates were packing their car trunks and assembling caravans to take off for Kansas from the union parking lot, the 200-plus who were shipped to Oklahoma City in May and June were already being hit with "temporary layoffs." Some, unable to take the 78 cars per hour pace at their age, have already had to quit and come home losing everything.

Far from organizing the Fremont workers to stay and fight for their jobs, Solidarity House is seeing to it that they are packed off to these rural areas where they become the targets of racist reaction from cops, bar owners, foremen, etc. Last May, the black leader of a caravan of auto workers relocating to a new job in the South was threatened at gunpoint by an Oklahoma cop; his life was saved probably only by the intervention of a reporter who was along to cover the story from a "human interest" angle. In another instance, black workers transferred to Sparks, Nevada after the GM parts plant shut down can't even get a drink at the bar across from the plant where they now work!

Right down to the "get lost" gasp, the Local 1364 bureaucrats have tried to deceive, disarm and channel the workers' outrage at being shipped out of state and disowned by the union into... a lawsuit against the International! (President Willie Mays defended the International's seizure of the hall until he himself was chucked from his office chair.) At an August 16 rally called to protest their ouster—22 days after they voluntarily handed over the keys—Lisa Gruber of the UAW Militant Caucus, an opposition with a ten-year history in the plant, was quoted on four TV stations urging the 200-plus workers, "Let's fight for our jobs by having mass picketing to keep the scabs out and use the mass of people here now to start organizing that!"

In response to this, the only proposal for a fight for jobs, the local officials orchestrated a small booping section, and

bureaucrats was not only a criminal betrayal, but idiotic as well: the labor-hating government and its courts would hardly have any quarrel with hacks like Owen Bieber & Co. who are doing the bosses' job of breaking the union at Fremont. And as the courts were denying the request for an injunction last week, Kamakani and other local officials were already on their way to Kansas.

GM and Toyota are out to make an example of Fremont like Reagan made an example of PATCO to cow the rest of the labor movement. They want to jack up profits by breaking the union and getting a free hand to hire a younger, less union-conscious workforce, work them harder for less, and bring back the racist hellhole days of the open shops in the '30s. In particular, the Japanese auto companies that operate here, Nissan (in Tennessee) and Honda (in union territory in Ohio), have imported their violent anti-unionism and have thus far kept out the UAW. What the bureaucrats are doing at Fremont is not a "sellout"—it is abject surrender that jeopardizes the

existence of the union itself. The GM/Toyota deal must be answered by a full-scale mobilization of Local 1364 members and other unionists.

So committed are the UAW bureaucrats to protecting the companies' profits that past UAW president Doug Fraser bought himself a seat on the Chrysler Board of Directors at the price of hundreds of thousands of auto workers' jobs and billions in contract concessions. Fraser/Bieber tie the union to impotent legislative lobbying and to getting out the vote for the phony "friend of labor" Democrats. They oppose sit-down strikes, mass pickets, labor solidarity actions—all the methods of class struggle so desperately needed—since such struggles would unleash a force that would sweep them right out of union office.

Labor must break from the bureaucrats who keep it tied to the bosses' parties. Workers need their own party, a workers party to wage class struggle not just in one plant or industry but on all fronts, including labor strikes against imperialist war. The Fremont workers are learning a bitter lesson of what happens when they rely on the labor bureaucrats to defend their jobs and livelihoods. One Chicano worker said, "One way or another these guys [union officials] have got to be made to pay for what they have done to our members."

The 1364 membership has several times shown its willingness to fight. In February they voted overwhelmingly to pass the Militant Caucus' motion demanding a fight to ensure seniority rehiring and contract parity. They sent another resolution on seniority to the May UAW convention in Dallas and bought buttons declaring "1364 or War." But at every turn they have been betrayed by the International bureaucracy and their local flunkies. The local officials stuck to their sellout policies even to the point of losing their own jobs.

The UAW Militant Caucus has called for building mass pickets of the UAW members with their families and friends, backed up by the entire Bay Area labor movement to make sure that nothing goes in or out of that plant until GM and Toyota agree it will be done by UAW labor by strict seniority. This is the only way to stop the union-busting and prevent workers there from being thrown on the scrap heap.

Union charter or no, there are thousands of Fremont UAW members in the area who have a stake in fighting to keep a union plant and to reclaim their old jobs when it reopens. Local 1364 and the entire UAW need a new leadership, based on the class-struggle program raised by the UAW Militant Caucus. It is necessary to build that leadership, wage a fight to reverse the defeats in auto, and throw out the Solidarity House traitors once and for all (perhaps to work out their days in some suitable body shop job in Oklahoma). ■

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Copper Miners Hold Out Against Hundreds of Cops, Troops

The Battle of Phelps Dodge

SEPTEMBER 15—Backed up by a union-busting army of 325 National Guardsmen and 400 state troopers, the Phelps Dodge Corporation has declared war on striking Arizona copper miners. On August 20 in Morenci, a mining town about 20 miles from the New Mexico line, SWAT teams were stationed atop the slag heaps, four Huey helicopters hovered overhead and riflemen waited in the surrounding hills. They were waiting for the arrival of a convoy of scabs to smash a bitter labor struggle, now eleven weeks old.

The survival of the heavily Chicano and Indian copper miners unions is at stake. Phelps Dodge has assembled a strikebreaking force the likes of which haven't been seen since the pre-union days of the coal and iron police, Baldwin-Fels and the Pinkerton gun thugs. On August 20 at Morenci, there was more than one armed, uniformed strikebreaker for every three strikers! "There's no other reason for showing that power play," Bargaining Committee chairman Alex Lopez said to *WV*, "if it wasn't to bust the union."

Phelps Dodge has done it before. In 1917, the company sent armed guards into strikers' homes in Bisbee, Arizona. They herded nearly 1,200 workers into railroad boxcars and shipped them to the New Mexico desert. In 1983, PD is out to bust the union again. It's up to the labor movement to stop them.

PD forced the strike on a coalition of 13 unions led by the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) with outrageous demands including elimination of the cost-of-living clause, cutbacks in medical benefits and a \$2/hour reduction in new hires' wages. The unions had already accepted a three-year wage freeze at Kennecott, Anaconda and other copper companies. But PD, spurred on by Ronald Reagan's destruction of PATCO and years of labor retreat, was out for blood. Following two years of heavy layoffs, the company has set employed against unemployed and is using its total domination of company towns like Morenci and Ajo for all-sided attacks on the strikers. Ninety workers have been fired and 90 families have been hit with eviction notices. Dozens of warrants have been served on strikers: in Ajo ten strikers were held on \$15,000 bond each for such charges as "blocking a county highway" and "suspicion of intent to riot."

The strikers and their families know they have no future here if PD and its scabs win out. Even the children of

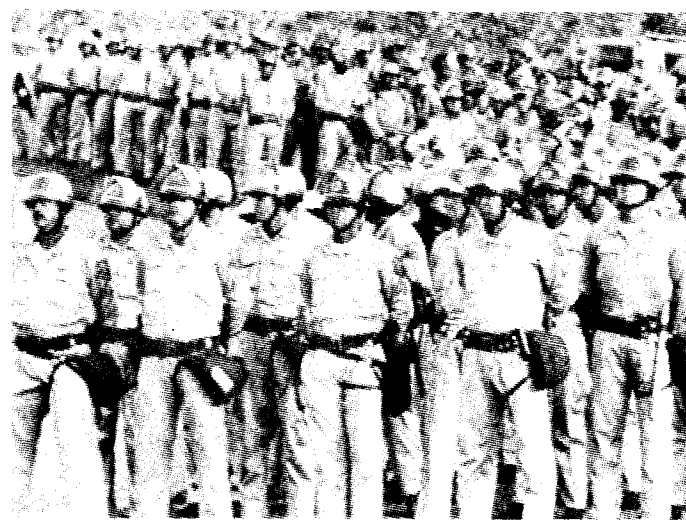
strikers have joined the picket lines. Strikers were angered by the cops' Gestapo tactics. Deputies stormed into one home to arrest a woman unionist, handcuffing her in front of her children. Another striker was arrested as police "surrounded his house with semi-automatic weapons and shotguns while the kids were playing in the back yard" (*Arizona Republic*, 27 August). When the company announced they were

governor Bruce Babbitt's "cooling off period." It was a bitter betrayal and an object lesson in the "neutrality" of the capitalist state. Ten days later, the governor, now known to the strikers as "Scabbitt," unleashed his uniformed gun thugs and scab production resumed while, by court injunction, pickets were limited to five on either side of U.S. Route 666.

The union tops are lying down in the

worked by scabs. The National Guard has been withdrawn—confident that the union's skeleton picket lines are no threat. This strike and the unions are in mortal danger!

Facing the threat of massive armed strikebreaking, the beleaguered copper miners cannot win alone. Labor solidarity is the key to victory. PD's pure copper ingots are transported in Southern Pacific's unionized freight trains. This scab copper is too hot to handle! And militants should recall that it was only after a nationwide coal work stoppage in 1974 that Harlan County, Kentucky coal miners finally won a union contract after 13 months out on strike. All copper miners have a stake in this battle. Shut down the whole industry! The support of copper miners throughout the region, in mass demonstrations and on the picket line, is critical.



Striking copper miners (upper left) face army of state cops (upper right) and National Guardsmen encamped in mine slag (lower right). Strikers and their families confront scabs in truck (lower left).

bringing in scabs on August 8, 1,000 pickets assembled in Morenci. The bosses promised to stop scabberding. Instead, PD kept a permanent scab force in the plant, supplying it by helicopter. "That's when the guys got peed off," Lopez told *WV*, "[they] said 'The hell with them. We're going in. We're going to get those scabs out of there. We're going to shut the place down'."

It was then that union officials treacherously agreed to Democratic

face of this naked union-busting, just as they did when Reagan busted PATCO. At an August 27 conference of delegates representing 100,000 hardrock miners in the U.S. and Canada, USWA International Treasurer Frank McKee announced the unions were going on a "legal offensive." Petitioning the Labor Board and the government won't win this strike—as the bitter experience with Governor "Scabbitt" has shown. It has only emboldened PD's union-busting. Now the bulk of the union jobs are being

The "friend of labor" governor showed just what sort of alternative the Democratic Party is to Reagan. Instead of organizing more "vote Democrat" rallies to produce more "Scabbitts," a union leadership worth its salt would be mobilizing the ranks to win this strike on the picket line. The fight of the Arizona hardrock miners points up the urgent necessity of breaking with the Democrats and building a workers party to lead all the oppressed. Victory to the Phelps Dodge strikers! ■

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Mouthpiece for Death Squad Killers

Moonie Press Empire

The *Washington Times* is the Moonies' most important thrust toward respectability and influence in America. Owned and operated by the publishing arm of Sun Myung Moon's Unification Church, the Times-Tribune Corporation, the *Washington Times* is the vehicle through which the "Lord of the Second Advent" hopes to buy a place in the United States for his highly dangerous right-wing cult. Since May 17 of last year when their daily hit the newsstands in the nation's capital, the Moonies have unleashed a torrent of printer's ink about their "alternative voice" and "conservative journalism." But the founding of the *Washington Times* by the Moonies has one purpose only: to further the sinister goals of Sun Myung Moon. With the *Washington Times* the Moonies have their most expensive and sophisticated weapon in their holy war against Communism and all other "satanic" obstacles—like "American-style democracy"—to Moon's megalomaniacal drive for worldwide theocracy under his mad rule. A world in which as Moon puts it, "my words will almost serve as law."

How can this self-annointed "messiah" with his South Korean munitions plant, who performs mass marriages of sex-deprived zombie victims in Madison Square Garden, hope to establish a "respectable" daily newspaper? By being the loudest noise on the anti-Soviet bandwagon. Already, in its short history, the Moonie newspaper has become known as the mouthpiece for Jeane Kirkpatrick (who views the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse as "moderate authoritarians"), CIA-backed *contras* and every reactionary policy of the Reagan administration. The *Washington Times* boasts of its rare interview with the president himself and claims their newspaper is the first one he reads in the morning.

As the far-out rightists who have sailed into the Reagan mainstream, the Moonies see their main chance for influence. With the *Washington Times* they can move through the New Right and cement ties with its leaders. The *Washington Times*, for instance, regularly soapboxes for fanatic rightists like Senator Jesse Helms. With their daily newspaper, the Moonies have placed themselves at the center of that web of ultra-right organizations from NCPAC to Christian Voice. New Right direct mail godfather Richard A. Viguerie ran the initial subscription campaign for the Moonies' *Washington Times*.

Moon has always recognized the importance of media for political manipulation. But even the Republican Ripon Society found the *Washington Times* a particularly disturbing development which "signaled a quantum jump in Moon's media aspirations." They warned: "There is a growing body of evidence that Moon is using his followers and economic resources in a three-pronged campaign to influence the highest levels of our government. The resurgent 'New Right' political movement, elements of the Republican Party, and the media all are in danger of being manipulated by 'reverend Moon'" (*Ripon Forum*, Jan 1983).

It is no wonder that the *Washington Times* kick-off promo was a big "welcome to Washington" from a host of right-wing hot shots. But significantly it also included "welcomes" from D.C. Congressman Walter Fauntroy who generally receives good press at the hands of the Moonies. As their glossy first anniversary brochure brags, "If a



Moonies' terror connections: from Argentine junta (left) to South African apartheid police state.

measure of acceptance is who accepts your invitation to dine, The Times is doing quite well, thank you." And as guests at their editorial board luncheons they list numerous high level Reagan administration officials (and Richard Nixon), Caspar Weinberger, James Watt, Director of the CIA William Casey and White House chief of staff James Baker.

The Moonie press is at times capable of masking its sinister purposes behind a slick cover of "hard news" journalism. These McCarthyite witchhunters have been known to publish a negative article on McCarthyism. They even republished a negative review from the *New York Times* of the universally panned Moonie movie, *Inchon*. But the *Washington Times* isn't fooling anybody much. It is clearly not only a part of Moon's publishing empire, but perhaps the most important weapon of the Moonies' sinister designs. This means the *Washington Times* is up to its fancy computer terminals in the Moonies' dirty business. From Central America to South Africa to the most filthy secret police agencies of the most horrible dictatorships, the Moonies have their connections.

And the Moonie press isn't always so slick when they think an ox on "their side" has been gored by "Satan." We in the Spartacist League ought to know. We have already been the target of the Moonies' *Washington Times* wielded as a blunt instrument of destruction against those who stopped the Ku Klux Klan in Washington, D.C. on November 27, and against the truth. The Moonies' *Washington Times* has tried to frame up the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League for our role as initiators and principal organizers of the 5,000-strong Labor/Black Mobilization which meant that hooded race-terror

did not take over the streets of that 70 percent black city, the nation's capital.

On 30 November 1982, the *Washington Times* published a feature article about the anti-Klan protest under the headline: "Left-wing group linked to D.C. riot." This article is a crude and obviously false and malicious libel of the Spartacist League (SL) accusing us of "provoking violence" against the police, giving rocks to "even children" to throw at the cops and dressing up in paramilitary "berets." This smear sets us up as would-be cop-killers and offers reason and excuse to those who would shoot first and ask questions later. The SL has sued the Moonies' publishing arm for libel because this is libel that kills. The *Washington Times* is not only a vehicle for the lying the Moonies call "heavenly deception," but it is deeply rooted in the dangerous and sinister connections of the Moonie cult.

The "News" That's Fit to Buy

Following the axiom that under capitalism freedom of the press belongs to the man who owns one, Moon launched the paper with an estimated \$50 million. The job of creating a daily from scratch went to Moon's main man, Colonel Bo Hi Pak. "The Colonel," as he is commonly referred to at the *Washington Times*, is a former South Korean army officer identified by the *New York Times* (2 October 1976) as "the South Korean CIA's channel to Mr. Moon and the Unification Church."

The Moonies and Pak are certainly no amateurs in the influence market, particularly in Washington. In what became known as the "Koreagate" scandal during the 1970s, the Moon operatives were shown to have been an important part (along with Tongsun Park) of the Korean CIA's efforts to

influence U.S. Congressmen for the South Korean military lobby. According to the report of the U.S. Congressional subcommittee investigating "Koreagate" in 1978, the Moonies were part of the KCIA's plan to buy influence in the U.S., particularly "aimed at the U.S. media": "The 1976 KCIA plan also recommended influencing U.S. media personnel, both broadcast and print... The 1976 plan proposed the use of anti-Communist groups such as the Freedom Leadership Foundation..." The Freedom Leadership Foundation was one of the first Moonie groups in the U.S. Bo Hi Pak was the key figure in the Moonie link to "Koreagate" and the KCIA.

And it was Bo Hi Pak, as head of Moon's financial empire, who bought the two buildings near the National Arboretum in northeast D.C. for \$1.6 million to house the *Washington Times*. They've made it one of the poshest publishing outfits around. Yet they have very little advertising, the bread and butter of the capitalist media. The *Washington Post* said the Moonie paper is expected to lose \$10-15 million this year. A Washington journal (*Washington Dossier*, June 1983) looked at the money going into the *Washington Times* and decided to ask some questions:

"There is also a deeper story here, and that is the connection between Moon and Japanese industrialists, the Korean government, South Africa, and certain repressive governments in Latin America and our own CIA. It strains credulity to believe that the endless supply of money flowing into the Moon coffers, and into the *Times* comes only from those enterprises under its own sponsorship and control. Where does the 50-odd million dollars so far in the *Times* investment come from? Who benefits? Why? How?"

One of "The Colonel's" most pressing tasks was to recruit a "respectable" non-Moonie newspaperman who would take charge of a newspaper founded by the Unification Church. He signed on James Whelan, editor of the *Sacramento Union*, which had been part of the conservative Panax chain until Panax was dissolved. Whelan is a dubious character indeed. He worked for 20 years as a reporter all over Latin America for a variety of newspapers and news agencies before becoming vice president and editorial director for Panax Newspapers. According to the personal biography distributed by the *Washington Times*, in 1961 Whelan "was assigned to a special, secret UPI team in Miami organized to cover the Bay of Pigs invasion." His career also included a two-year stint in the late 1960s with the Western Hemisphere division of International Telephone and Telegraph (ITT), a corporation known for its connections with the CIA in Latin America. When the *Washington Tribune* questioned executive director Smith Hempstone about suggestions that Whelan has the taint of the CIA, Hempstone quipped, "So what? I thought they were on our side."

But Whelan is not the only dubious character who signed on with the *Washington Times*. According to *Washington Notes on Africa* (Summer 1982), sponsored by major church organizations and the UAW, Edward King, international and Capitol Hill reporter, and Cleto Di Giovanni, editorial writer, "were both CIA officers in Latin America." Then there's Jeremiah O'Leary, the White House correspondent. "It is known, for example, as a result of documentation obtained through the Freedom of Information

Act. that O'Leary was singled out personally by former FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover as a friendly media asset used by the Bureau to promote the stories it favored" (*CovertAction Information Bulletin* No. 16, March 1982).

From Apartheid Butchers...

The *Washington Times* acts as a press agent for apartheid in Washington. A number of members of the staff have strong ties with the South African government. South Africa has been running a massive propaganda campaign for years to whitewash its savagely racist policies. In 1974 the Secretary of the South African Department of Information told then-prime minister Vorster, "I want you to approve, not an information asset, but a propaganda war in which no rules or regulations would count." The officials approved a plan that would spend a minimum of \$73 million on more than 160 secret projects to buy politicians and media enterprises and support pro-apartheid groups around the world" (*Washington Notes on Africa*, Summer 1982). When the details of this plan were disclosed in 1978, the ensuing scandal (dubbed "Muldergate" after minister of information Cornelius Mulder who took the rap) forced a number of top government officials to resign. Botha vowed to continue the secret projects despite the scandal.

John McGoff, a Michigan publisher, was the primary American recipient of "Muldergate" funds in the 1970s. McGoff was given \$11.75 million by the Department of Information through the South African Department of Defense to buy the *Washington Star* and a share in UPI Television News (UPITN), the second largest newsfilm producer in the world. After the *Star* deal fell through, McGoff bought the conservative *Sacramento Union* instead and a 50 percent interest in UPITN. McGoff also bought controlling interest in the Panax newspaper company. James Whelan became the editor of the *Sacramento Union* under McGoff's ownership. When the *Washington Times* was established in 1982 Whelan signed on as editor and brought John McGoff along to serve on his editorial advisory board.

It is, of course, all part of the Moonie "heavenly deception" in their press empire that they "forget" to mention their South African connection when hustling their *Harlem Weekly* newspaper aimed at black New Yorkers. The Moonies, who act as mouthpieces for bloody racist apartheid in the *Washington Times*, come on as community-minded blacks to try to get their foot in the door in black ghettos.

... to Death Squads, Contras

Moon's publishing empire also seems to have an inside track with numerous dictators in Latin America. In 1980 Moon's organization launched a Spanish-language daily in New York City, *Noticias del Mundo*. The paper is militantly anti-communist and reads like a PR rag for the right-wing military dictatorships in the Southern Cone of South America. "*Latin America Weekly*



The "Heavenly Deceivers": Moon (left) and Bo Hi Pak, head of Moonie press empire and, according to the *New York Times*, "the South Korean CIA's channel to Mr. Moon."

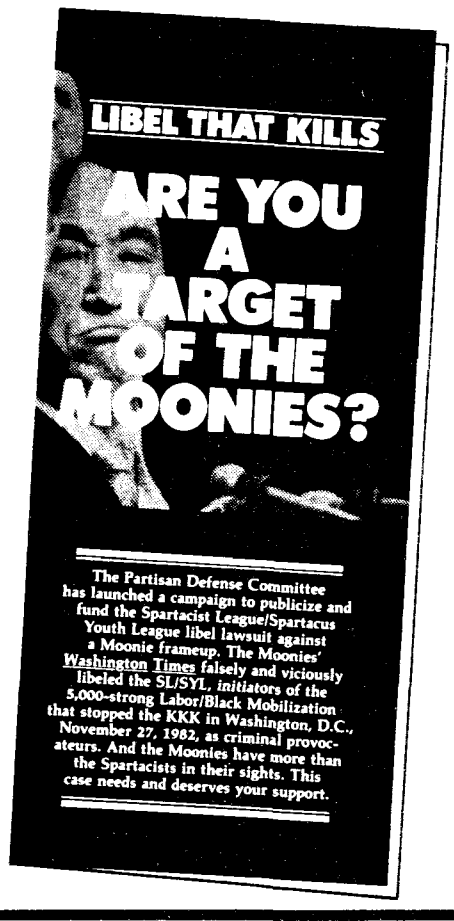
We Need Your Help

A victory against the Moonie libel and set-up of the SL/SYL will punch a hole in the dangerous designs of Sun Myung Moon. But it will be a tough fight.

The Partisan Defense Committee (PDC)—a class-struggle, anti-sectarian defense organization in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League—has launched a campaign to help pay for and publicize this important legal battle, and we need your help. This libel suit is the instrument to strike back against the Moonies' most important thrust for influence and power in this country, the *Washington Times*. This suit for \$20 million and the public exposure can hit the Moonies where they live.

Your generous financial support and endorsement is urgently needed to win this lawsuit. Send contributions to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

Available now! Write for PDC's brochure today. Help organize the campaign against the Moonie libel.



Report disclosed on May 16, 1980 that the editor of... *Noticias del Mundo*, is... an Argentine, who is working unpaid for *Noticias* while on the payroll of Telam, the official Argentine news agency" (*Washington Notes on Africa*, Summer 1982). And *Washington Journalism Review* (November 1980) cites "the common ties between *Noticias* and such organs as TELAM, frequently a vehicle for army intelligence propaganda; to SAPORITI, an old Argentinian news agency now believed to have fallen under the influence of military intelligence and which is another source of Latin American news for *Noticias*; and to Dinarp, the public relations arm of the Uruguayan military."

As the targets of death squad terror throughout Latin America can attest, "fighting communism" is no war of words for the military juntas in the region. The *Washington Post* (28 August) ran an exposé on CAUSA, a Moonie group "which is pumping millions of dollars into an anti-communist organizing effort throughout the United States and in much of Central and South America." The president of Moon's deadly CAUSA is none other than Bo Hi Pak—who is also the publisher of *Noticias del Mundo*. CAUSA has had its greatest apparent success in Uruguay. They founded two newspapers, bought the largest publishing house in the country, and won a controlling interest in Uruguay's third largest national bank. "They bought newspapers, they bought real estate, they bought generals, they bought out the country," a Reagan administration official who was there at the time told the *Post*. Meanwhile Pak assured General Luis Vicente Quierolo, chief of

the Uruguayan army, who was concerned about the criticisms of his government in "liberal circles in the United States and in the press," that he could "consider *Noticias del Mundo* your newspaper in the United States" (*Washington Journalism Review*, November 1980).

We have reported how the Moonies have allied themselves with the dictators, death squads and *contras* responsible for the deaths of over 100,000 Latin American workers, peasants and leftists in the last five years alone (see "Moonie Machinations in Latin America," *Young Spartacus* No. 111, September 1983). We noted that the chief of the Moon operation in Honduras is strongman General Gustavo Alvarez, overlord of the Honduran death squads and the Nicaraguan *contras* (see "Moonies in Honduras: Death Squads and *Contras*," *WV* No. 334, 15 July). And on El Salvador, the Moonies not only act as propagandists and lobbyists for the junta butchers, they work closely with right-wing Salvadoran emigrés in the Bay Area who, according to the *San Francisco Chronicle*, "turned over to Salvadoran government officials the names and photographs of Bay Area Salvadorans who oppose the junta." From Chile to El Salvador, the Moonies offer themselves up as the shock troops of anti-communist reaction.

Washington Times: Disinformation That Kills

The *Washington Times* is in the disinformation business and now Central America is a prime target. Disinformation at the source is not just a lie, but part of a secret police plan which ultimately leads to death.

CovertAction Information Bulletin explains how the disinformation game works. The secret police call upon their "bevy of puppet journalists," and within record time a feature article will appear in *Reader's Digest*, in a Heritage Foundation report or "in some reactionary tabloid like *Human Events* or the *Washington Times*":

"Then they will all be called to testify by Senator Denton's Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism, repeating one another's allegations as 'expert witnesses.'"

"After that they are given credibility by the 'respectable' Cold War publications like the *National Review*, *Commentary* and the *New Republic*. And finally, since they have repeated the theme so many times it must be true, they are

given the opportunity to write Op Ed pieces for the *New York Times* or the *Washington Post*."

—*CovertAction Information Bulletin*, Spring-Summer 1983

One case which shows the *Washington Times* tie-in to the disinformation network is a Pentagon propaganda operation to whitewash the *contras* in Nicaragua, known internationally as the mercenaries of former dictator Somoza's hated National Guard. The Cuban newspaper *Granma* told the story in its 5 June issue. Reagan needed funds for his counterrevolutionary venture to overthrow the Sandinista government, but he was encountering some opposition. So the propaganda labs went into motion to "dress the wolf in sheep's clothing and lead influential sectors of public opinion to think that there had been a change in the makeup of the mercenary forces. The idea was to 'legitimize' them as 'freedom fighters.'" One Georgie Anne Geyer (known for her repugnant articles on the late Salvador Allende, and her close friendship with the Green Berets who murdered Che Guevara) penned an article entitled "The Anti-Sandinistas: A Legitimate Liberation Force" which argued that only "15 percent" of the CIA-backed killers fighting the Sandinistas were ex-Somozaists. The article was first printed in the *Washington Times*, then distributed by the ARF (item number 519), the U.S. armed forces news agency, for domestic consumption. Three days later the Pentagon circulates it in Spanish (transmission number ARF-111) with "permission... obtained for republication, abridgment and translation by USIS [the United States Information Service] and local press abroad."

* * * * *

Moon has big sick ideas for America. He has threatened, "every people or every organization that goes against the Unification Church will...drastically come down and die." The ominous connections Moon has developed through his press empire shows he intends to gain the power and influence to deliver on that threat.

In an editorial marking the change of format and name of their New York City daily newspaper to the *New York Tribune*, the Moonies hide behind the names of Horace Greeley and Thomas Jefferson while calling for a theocratic state to fight communism. The Moonies vow to "rise up in a crusade...and liberate...especially the Russian people." But this Moonie "liberation" as they put it "must not stop with communism, but embrace every country and creed." Moon's newspapers are his arsenal for "taking the offensive against communism and other forms of evil." But Moon has a lot more in his sights than reds. The Moonies are hostile to the democratic political and cultural values prized by a wide spectrum of the American people. In fact, "Moon finds 'American-style democracy' to be 'a good nursery for the growth of Communism'" (1978 report of the House Subcommittee on International Organizations, *Investigation of Korean-American Relations*). And the Moonies have gone a lot further than most people would want to believe with their sinister designs to create a new order for their "messiah."

The *Washington Times* is today key to Moon's sinister designs. A victory for the Spartacist libel lawsuit against the *Washington Times* is a victory for all his intended victims—opponents of apartheid, opponents of right-wing terror in Latin America, opponents of KKK/Nazi racist terror. A victory for our suit against the *Washington Times* can help spike the Moonies' bid for respectability and influence. The Moonies are not only trying to wipe out the Spartacist League, but liberties we all treasure. That's why our fight against the Moonie libel is also yours. ■

War Fever...

(continued from page 1)

off at the dock. For the Reaganites, provocation is standard operating procedure.

The Democrats, too, are standing at attention, both "hawks" and "doves," while even some supposed leftists have fallen into line over the KAL 007 Cold War provocation. But despite more than two weeks of "Russians eat babies for breakfast" blitz, the American public, well-attuned to government lying by Vietnam and Watergate, smells a rat. Although many support calls for "tougher sanctions," a recent poll showed 61 percent did not believe the administration was telling the whole story. And they're right. The day after the poll came out a new U.S. intelligence report admitted that the Soviets *never knew* they were tracking a civilian airliner. Earlier in the week, Washington felt obliged to issue a "revised" transcript of the alleged tapes of Soviet fighter pilots, showing that the SU-15 interceptor *had fired warning shots* from its cannons. As we headlined our last issue, "Reagan's Story Stinks!"

Many people who don't buy Reagan's "devil made them do it" story of the KAL 007 regard Washington's anti-Soviet war drive as a conflict between two equally evil "superpowers." If U.S. imperialism succeeded in its drive to roll back the gains of social revolutions from Cuba to Poland to Vietnam and the Soviet Union, it would unleash a global holocaust of reactionary terror. South Korean dictator Chun Doo Hwan, who jails democrats and Presbyterians as subversives; Philippine strongman Marcos, who had returning liberal dissident Aquino gunned down on the airport runway; Salvadoran butcher D'Aubuisson, whose death squads have murdered tens of thousands; these are the "moderate authoritarian" paragons of Reagan's "free world."

Dreams of détente with these bloody-minded mass murderers or with their masters in Washington are dangerous illusions. The imperialist war criminals who would use more than 200 civilian plane passengers in an insane anti-Soviet provocation, who annihilated over one million Indochinese, who talk of detonating a "demonstration" A-bomb over the Baltic, who have replaced the MAD doctrine of "mutually assured destruction" with the demented proposal for a "limited, protracted nuclear war"—and who may have selected the Soviet Far East as the "theater" for their Wagnerian war drama—must be driven from power. Only world socialist revolution can secure a future for world humanity.

Today the duty of communists everywhere is unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union against the imperialists, despite the bureaucratic usurpation of political power from the revolutionary Bolsheviks of Lenin and Trotsky by the great advocate of "peaceful coexistence" with the imperialists, Stalin. Soviet generals today know well that Stalin's criminal faith in his nonaggression pact with Nazi Germany brought the USSR to the brink of defeat due to unpreparedness and failure to react to provocations like Flight 007. Reagan & Co. obviously think the Russians' commitment to "détente" means abject capitulation. And given what was known of KAL's Mission Provocation, we can only be thankful that, to quote Soviet chief of general staff Marshal Ogarkov, "The Soviet military forces protecting the peaceful labor of the Soviet Union honorably fulfilled their duties." Anyone with an ounce of intelligence will conclude: Don't mess with the Russians!

Lies and Refutations

As we wrote last issue: "If the government of the Soviet Union knew that the intruding aircraft was in fact a

commercial passenger plane containing 200-plus innocent civilians, despite the potential military damage of such an apparent spying mission, if they deliberately destroyed the airplane and its occupants, then, to paraphrase the French, the act of shooting it down would have been an idiocy worthy of the Israelis. But the piecemeal facts and obvious falsifications argue that this was not the case, and something resembling what really might have gone on is rapidly being pieced together internationally" ("Reagan's Story Stinks!" *WV* No. 337, 9 September). With every passing day, as the government's fabrications unravel and its lies are exposed, the stench of Cold War provocation becomes overwhelming.

In Reagan's Labor Day speech, he emphatically insisted: "The 747 has a unique silhouette unlike any other plane in the world. There is no way a pilot could mistake this for anything other than a civilian airliner." Before the UN, American ambassador Kirkpatrick repeated over and over, "Contrary to Soviet statements, the pilot makes no mention of firing any warning shots." Other elements of the Big Lie: that the U.S. supposedly knew nothing about it until it was over; that KAL Flight 007 was nothing but an innocent civilian airliner; that nobody believes Soviet claims it was on a spy mission. As columnist Alexander Cockburn put it in the *Village Voice* (20 September), to hear Reagan tell it, "Every Soviet leader stood a little taller in his boots the next day and shouted, 'One, two, three, many jumbos' into the shaving mirror."

Kirkpatrick's claim there were no warning shots was blown to bits with the U.S.' reconstructed tape released on September 11.

The U.S. supposedly knew nothing about the affair until it was all over? When it was first admitted that the U.S. had a spy plane in the area, it was reported in the *New York Times* (6 September) that, "Military officers said the Air Force plane would routinely have 'painted,' or registered with radar, the Korean plane as a matter of aerial safety." Now they are claiming (*New York Times*, 19 September) that the 007 was beyond the range of U.S. radar, both civilian (limit 160 miles) and military (240 miles). However, David Baker reports in his book, *The Shape of Wars to Come* (1982):

"Of peripheral interest...[is] a very powerful phased-array radar antenna looking northwest and west from Shemya close to the Kamchatka Peninsula. Called Cobra Dane, its search and

tracking coverage...is designed to detect an object the size of a basketball 3,200 km [2,000 miles] away and simultaneously track 100 separate targets."

Shemya, at the tip of the Aleutians, is the base of the RC-135 mentioned above. So much for the claim that no one knew where KAL 007 was because it was "out of range"!

What about "radio trouble"? Flight 007 was not able to reach Anchorage air traffic control at the second checkpoint on route R-20, and had to relay its position via a second KAL plane (Flight 015) flying a few minutes behind it. Yet there were no complaints of radio malfunctions, and later the 007 pilot was able to communicate clearly with Tokyo airport. Thus *both* KAL planes *and* Anchorage *and* Tokyo air control *had to know* that the 747 jetliner was off course, but no alarm was raised. (KAL Flight 015, incidentally, which carried Senator Jesse Helms and other conservative luminaries, is a particularly shadowy participant in this drama. It is mentioned once, on the first day, by the Moonies' *New York Tribune* [1 September] under the headline "U.S. intelligence men suggest Soviets downed the wrong KAL 747," and thereafter isn't mentioned for ten days. Yet KAL Flights 007 and 015 were flying in tandem, and since they were relaying radio traffic the second plane would clearly have known if the first was in trouble.)

So what *were* they doing? The *Times*' disingenuous and dim military correspondent Drew Middleton writes that the U.S. doesn't even need spy planes, anyway, since its reconnaissance satellites can pick up "the bolts on the deck of a Soviet cruiser" or a man reading *Pravda* on the street of a north Russian town. And he says if they really wanted sharp pictures, they would just send over an SR-71 plane which at 80,000 feet is well out of range of Soviet jets (though not missiles, as U-2 pilot Gary Powers found out). The Soviets have responded to this with a detailed article in today's *Pravda* which reported that Flight 007 was held up at Anchorage for 40 minutes "in order to strictly synchronise in time the plane's approach to the shores of Kamchatka and Sakhalin with the flight of the American intelligence satellite 'Ferret D'" (TASS dispatch, 19 September). This satellite, which monitors radio traffic, has an orbit of 96 minutes around the earth. It appeared over Kamchatka Peninsula at 1:30 a.m. (local time) on August 31, "i.e., precisely at the moment of the intrusion of the

trespasser plane into Soviet air space," and at 3:07 a.m., three minutes after the 747 began its passage over Sakhalin island. **If true, this information is conclusive that the Korean airliner was part of an elaborate provocation involving as well a U.S. spy satellite and the now infamous RC-135. In this triad, KAL Flight 007 was the bait.**

Moreover, this takes on added significance when combined with the "leaked" report (in the *New York Times*, 11 September, and elsewhere) that the now-admitted RC-135 was flying figure eights off Soviet Kamchatka in the early morning hours of August 31 on a mission to collect information about a Soviet missile test expected that night. The *Washington Post* (7 September) said that this RC-135's mission was to "assess Soviet air defenses." It went on:

"The United States and the Soviet Union, they [U.S. Air Force intelligence officials] said, constantly track each other's 'electronic order of battle,' which includes how radar stations react to intruders, and forward air defenses...."

"It is standard practice, they said, for U.S. military planes to try to 'tickle' Soviet radar into action."

"They said this amounts to flying close enough to air defenses to cause the Soviets to activate search radar and perhaps fire-control radar and to talk about what they are seeing and doing in response to the unidentified aircraft overhead."

"Standard practice," it seems. But Flight 007 was no "tickle." This unidentified aircraft was on a Mission Provocation Royale.

But why would they set up 200-plus lives on such a mission? David Baker notes ominously that, "Plans for massed intrusion of hostile airspace rely on continuous updating to keep pace with the location of defense installations and, increasingly over the past decade, the Russians have concentrated on protecting their territorial borders from bombers and other intruders" (*The Shape of Wars to Come*). In addition to directly overflying the Petropavlovsk naval base on Kamchatka and the Korsakov air-naval installations on Sakhalin, KAL 007 provided another highly important service to U.S. military analysts: a massive intrusion of hostile airspace. *And there is one particular war scenario for which such information is of crucial importance: a nuclear first strike.*

Smash the Anti-Soviet War Drive!

From Day 1 of his administration, Reagan has proclaimed the USSR to be the "evil empire," "the source of evil in

Spy Plane RC-135

Yesterday's *Denver Post* ran an article (reprinted in the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 19 September) by two former Air Force intelligence officers, T. Edward Eskelson and Tom Bernard, which reveals important information about the RC-135. We quote a few choice paragraphs below, since it is unlikely to get wide circulation in the "free but responsible" capitalist press:

"Obscured by what will surely be claimed as legitimate national security matters, the U.S. government had the capability to directly intercede during the entire sweep of events culminating in the annihilation of Korean Air Lines Flight 007. Few facts concerning that capability have been brought to public attention."

"Based on the information disclosed by the Reagan administration in the past two weeks, it is clear that a major effort has been undertaken to bewilder the American public concerning the capabilities of the U.S. Air Force RC-135 and, more importantly, the National Security Agency."

"As former crew members on an RC-135 aircraft, we find official

statements concerning the extent of its involvement before and after the KAL shutdown incompatible with our experience...."

"It has been our experience that, on occasion, NSA adjusts the orbits of RC-135s so that they will intentionally penetrate the airspace of a target nation. This is ordered for the purpose of bringing a target country's air defense systems into a state of alert. This allows NSA to analyze these fully activated systems for potential flaws and weaknesses...."

"The RC-135 has a super-advanced, ultra-secure communications system which is linked to the most sophisticated communications network in the world. This system, sometimes referred to as 'backchannel,' permits the instantaneous reporting of real-time, tactical intelligence to the highest levels of the U.S. government, including the president, from any location in the world...."

"Because of these RC-135 capabilities we believe that the entire sweep of events—from the time the Soviets first began tracking KAL

Flight 007, to 'confusing' it with the American reconnaissance aircraft, to the moment Soviet fighter airplanes sitting on Soviet airfields were ordered to go from 'standby' to 'alert' status due to the potential penetration of their airspace by an 'intruder aircraft' to the time of the shutdown—was monitored and analyzed instantaneously by U.S. intelligence."

"Without sounding like apologists for Soviet actions, we believe, based upon our experiences, that the official U.S. version of events is incomplete and misleading. There are serious questions in our minds as to not only what specific role did the capabilities of the RC-135 play in the eventual shooting down of the KAL airliner, but also why these capabilities were never used to head off the tragedy."

The government's response to this report is that Eskelson and Bernard had not flown an RC-135 for ten years and therefore "the experience they cite is in fact history." This "denial" is a confirmation. Are we to believe that in the last ten years, the U.S. capabilities have become less powerful, less intrusive? The fact that U.S. intelligence knew all about Flight 007's Mission Provocation is established without a doubt.

The Moonies and the Plane

"If, in the future, we do our work hand-in-hand with the CIA, I am ready and willing to send the strongest members in our movement as spies to the Soviet Union, Red China, etc."

—Sun Myung Moon,
Master Speaks

Reagan's story about the war provocation of Korean Flight 007 shot down over Soviet military installations is really pretty simple: the Soviet Union is an "evil empire." Every time they get a chance, he says, the Russians try to shoot down jumbo jets filled with hundreds of passengers. The dangerous ultraright cult of Sun Myung Moon has been screaming this kind of religio-political claptrap about godless, evil Communism for years.

For the Moonies, the 007 war hysteria whipped up by the White House is made to order. They have always tried to be the shock troops in an anti-communist crusade. Here is a campaign that intersects nearly all the issues most dear to the heart of their self-appointed "messiah," such as military support to the Seoul dictatorship and starting World War III against Soviet Russia. Their eulogized "real American" (Congressman Larry McDonald) was on Flight 007 to attend a celebration of the U.S./South

Korean military alliance against the USSR.

No one ought to be surprised that where there is smoke from a burning Soviet flag, there is likely to be the crazed anti-communist fire of the Moonies. In several cities across the country the Moonies have taken to the streets as the most rabid of the McCarthyite witchhunters. They call on the government "to expel the communists from the United States—from its labor unions and its college campuses." At Columbia University on September 14, the Moonies bused in a bunch of the "Master's children" for a warmongering anti-Soviet flag-burning. In brownshirt fashion they beat up students who opposed them, including a Columbia student who was a bystander.

The Moonies' anti-communist frenzy, their call to "rise up" against Communism, as they put it, "goes beyond America's borders." The Moonies have their fanatic sights trained on the global Holy War, and see the downed jet liner as an opportunity to get America ready for it. As a leaflet by the Moonie student-youth organization, CARP, proclaims, recalling the Nazis' slogan "*Deutschland, erwache!*": "American people, wake up!... Let us have the determina-

tion to march even into Peking and Moscow." Only then, say these dangerous cultists whose messiah wants to "conquer and subjugate the world," can they "establish one world under God" (read: Moon).

A 1978 report of the House Subcommittee on International Organizations headed by then-Congressman Donald Fraser summed up Moon's military ambitions:

"The Moon Organization has self-proclaimed goals of controlling political and secular institutions and a strident ideology which envisions the formation of a 'Unification Crusade Army.' Moon's speeches foresee an apocalyptic confrontation involving the United States, Russia, China, Japan, and North and South Korea, in which the Moon Organization would play a key role."

And for Moon, this Holy War involves preparing his members for the possibility of suicidal spy missions into the Soviet Union. At a Jonestown-type indoctrination session, Moon addressed his novices on "how to die a brave death." An appropriate death which would guarantee resurrection, he told them, would be to go to "Red China or the Soviet Union as spy agents, to find out what is happening in the evil side of the world":

"If, in the future, we do our work hand-in-hand with the CIA, I am

ready and willing to send the strongest members in our movement as spies to the Soviet Union, Red China, etc.... If and when you are sent to countries like Russia and Red China to smash those things of evil nature, and then come back as a victor with spoils to be returned to God—then you will be received in glory."

—*Master Speaks*

The *entire strategy* of postwar American imperialism is to get the Soviet Union—from the Korean War to the Vietnam War to the escalating Salvadoran war—the U.S. has backed up every butcher and mass murderer who promises to smash Communism. There is indeed an "international terrorist conspiracy," but its center is not in Moscow, as the Reaganites claim, but in Washington, aided by the minions of Master Moon. Given the long arm of the KCIA, the Soviet Union indeed has good reason to be suspicious of anything flying out of Seoul; as one liberal South Korean living in the U.S. noted at the "Koreagate" Congressional investigation in 1976:

"Actually, Korean Air Lines which lands and takes off in Los Angeles on trips between Seoul and Los Angeles, carries one or two KCIA agents on every flight."

Humanity will not be safe until the world proletariat succeeds in taking power worldwide, from Washington to Tokyo, and obliterating the capitalist war machines which threaten to engulf us all.

the modern world" which will "commit any crime, to lie, to cheat" in order to further the goal of world Communism. Actually, far from being champions of world revolution, the Kremlin leaders are a notoriously conservative lot. But this devil-baiting of the Soviets is not some exercise in Moral Majority pulpit pounding. Whenever you hear that kind of talk ("*Gott mit uns*," said Kaiser Wilhelm—"God is on our side," replied President Wilson), you know the capitalist rulers are getting ready to sacrifice tens of millions of their subjects in a slaughter to redivide the world for the benefit of their profits. Only this time it isn't the Deutsche Bank against the Rothschilds and Rockefellers, but a crusade for global counterrevolution. And for that they're prepared to blow up the planet.

"You Had Nothing to Lose by Saying Sorry," headlined the *Economist* (10 September), repeating one of Reagan's main themes. (According to the capitalist media, then, being a Communist means never having to say you're sorry?!) They want the Russians to admit their "guilt," so that the Soviet Union would stand before the world as self-branded criminals and murderers of innocent civilians! This is the meaning of all the U.S. denunciations of the Soviets for "barbaric," "uncivilized," "cold-blooded" acts. But the Russians didn't send 200-plus innocent civilians on a suicide mission. As General Ogarkov said in the Moscow press conference:

"As far as responsibility and not only financial responsibility is concerned, that falls on those who sent them to their deaths. Referring to President Reagan's claim that we should apologize, President Reagan should simply turn around and take one look in his mirror and it would become clear to him who should answer questions of this sort."

—*New York Times*,
10 September

What Ronald Reagan is looking for is the ideological banner for World War III. For Teddy Roosevelt it was "Remember the *Maine*," even though the evidence indicates the Spanish didn't blow up that U.S. ship in Havana harbor. Woodrow Wilson dragged the U.S. into World War I using the excuse

of the sinking of the *Lusitania*, even though it was later proved to be carrying munitions to the British and the German government warned Americans not to sail on this British ship. Lyndon Johnson used the trumped-up "Tonkin Gulf incident" to get the Vietnam War approved by Congress (see article by publisher Larry Flynt, "Another Gulf of Tonkin Provocation?" on page 10 of this issue). Today, Reagan's rallying cry is "Remember the Korean Air Lines massacre" as he escalates his anti-Soviet war drive in the Far East, the Near East and Central America.

In the Far East last spring, the United States concentrated the most powerful naval force seen in the Pacific since World War II (see *Young Spartacus* No. 111, September 1983). Its strategic aim is to bottle up the Soviet navy in the Sea of Okhotsk and the Sea of Japan. Meanwhile, as Reagan becomes ever deeper immersed in the internecine communal warfare of the Near East, the U.S. has assembled an armada off Lebanon that represents "its most massive show of force since Vietnam" (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 15 September). A symbol of the escalating U.S. war drive is the odyssey of the USS *New Jersey*. In May-June it participated in naval maneuvers off Cambodia as Chinese troops menaced Vietnam from the north and Thailand (with supplies airlifted from the U.S.) stepped up hostilities from the West. In July the battleship was dispatched to Central America, where it joined the aircraft carrier *Ranger* for a display of gunboat diplomacy. And now it is off to Lebanon.

Meanwhile, as Reagan mounts his global counterrevolutionary crusade, much of the fake-left is capitulating to him—while red-white-and-blue pseudo-socialists sign up for yeoman's duty in the anti-Soviet war drive. Most despicable is the Communist Party USA (CP), because of its pretensions to stand on the side of the USSR. At the height of the imperialist frenzy over KAL 007, the CP's *Daily World* (2 September) ran the shameful front-page headline, "Soviets Deny Downing Plane." Even more than cowardice this represents the treacherous results of "détente" politics. So committed to "peaceful coexistence" are

these Stalinists that they can't believe it when the USSR actually takes steps to defend itself. The CP's reformist illusions breed pure cynicism, as expressed in the *Daily World* (15 December 1981) headline after Jaruzelski's counter-coup against Solidarność: "Poland Heeds Unity Call." Ultimately the Stalinists' treachery leads them to deny the reality before their very eyes. To consistent détente-niks, the Soviets *couldn't* shoot down the KAL 747.

Sam Marcy's Workers World Party (WWP) sees the 007 provocation as a straight-out spy plane, and spins out a conspiratorial tale of Pentagon "hawks" preparing to launch a first-strike yesterday, only to be blocked by the announcement (by Democratic Senate majority leader Jim Wright) of the presence of the RC-135, which scotched the operation. This and the Marcyites' fascination with the sham battle over the empty War Powers Act, are a reflection of their fundamental orientation to the liberal Democratic "doves"—who today are firmly lined up behind Reagan over the 007 affair. The now explicitly anti-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) as usual denounces Reagan & Co. for their "hypocrisy," while pointing to "a lot of questions about the facts" in the KAL Flight 007 confrontation. Clearly the *Militant* would like to ignore the whole business, except to assert that it's really directed at tiny Grenada!

The real scumbags are the Maoists and ex-Maoists, long since accustomed to lining up with their "own" imperialist bourgeoisie. The *Guardian* (14 September) editorializes about a "Double Tragedy," calling the shooting down of the Korean Air Lines plane "an unacceptable response for which the USSR must be held accountable and condemned"! We say these groveling camp followers of Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive must be held accountable and condemned for their support to the most murderous, rapacious imperialist ruling class in history!! As for the leftover Maoists of the League of Revolutionary Struggle, its *Unity* (9 September) rag denounces the "militarism" of the "two superpowers" and calls on the Soviet government to "pay restitution"! This represents the rancid fruits of the Peking bureaucracy's accommodation with

American imperialism. Even China abstained on the UN Security Council resolution, and Deng must be wondering about his acolytes in the U.S. who blindly follow the Reagan war drive.

Whether through direct support to Reagan, such as the Maoists, or appeals to Democratic liberals (à la Marcy's WWP), the reformist left is subordinated to one or another wing of the American bourgeoisie. Because we oppose class collaboration down the line, the Trotskyists of the Spartacist League (SL) alone can consistently oppose the anti-Soviet war drive which embraces all sectors of the imperialist rulers, from liberal "doves" to conservative "hawks."

On the eve of World War II, during April-June 1941, there were more than 180 overflights of Soviet territory by the Germans, ranging in depth from 65 to 100 miles. Soviet forces were forbidden to respond to these provocations, which were ascribed to "undisciplined" German units, because of the Stalin-Hitler pact in which the Soviet leader placed his confidence. "Thus it went to the end, Stalin trying in the final hours to stave off attack by ordering his armed forces not to fire at German planes, not to approach the frontiers, not to make any move which might provoke German action," wrote Harrison Salisbury in his epic account of the siege of Leningrad, *900 Days*. The present-day Soviet general staff was forged from among those officers who resisted Stalin's defeatist policy in the first days of the war against Nazi Germany, and who came back from Siberian exile to lead the Red Army to victory over Hitler in 1945.

As Cold War II turns hot, the fundamental response of revolutionary socialists is and must be political. Black workers in particular distrust the anti-Soviet war drive which means taking milk from black schoolchildren in order to build Trident submarines. From New York transit to West Coast longshore, the response to our headline "Reagan's Story Stinks!" has been: "Amen, brother!" The Trotskyists say: Two, three, many defeats for U.S. imperialism! Today, as on the eve of World War II, we stand at our posts, defending the homeland of the October Revolution. ■

Larry Flynt's Ad the Times Wouldn't Print

Another Gulf of Tonkin Provocation?

Editor's note: Reagan's efforts to use the downing of KAL Flight 007 to whip up anti-Soviet hysteria have encountered widespread skepticism. One of the more interesting and far-ranging expressions of this skepticism is a statement by Larry Flynt, an idiosyncratic liberal and publisher of Hustler magazine, which appeared as a paid advertisement, under "Larry Flynt on Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Flight 007," in a number of major papers. Significantly, the New York Times refused to print it because, as the paper's spokesman told WV, "it was offensive to certain people." No doubt! While as Marxists we do not share Flynt's worldview, we are reprinting a substantial portion of his statement for the interest of our readers.

The United States of America is a country that was founded on great principles by men with great ideals—men like Thomas Paine, Thomas Jefferson and James Madison. They had a vision of enlightenment, prosperity and freedom. Their vision succeeded spectacularly well—if you weren't a woman, black, Mexican or Native American Indian. (Even Thomas Jefferson thought nothing of dealing with Napoleon to buy the homeland of prairie Indians.) From a small 13-colony settlement the United States expanded into a vast worldwide empire, the most powerful the world has ever known. Along the way the people who have lived well within its boundaries always felt innocent of wrongdoing or "starting a war." If English-speaking Americans just happened to be settling in territory of another empire or in territory belonging to people who lived in Texas or Montana, for example, and if the neighbors didn't like that and attacked, well, of course, they "started the war."

Around 1900 the present official boundaries of the U.S. more or less stabilized. This was primarily because the multifarious groups in power did not want to share the wealth and full privileges of citizenship in the U.S. to future peoples that the U.S. might overcome. It was bad enough sharing wealth and power with foreign people immigrating here, and the reaction against this culminated in the closing of the borders in 1923 to immigrants from the rest of the "Free World," especially Asia and southern Europe. This period of time was the sounding of the death knell for the original vision of the Founding Fathers. Henceforth, petty intrigue, power plays and short-sighted propaganda would play an increasing role in the expansion of U.S. influence. Beginning with the Spanish-American War in 1898, new relationships with conquered states were devised that did not include the full vision of the Founding Fathers. If other countries lived under ancient monarchies, theocracies and dictatorships, that was fine as far as the U.S. was concerned, as long as they helped somehow. Even within the U.S. more and more conflicts arose between the desires of government and the principles of the Bill of Rights.

One thing did not change, however, and that was the principle of the U.S. maintaining its "innocence" of ever starting a war. The Spanish-American war was "started" by the destruction of the USS *Maine*. (The Spanish really never did have anything to do with that incident; the *Maine* was blown up by agent-provocateurs.) The Germans, of course, were "completely responsible" for provoking us into going into World War I by torpedoing a British liner with American passengers that just "happened" to also be carrying munitions supplies. Of course, the Japanese were the "infamous" people who got us into World War II by bombing a base far away from the U.S. mainland. They had the impudence to want some of the same territory that the U.S. had already seized or was eyeing. Later, "our" territory was threatened in Korea, for which war was necessary.

It was at this time that the USSR became the permanent enemy of the U.S., because the USSR did not go down in defeat in World War II and even managed to learn the importance of industrialization. This country had not started out with visions of enlightenment and freedom, but with authoritarian and paranoid czarist rule. The czar's power was predicated on protection against a long history of invasion. First, the Mongols were turned back by the Duke of Muscovy, and the Poles were repulsed. The Duke of Muscovy soon became Czar of Russia. Then

came Napoleon in 1812. Napoleon's defeat further solidified the czar's power (with the help of arch-fascist Metternich). In 1917 there was a revolution against the oppressive czarist system, but in 1918, Western powers (including the U.S.) invaded the USSR, and again the country quickly became paranoid about foreign invaders. In World War II the USSR was invaded yet again by Germany, and 20 million of its people died. Naturally, the country developed quite a sensitivity to its borders.

After World War II the U.S. and the USSR emerged victorious. The U.S. imagined itself "innocent" but had managed to expand to the point where its military influence was felt all over the globe. It also had never been invaded in its entire history. The USSR was weaker and much more paranoid about its borders—having been invaded again, again and again.

It was at this time that new creatures known as the CIA and the military-industrial complex, about which even President Eisenhower, a military man himself, had warned the nation about in his farewell speech to the American people, became firmly entrenched in power in the U.S. Secrecy, deception and outright lies became a common occurrence. The U.S. government had to maintain a posture of "innocence" while at the same time involving itself in political intrigue all over the world to control its new rival, the Soviet Union.

The first cracks in this scheme appeared in 1960 with the U-2 episode when the Eisenhower Administration denied deliberately attempting to violate Soviet airspace. In fact, it was soon proven it had when the Russians advised the U.S. that the pilot, Gary Powers, was indeed alive. He had not taken the poison cyanide pills provided him by the CIA for just such an occasion. Other lies and deceptions appeared with increasing frequency, but the one which got the U.S. into a major escalation of the Vietnam War was the Gulf of Tonkin incident in August 1964. This occurred at a time when the U.S. government had involved itself in a war to help Catholics in Vietnam. But it did not have the kind of morale-rousing justification that had spurred such undertakings as World War I and World War II. Hence, the Johnson Administration was ready to grasp for any publicity stunt that might appear to be an "unprovoked attack." First, secret "34A" naval raids by South Vietnam along the coast of North Vietnam were authorized by the CIA in February of '64. In August, after six months of these provocative raids, the destroyers *Maddox* and *Turner Joy* were sent to the Gulf of Tonkin off the coast of Vietnam. They carried a cable of instructions, one of which said it would "possibly draw" North Vietnamese patrol boats "northward away from the area of 34A operations."

On August 4 the two destroyers reported they were under "continuous torpedo attack." All of the 21 torpedo reports came from one David E. Mallow. The *Turner Joy* fired away in the darkness for four hours, but the *Maddox*, strangely, could find nothing on its fire-control radar to shoot at. And the *Turner Joy*'s sonar heard no torpedoes. In retrospect, both the captain of the *Maddox* and the commander in charge of both destroyers concluded that virtually all of the "torpedoes" reported by the *Maddox* were actually the sounds of its own propellers.

In Washington, President Johnson convened the National Security Council. But at 1:30 p.m. a cable reached the Pentagon from Commodore John J. Herrick, the task force commander on the bridge of the *Maddox*:

"REVIEW OF ACTION MAKES MANY RECORDED CONTACTS AND TORPEDOES FIRED APPEAR DOUBTFUL. FREAK WEATHER EFFECTS AND OVER-EAGER SONARMAN MAY HAVE ACCOUNTED FOR MANY REPORTS. NO ACTUAL VISUAL SIGHTINGS BY MADDOX. SUGGEST COMPLETE EVALUATION BEFORE ANY ACTION."

The controversy over the Tonkin Gulf incident has tended to focus on whether, or to what extent, American destroyers were, in fact, attacked on the night of August 4. Regardless of whether any attack took place, the messages between Washington and the Pacific that day demonstrate that at that time neither the President nor Secretary of Defense Robert

McNamara was certain that an attack had occurred.

There was an unseemly scramble for "evidence" to support the action the President had determined to take. That evidence was still frantically being sought four years later, in 1968.

By the middle of the '70s Americans had heard so many deceptions and lies from their government that they knew they could no longer believe it. Our "innocence" had been lost. The major reason Jimmy Carter was elected in '76 was because he sold the public on the idea that he could be "trusted." But the powers-that-be had to keep justifying their existence, and they learned a lesson. It wasn't to be completely honest, but to be better at deception. The first principle of any con-artist is to gain his victim's trust.

Ronald Reagan has tried to establish his "trustworthiness" with that ancient form of hypnosis—religion. In stark contrast to the ideals and thoughts of the Founding Fathers, he has tried to paint this country as a "Christian nation." The purpose of this is simply to create a "devil"—the "evil Atheist Commies" in the USSR. Going far beyond the realm of even possibility, he has over and over tried to portray the people of the USSR as "cold and heartless, without any concern for human life," and as the most menacing threat to the peace of the world.

Despite its liabilities, as every military power has, the USSR is not the heartland of "evil," as Reagan suggests, any more than the U.S. might be claimed to be. It is a country primarily concerned with preventing a future invasion of its territory and loss of its peoples' lives. The U.S. never lost its lead in military technology, and the primary goal of the Reagan Administration has been to widen that lead as much as possible. Last year the CIA even estimated that Soviet military spending only rose by 2%. The people of Europe and the rest of the world know this, and that is why they have resisted Reagan's ploys to characterize the USSR as "evil" and to further escalate the arms race. To a great extent, Reagan's talk and arms policy were even beginning to jade Americans, who were itching for economic—not arms—buildup. People were beginning to talk about finding a way of ending the possibility of nuclear war instead of perpetuating national hostility. Reagan's electability was coming into question—that is, until Sept. 1, 1983, when a South Korean civilian jetliner intruded deep into Soviet territory and disappeared with reports that it had been shot down.

The immediate reaction to this incident was predictable. Polls were taken to show that an 87% majority favored a "strong" U.S. response—exactly what Reagan wanted. Public opinion was galvanized in a way not seen since the Gulf of Tonkin incident. Reagan was quick to say that this "proved" how "evil" the Soviets were.

Indeed, how could they do such a thing? If, in fact, the Soviets had downed the plane, it may have been for the same reason that Israel downed a Libyan passenger jet over the Sinai desert in 1973, killing 74 persons. Somehow, though, the President did not find that important enough to damn the Israelis forever. When, in Vietnam, innocent women and children were killed, especially at My Lai, the President did not get up and say that this proved how "evil" the American system was.

What exactly would the U.S. have done if Soviet aircraft "accidentally" flew over Los Alamos, New Mexico, or better yet Washington D.C. without warning and without responding to interceptors? When, in fact, the Soviet airline Aeroflot enroute from Moscow to Havana flew near Miami, Florida it responded to our interceptors and did not try to get away. Why was this flight 007 (shades of James Bond?) so far off course when it had three sets of extremely sophisticated navigation equipment?

At the time of this writing a late report indicated that the pilot was a "strong-willed" person. It was admitted that he may have intentionally flown over Soviet airspace.

Then, failing to respond to Soviet interceptors, the pilot—instead of coming to a landing—ascended to 35,000 feet, a defiant action from the point of view of the interceptors. Was this a deliberately provocative act?... ■

Soviet Ship Boycotted

The Shame of the ILWU

Reagan's story over the downing of KAL Flight 007 stinks and keeps being changed. Most of the population is at least suspicious—the only people enthusiastically jumping on the Reagan bandwagon are the professional anti-communists, the capitalist politicians and the labor bureaucracy. Notable among the latter are the leaders of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), once the darling of the Stalinist Communist Party (CP) and the rad-lib milieu. In a disgusting display of chauvinism that got nationwide press coverage, the West Coast longshore tops outdid even Lane Kirkland's AFL-CIO gang this time around.

When the Soviet freighter *Novokuibyshevsk* steamed into the Los Angeles harbor on September 6, it was greeted by a couple hundred anti-communist demonstrators, "most of them senior citizens of Korean descent" (*Los Angeles Times*, 7 September). Also on hand were the slimeballs of the anti-Soviet Baltic American Freedom League. In succeeding days this "picket line" dwindled to a couple dozen zealots. Hardly the sort that could stand in the way of a powerful waterfront union that genuinely wanted to work the Soviet cargo. But the ILWU seized on this as an excuse to enlist in Reagan's crusade.

A dispatcher of ILWU Local 13 in L.A. told the press "he had been instructed to tell callers that 'we will not work the Russian vessel at Berth 178.'" Later the bureaucrats tried to claim it was a decision of the ranks but there were reportedly few—if any—ILWUers among the right-wing demonstrators. In particular, several black longshoremen later expressed their disgust at this action to *WV* salesmen. But no union official—including prominent *People's Tribune* supporter David Arian—did anything to ensure that the ship be worked. So after eight days it left L.A. unloaded. And in what was undoubtedly a "first" for the ILWU, the Baltic American Freedom League bestowed its "Freedom Award" on Local 13.

The *Novokuibyshevsk* eventually detoured to Ensenada, where Mexican longshoremen unloaded its American-bound cargo with no problems. The next destination is New Orleans. The longshore union there has announced it is prepared to unload the ship when it

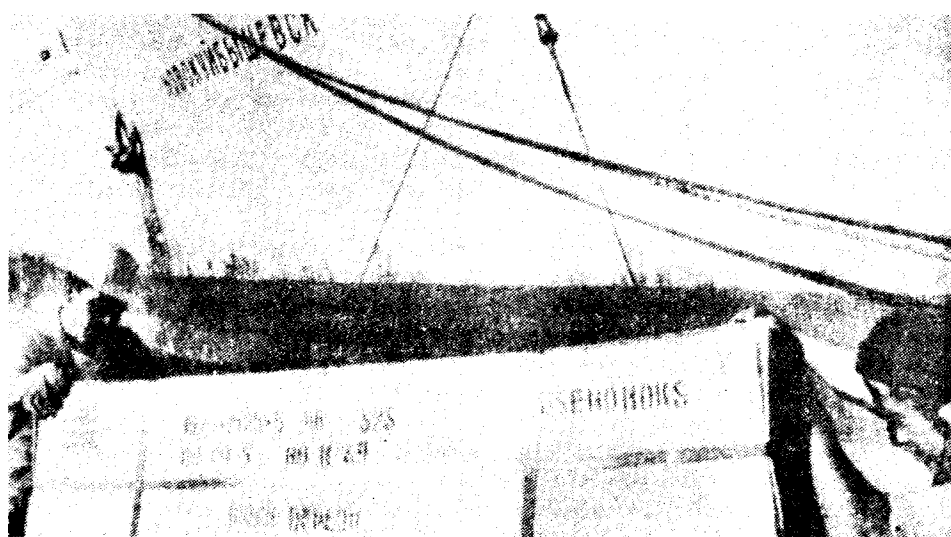
arrives September 24. This despite the fact the union local is part of Teddy Gleason's ILA, which has frequently boycotted Russian shipping. But ILA Local 3000 in New Orleans is mainly black, with no use for Ronald Reagan. We hope that the brothers and sisters of Local 3000 carry out their stated intentions and repudiate the shameful example of the "progressive" ILWU bureaucrats.

The ILWU International headed by Jimmy Herman made clear it fully supported its Los Angeles local. Three days after the Soviet freighter sailed into L.A., the International issued a statement that asserted: "The USSR cannot avoid taking responsibility for this outrageous violation of civilized behavior. And the failure of the USSR to express any real remorse, to apologize, and even to offer some form of compensation to the families involved, have been particularly galling."

In the San Francisco area, members of the Militant Caucus (MC) led a successful fight at the September 15 meeting of the East Bay Division of ILWU Local 6 to repudiate this policy. MC member Pete Woolston told *WV* that at the meeting he exposed the U.S. government's lies and pointed out the consistency between the International's anti-Sovietism here and their lining up behind the imperialists on Afghanistan and Poland. Another Militant Caucus speaker pointed out that the Democrats (whom Herman supports) are backing Reagan 100 percent on the 007 provocation and noted that the International could easily have organized defense squads in L.A. so that longshoremen could have safely worked the ship. CP supporters—while apparently uncomfortable at having to defend the Soviet Union publicly—also spoke against the International's position. In fact, the only pro-Herman speaker was Local 6 president Al Lannon, and the members voted down the ILWU tops.

The Militant Caucus has consistently fought for genuine solidarity with workers abroad. In the longshore division, Local 10 exec board member and MCer Stan Gow helped initiate a picket of the *Lafayette*, which was carrying cargo bound for the bloody Salvadoran regime. For this Gow became the intended victim of a vicious witchhunt launched by the ILWU tops. Two days before his "trial" Gow and

other MC members picketed the South Africa-bound *Nedlloyd Kimberley*, demanding vengeance for three murdered black anti-apartheid fighters. The bureaucrats' purge failed when a packed membership meeting of Local 10 voted overwhelmingly in Gow's favor. One thing ought to be clear, though: the bureaucrats are willing enough to shut down shipping if it benefits the State Department; but if you fight to do it on behalf of blacks in South Africa or the working masses of El Salvador, then the



After ILWU tops' shameful Cold War boycott, Mexican longshoremen unload Soviet freighter in Ensenada.

Herman gang goes for your throat.

There shouldn't be any question after the Soviet freighter incident that the Herman bureaucracy has definitively repudiated the pro-Stalinist policies of its predecessor, longtime ILWU head Harry Bridges. Anyone who's followed *WV* over the years knows there's no love lost between us and Bridges. He was a rotten class collaborator who long ago swore off proletarian revolution. But to his credit, Bridges never joined the Cold War pack who dominate the American trade-union leadership. The government tried to deport him four times. Reutherite witchhunters expelled him and the ILWU from the CIO. But Bridges never became an anti-Soviet renegade like plenty of others who once hung around the CP.

No doubt Harry—who not long ago returned from a trip to Russia to "promote peace"—is not very happy with the ILWU these days. But his successors didn't just fall from the sky, either. They are part of a bureaucracy

fostered and trained by Bridges himself. In subordinating the interests of longshoremen to the maritime bosses, Herman couldn't have a better model than Bridges' "mechanization and modernization" (M&M) contracts, responsible for slashing well over half the dock jobs on the West Coast. The ties between the ILWU and the Democrats—who are now trying to out-Reagan Reagan—were forged by Bridges. So with the anti-Soviet hysteria and the rightward shift in the capitalist order, Herman & Co. simply took Bridges' program to its logical conclusion.

As for the CP, every once in a while they'd come up with a mealy-mouthed criticism of Bridges, but he was with them on every fundamental issue—from strikebreaking during World War II, to M&M, to the Democrats. They sucked up to his anti-communist successors,

too. Not long ago the CP's *People's World* was touting Curtis McClain, International secretary-treasurer, as a model "progressive" unionist. And like Bridges himself, the CP used its "left" credentials in an attempt to sabotage and derail the efforts of the genuine fighters in the ILWU. Thus *People's World* supporter Leo Robinson spoke in favor of Herman's McCarthyite witchhunt of Stan Gow.

In the last analysis, it was the Stalinist policies of Bridges and the CP that paved the way for the pro-imperialist swine who now run the ILWU and are trying to line up longshoremen behind Reagan's homicidal plans to nuke the Soviet Union. Only revolutionary Trotskyism provides a program that consistently defends the gains of the workers movement—from the hiring hall of the ILWU to the planned economy of the Russian Revolution—and can take them forward to the world socialist revolution necessary to liberate mankind from capitalist madness. ■

Lebanon...

(continued from page 3)

defend the Phalange and to humble the Soviet-allied Syrians.

War Powers and the Imperial Presidency

The renewed civil war in Lebanon has rekindled a conflict in Washington between the White House and Congress over the War Powers Resolution. Adopted in 1973 in response to the Vietnam debacle, this was an attempt by Congress to reassert its constitutional right to declare war, which was conveniently ignored in Vietnam. The resolution states that U.S. forces in "situations where imminent involvement in hostilities is clearly indicated" must be withdrawn within 90 days unless Congress gives specific authorization for them to be there.

Reagan, like every other president, wants to send U.S. troops into combat anywhere and any time without concern for parliamentary niceties. So the administration is arguing that the War

Powers Resolution doesn't apply to Lebanon (or anywhere), to which Democratic Congressman Clarence Long replied: "Any 9-year-old kid watching television can see our people in combat, but the President of the United States doesn't see this as combat."

However, the Congressional clamor over the War Powers Resolution is *not* to force a withdrawal of U.S. troops from Lebanon but to *legitimize* their role. While some Democratic liberals believe direct U.S. military intervention in Central America is tactically unwise, there is, with few exceptions, a *bipartisan consensus* for the Marines in Lebanon. Democratic Congressional leader Tip O'Neill declared: "If Syria thinks America is divided and it can wait around until we pull out, they are wrong" (*New York Times*, 13 September). He then offered a resolution authorizing the Marines to remain in Lebanon for 18 months. As we go to press, it's being reported that the White House has grudgingly accepted this offer.

So Congress and the president, right-wing Republicans and liberal Demo-

crats are united in making war in the Near East. The Marines in Lebanon are a tripwire for a nuclear World War III. Should the U.S. military intervention in Lebanon escalate into a war with the Soviet Union, the urgent requirement of the world proletariat would be unconditional military defense of the USSR. Imperialist, Israeli troops out of Lebanon! ■

Defend Phone Workers...

(continued from page 12)

hardlining it, and a pretrial hearing has been set for October 7. In addition, Lauren Mozee was just served with papers alleging another misdemeanor offense on the picket lines.

The Alameda County D.A.'s office is a deeply reactionary and highly political one and, in fact, something of a recruiting ground for the Reagan administration. Edwin Meese, Reagan's top adviser, was the Alameda County

D.A. who directed the prosecutions of scores of Black Panthers and anti-Vietnam War activists. His successor, Lowell Jensen, left the office in 1981 to take a top position in Reagan's Justice Department. Now it appears that his successor, John J. Meehan, is out to prove his anti-labor credentials.

To beat back these vicious charges and to win their jobs back Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero need your support. Here's what you can do:

1. Send a letter to the Phone Strikers Defense Committee, P.O. Box 24152, Oakland, CA 94623, endorsing the demands of the Defense Committee, listed above.

2. Make a much needed financial contribution to the Phone Strikers Defense Committee.

3. Send a telegram to support the demands of the Phone Strikers Defense Committee (plus a copy to the Committee) to: John J. Meehan, Alameda County District Attorney, 1225 Fallon St., Oakland, CA 94612; and Ted Saenger, President PT&T, 140 New Montgomery St., San Francisco, CA 94605. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Save the Taylor Family from Alabama Lynch Law!

We reprint below a leaflet issued by the Spartacus Youth League, the Detroit Labor/Black Struggle League and Rouge Militant Caucus for a rally at Wayne State University at noon on Thursday, September 22.

It's urgent that we act now to save the lives of the Taylor family! Last February, after defending themselves and their children from two armed, unidentified plainclothes cops who invaded their home, the Taylors and their friends were brutally beaten and tortured by Montgomery, Alabama police. The family, including five United Auto Workers members from GM Truck and Coach, were in Montgomery for the funeral of their mother, Annie Bell Taylor. And now in a vicious, racist frameup, the Montgomery grand jury has handed down indictments charging five of the Taylors with attempted murder, kidnapping and robbery! All five face life imprisonment or worse in the deadly hellholes of an Alabama state prison.

What happened to the Taylors is a violent attempt to keep blacks "in their place." In Reagan's America black people can't even mourn the death of a relative. Black workers, especially those with direct experience of "Dixie justice," know that what happened to the Taylors



WV Photo

**Drop the Charges Against the Taylor Family!
Jail the Murderous Cops!
\$1 Million in Compensation!**

could happen to any one of them and their families. In a decent society the Taylors would get a medal for their courageous defense against cop terror. We demand at least \$1 million in compensation from the state of Alabama for the horror they've been put

through! It's Spivey and Brown and the rest of the murderous nightriding cops who should be jailed! But the grand jury wants to cover up their massive racist crime and are suppressing the facts surrounding the cop abuse and torture of the Taylors. Meanwhile a wave of

police terror in the Montgomery area has left three blacks dead and two wounded since the attack on the Taylor home. The Klan has even trampled on the memory of Annie Bell Taylor as they shot up and ransacked the Taylor home in Montgomery and painted it with KKK slogans, while it was "under surveillance" by their buddies in blue.

The state of Alabama, the Klan killers and racist police smell blood and want to see the lynch rope become the law of the land. All opponents of racist terror and frameup—blacks, Jews, Arabs, workers and others—must stop them from ripping the Taylors away to face death in an Alabama jail! The defense of the Taylors is the defense of us all! What's needed is mass labor/black action to bury this racist frameup. Come to the demonstration this Thursday at Wayne State University! Stop the State of Alabama's Legal Lynching! ■

Emergency Demonstration!

Protest Grand Jury Indictments of the Taylor Family! Thursday, September 22, 12 noon, Wayne State University, MacKenzie Hall, Detroit. Initiated by Spartacus Youth League, Detroit Labor/Black Struggle League, Rouge Militant Caucus.

Pickers Face Felony Frameup

Defend Bay Area Phone Workers!

OAKLAND, September 19—As we reported in the last issue of WV, a Phone Strikers Defense Committee has been formed to defend the phone workers fired and framed up on serious felony charges stemming from the recent nationwide strike against Ma Bell. Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero were fired from Pacific Telephone and are being prosecuted on multiple felony and misdemeanor charges for conducting ordinary picket duty in the course of a union-authorized nationwide strike and defending their picket line and themselves from management/scab violence. This must not be allowed to happen! The case of these militant unionists involves not only the loss of their livelihood and the threat of long prison sentences, but the elementary rights of all labor to strike, to picket and to defend those rights against scab violence. It is on these battlelines that the American labor movement fought to establish itself and it is on these same battlelines that Reagan's war on labor is escalating.

The Phone Strikers Defense Committee was initiated by members of Communications Workers of America Locals

9415 and 9410 (Oakland and San Francisco), of which Lauren and Ray are members. The Committee is based on three simple demands: (1) that Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero be reinstated at their jobs with full back pay; (2) that amnesty be granted to all victimized phone strikers; and (3) that all charges against Lauren, Ray and all other phone strikers be dropped.

The outpouring of support for this important defense effort has been immediate and impressive. More than 100 phone workers in CWA Locals 9415 and 9410 signed and are circulating an initial statement demanding Lauren and Ray's jobs back. To date, over 180 endorsements of the Defense Committee's demands have come in. Over 90 of these are from labor union officials from a wide variety of unions: UAW, Plumbers and Steamfitters, IBEW, AFSCME and AFGE, Laborers, OPEIU, SEIU, UFCW, AFT, ATU, Teamsters, Machinists, Letter Carriers and many, many more.

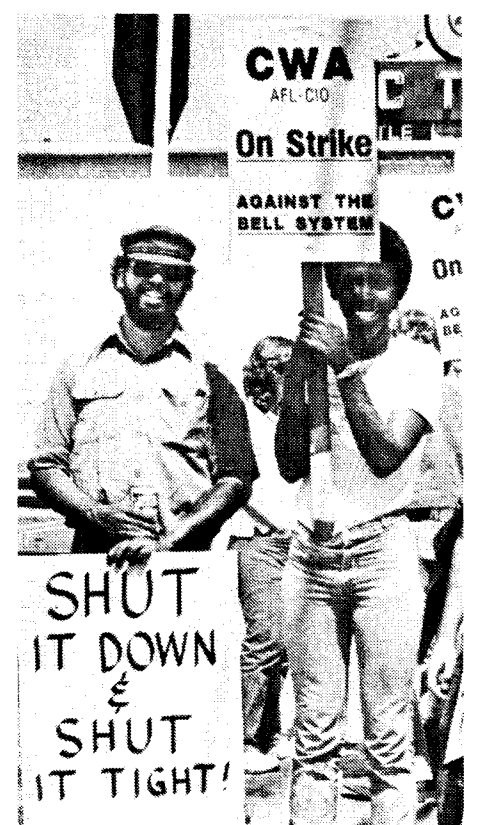
In just the last week, six Bay Area local unions went on record supporting the Defense Committee's demands. Most of these unions also made finan-

cial contributions and agreed to send telegrams to the phone company and the Alameda County District Attorney demanding that Ray and Lauren be reinstated with full back pay and that all charges against them be dropped.

The Defense Committee's slogans, "Picket lines mean don't cross!" and "Don't let the phone company give Ray and Lauren the PATCO treatment!" have elicited genuine expressions of labor solidarity. The bitterness over Reagan's destruction of PATCO and the felt necessity of reasserting the integrity of union picket lines has won militant support for this case among unionists looking for a way to strike back against Reagan's union-busting.

At the September 13 arraignment of Ray and Lauren, some 30 Defense Committee supporters crowded the courtroom in a show of support and solidarity, while Lauren and Ray entered "not guilty" pleas to all counts. Three local newspapers, the *Oakland Tribune*, *Hayward Daily Review* and *San Jose Mercury News*, published stories on the big turnout of support at the arraignment. Despite this the D.A. is

continued on page 11



WV Photo

Ray Palmiero, Lauren Mozee