



REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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

Vol. 1 No. 41 ISSN 0193-3485 February 15, 1980 Sección en Español 25¢

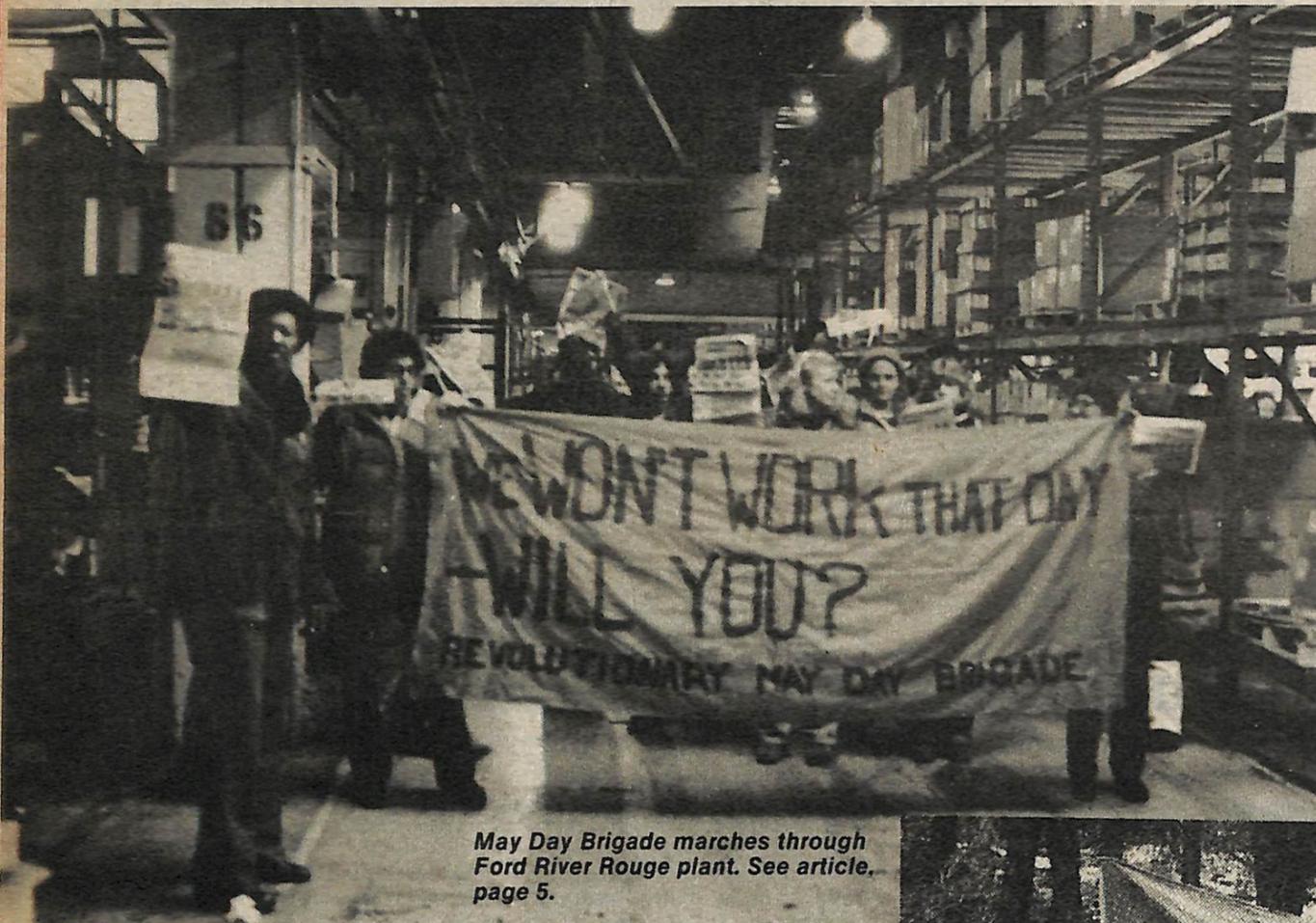
May Day Brigade Held Hostage in Youngstown

Battle for May Day Underway

Thursday, February 14. As we go to press, 10 volunteers from the Revolutionary May Day Brigade have been held hostage for a week and a half. They are sitting in jail in Youngstown, Ohio after being arrested for sounding the May Day call in this dying steel town. While agitating at the local unemployment office on Wednesday, Feb. 6, Brigaders were grabbed by office guards, then arrested by the cops. Bail was set at \$625, but then raised to an outrageous \$4,500 each the next morning—and this for three misdemeanors, in most cases. The high bails set for relatively minor legal charges were not, however, the result of the whims of one reactionary judge. Far from it. It has since been learned that no less than the Attorney General of the State of Ohio ordered the bail increases—a fact which drives home the point that the authorities from top to bottom are out to stop Revolutionary May Day 1980 in its tracks.

The response to this open challenge has been dead serious. There are *right now* literally thousands of workers around the country who have no intention of seeing the fight for May Day called in its first, second or any round. In leaflets and street and factory agitation this outrage and the reasons behind it are being exposed. The National May Day Committee issued the call for bail money to be sent immediately. *Funds are still urgently needed.* The National Committee also issued the call for additional Revolutionary May Day Brigade Volunteers to step forward and replenish the ranks of those who have been (or will be) ripped away from the front ranks.

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May Day Brigade marches through Ford River Rouge plant. See article, page 5.

Revolutionary Worker

Bani Sadr Bending Over to U.S.

On Feb. 11, over one million Iranian people poured into Azadi Square (Victory Square) in Tehran to celebrate the anniversary of the insurrection and the overthrow of the Shah. At the same time, in defiance of President Bani-Sadr's ban on demonstrations in front of the U.S. Embassy, two hundred fifty thousand people demonstrated against U.S. imperialism. Back at the official rally, presided over by Bani-Sadr, Khomeini's son and Yasir Arafat, leader of the Palestinian Liberation Organization, a message from Ayatollah Khomeini said, "Iran continues its decisive struggle against the ruthless expansionist U.S. until the breaking of all economic, military, political and cultural dependencies, and then if the nation allows, normal or very ordinary relations with the U.S. similar to those with other nations to be established."

The U.S. press immediately commented on how this statement was different from Khomeini's statements in the recent past that Iran doesn't need America. Khomeini also spoke against the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan saying, "We support all the countries under domination for the achievement

of their freedom and independence and tell them frankly that they must fight for their rights, rise and eliminate the superpowers from history." The rhetoric surrounding these clearly softening statements by Khomeini on Monday clearly indicate that he has to continue to say anti-imperialist and revolutionary sounding things to the masses of people in Iran, who are determined to continue the revolution, but Khomeini's Tuesday silence on the proposal by President Bani-Sadr for the return of the hostages indicates that there is very dirty business afoot between Iran's bourgeoisie and the U.S. government.

In an interview on Feb. 12, with the French bourgeois newspaper *Le Monde*, Bani-Sadr dropped a bomb, sabotaging the struggle of the Iranian masses, when he announced that he was dropping the demand for the return of the Shah to Iran in exchange for the hostages. The demand for the return of the Shah has been at the heart of the struggle waged by the militant students at the U.S. embassy and has become a dividing line question, supported by the masses of people in Iran and revolu-

tionary and progressive people all over the world. Bani-Sadr made a blatant leap over the line into the camp of U.S. imperialism in the following exchange from *Le Monde*:

Q: What exactly are you asking of the United States?

Bani-Sadr: A thorough and proper self-criticism concerning the crimes that they have committed in Iran in the past quarter century and the recognition of

our right to obtain the extradition of the Shah and the restitution of his fortune. We are so certain that we will win our case that we are willing to accept in advance the conclusions of an international investigative commission.

Q: Will you wait for the end of the international investigation and the extradition of the Shah to release the hostages?

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Agitation after the arrests in Youngstown.

Resurrection at Lake Placid: Duke's Rotting Corpse Heads U.S. Team

With the U.S. imperialists' recent admission that the Olympic games have been political all along, an admission which is part and parcel of their campaign to pull off the boycott of the summer Olympics in Moscow, one would expect highly visible and naked flaunting of their imperialist politics including a magnum dose of unbridled American chauvinism at the winter Olympics in Lake Placid. Well, so far we have not been disappointed one bit. From its inception the XIII Winter Olympic Games have been chock full of swaggering antics each a worthy tribute to the rotting corpse of John Wayne.

The opening ceremonies were a true classic display. Being the host country the U.S. marched in last in the opening parade a position they took full advantage of. Following the team from the USSR (dressed in bear-like fur coats) that was greeted with boos and scattered cries of "Rooskie Go Home" and then the Yugoslavians (fittingly sandwiched between the two super-powers), the U.S. team marched in wearing cowboy outfits complete with white cowboy hats and were greeted by rousing cheers from the home crowd. Yeee Hah! All that was missing were the horses and a bugle to signal the charge.

This was a spectacle that would make The Duke proud. The newscasters loved it and payed special attention to point out that the U.S. has refused since 1908 with one exception to dip its flag as they pass the reviewing stand (a sign of respect for other countries). The tension grew—will they dip the flag? Jim McKay picked up the action: "_____ is the flag bearer for the U.S. and his is another remarkable story. He has overcome cystic fibrosis to not only compete in these Olympics but to have the honor of carrying the U.S. flag. He certainly looks frail. He must weigh less than 150 pounds and that flag must weigh about 50 pounds! Lets see now if he is going to dip the flag. Remember this has been an American tradition not to. NO! The U.S. flag is not being dipped. He has not dipped the flag." Yeee Hah!! Awright! We don't dip our flag for

nobody!

Also during the opening ceremonies, which were highlighted by the release of 2000 "doves of peace" (actually they were pigeons), a skydiver gave the crowd a real thrill, parachuting into the stadium carrying an American flag. This little mini-enactment of a U.S. paratroop invasion, no doubt warmed the heart of many a foreign athlete and gave them an inspiring glimpse of much larger U.S. airborne peace missions to come in the near future.

The U.S. has spared no effort in giving the visiting athletes a taste of good

old American hospitality. Foreign athletes are housed in an Olympic village that was built to be a prison after the games. They sleep two to a cell. American athletes, however, sleep in four bedroom, two bath trailers each with his own bedroom. But the U.S. is quick to point out all the splendid diversions the foreign athletes enjoy in the Olympic village. They have a disco and a wide assortment of pinball machines to put their quarters in.

How quaint it is to see a Polish or Venezuelan athlete hunched over a Superman or Star Trek pinball

machine. Just think how much fun they are having here in America. They are even allowed visitors if they have the proper identification and credentials to get past the checkpoints that ring the ten mile security perimeters around the village. And they *are* being allowed out for training and recreation as well as for actual competition. They will probably even be allowed to return home—even the Russian athletes.



Warheads Go To The Olympics

Revolutionary Worker

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Invading Army in Persian Gulf

For years the United States has dominated or fought to dominate every single country around the Persian Gulf—Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Iraq (where the U.S. is gaining influence), Iran, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates—all of them. The U.S. has taken out billions of dollars in profits, sent in arms, sponsored reactionary dictators, trained their troops and secret police. Recently, the White House announced that the U.S. would send assault troops—1,800 marines—into the surrounding region in mid-March.

With all this as background, we have to take a surprised look at Carter's statement last month in his State of the Union message that "any outside force" moving for "control of the Persian Gulf region will be repelled by use of any means necessary, including military force."

If we are supposed to take Carter at his word about "outside force", a heavy question is posed: Does this mean that the U.S. government is planning to commit the final act of insanity and declare war on itself?

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REVISIONISTS, IMPERIALISTS SCHEME IN EL SALVADOR

A recent issue of *Time* magazine accurately described the current situation for the U.S. in El Salvador: "... Washington policymakers concede that their options are limited. Says one government analyst: 'You get the very depressing feeling that all the U.S. can do is wait until it blows and then see what can be done.'" The recently reshuffled ruling junta, battered on all sides by the struggle of the Salvadoran masses, is on the verge of toppling.

U.S., Japanese and German textile and electronic plants have been shutting down and shipping out their heavy machinery, while pro-imperialist landlords and bourgeois elements have been sending their wealth out of the country to Panama and the U.S. The American Embassy has advised all "non-essential" U.S. citizens to leave the country immediately. West Germany has closed down its embassy in

San Salvador, complaining that the Salvadoran government is "incapable of providing protection."

On Jan. 30, Colonel Jaime Abdul Gutierrez, a member of the junta, followed in the footsteps of a more famous U.S. puppet when he flew to Texas for "medical treatment," accompanied by his doctor Ramon Avalos, who just happens to be another member of the junta. Just what "treatment" Gutierrez received was not revealed, but the puppet government got a shot in the arm when Secretary of State Vance announced a \$49 million aid package for the Salvadoran government two days later—a last ditch effort to prop up the tottering regime. In addition the U.S. government is reportedly considering sending \$7 million in military aid, including at least three "12-man Army mobile traveling teams," each to be assigned to one of El Salvador's three

Army battalions.

But the U.S. is well aware of the strength of the mass movement in El Salvador and does not really hold out much hope for preserving the current puppet regime no matter how much money they pour into it, as indicated in the above quote from *Time*, though they have by no means given up hope for finding some way to maintain their hold on the country. So, in the context of broad sections of the population joining the popular forces and taking to the streets against U.S. imperialism, some pro-U.S. elements are also trying to join up in an attempt to worm their way into and gain influence within the movement itself. For example, former junta member Guillermo Ungo's National Revolutionary Movement (MNR), which so willingly served imperialism's interests between October and January as part of the junta

government, published a statement in mid-January saying the MNR seized the "necessity to strengthen its links and collaborate... with the popularly based movements, with which the MNR... feels itself totally identified."

The U.S. government has learned from its experience in Nicaragua, where a number of pro-imperialist forces were able to get themselves into the anti-Somoza movement and the new government. Now, prominent imperialist academicians are advising the State Dept. that, in the situation where the masses refuse to be kept down, the U.S. should adopt such maneuvers in El Salvador. Professor Thomas P. Anderson, just back from visiting El Salvador with a group of congressmen, let it all hang out in a signed editorial in the *L.A. Times*: "The U.S... must maintain a dialogue with the popular

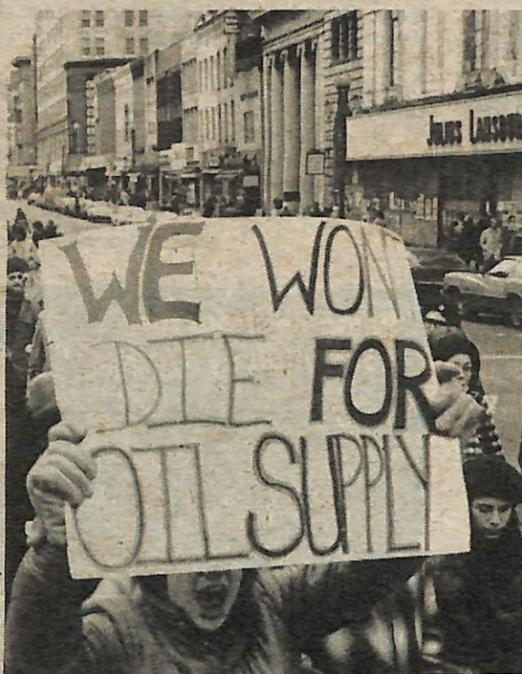
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Carter Draft Registration: Lining Up the Targets

Last week Carter announced his proposal for cranking up the draft, a plan that provides for registering women as well as men. But the words were hardly out of his mouth before anti-draft demonstrations exploded once again around the country, as thousands hit the streets in opposition to this latest war move by the government. In Washington, D.C., 650 people converged on the White House shouting "No War! No Draft!" In Chicago and Philadelphia, demonstrations of over a thousand rang out with familiar chants of "Hell No, We Won't Go!" And the nation's campuses, supposedly mired in apathy, were rocked with one protest after another. In Berkeley, 4000 demonstrated, twice the number that protested there a couple of weeks ago. At Kent State University, scene of the government murder of students in 1970 for protesting the Vietnam War, hundreds rallied and people gathered around to ignite mock draft cards. One protestor burned a handkerchief resembling the stars and stripes. That night he was arrested in his home by police who held him on \$2200 cash bail for "desecrating the flag."

The widespread protests involved many who were participating in political life for the first time. The actions were sponsored by coalitions of a wide range of political groups and tendencies. In Chicago, for example, some of the organizers of a rally of 1000 people included a patriotic memorial service for those killed in Vietnam, complete with a casket draped with the American flag as part of the rally. And of course the bourgeois press has been careful to concentrate its coverage of these demonstrations on their most narrow and backward aspects like the placards at a Princeton rally that read "Draft Beer Not Students." But clearly many of those participating in these mass actions are concerned with much bigger questions and are outraged at the imperialists' moves toward World War—a war in which they have no interest in fighting. Many see the high stakes involved and are looking for a way out of the mess the ruling class is forcing people into. This was shown in actions like the demonstration of 1000 at UC-Santa Barbara which raised the demand "Oppose US-USSR War Moves" in addition to other demands.

In one of the largest of the protests, several thousand, including many



Feb. 9th, Washington, D.C.—
650 students rally against draft.

working class youth, assembled in New York's Times Square at an Army recruiting station. By the time they had arrived at the Carter campaign headquarters, many in the crowd were ready to bust loose. When an American flag was suddenly put to the torch, the crowd eagerly began chanting "Burn, baby burn!" and rocks crashed through the windows of Carter's campaign headquarters. The police charged on horseback to disperse the demonstrators, busting several for this righteous display of open, unpatriotic sentiments.

If there were any doubts that the U.S. imperialists are planning to drag millions into a World War, Carter's call for registering women to be drafted should put them to rest. The bourgeoisie is obviously worried that they won't have enough "manpower" to cover all the territory they have staked out as they prepare to defend their far flung empire from their Soviet rivals in every corner of the globe. As one officer put it, "The use of women is no longer an option, it's a requirement!" Even the American Legion supports it! And whether or not women actually end up in the foxholes, the imperialists are drooling over the possibilities for them to take over many of the functions of

logistics and support, working as mechanics, electricians, etc. to free up more men for active combat on the many fronts where the U.S. will be fighting.

All this, of course, is to be carried out under the hypocritical guise of "equal rights for women". Carter said he will study any restrictions on women in the armed forces that might impede their "opportunity for advancement". Though Carter cried that he was not asking women to perform combat duty, Kathleen Carpenter, deputy assistant of defense, said that women would be given the equal opportunity to advance into such peaceful occupations as firing long-range missiles, operating high altitude anti-aircraft guns and any number of other "non-combatant" positions to contribute to the imperialists' war effort.

Carter's proposal has created a storm of controversy with the various bourgeois spokesmen for women coming out with their answers to the question of "whether women should be drafted". Immediately, neanderthal types like Phyllis Schlafly, head of 'Stop ERA', leaped out screaming that "President Carter has stabbed American womanhood in the back... If

this administration can't stand up to women's lib, they can't stand up to the Russians... We are not going to send our daughters off to do a man's job." While these backward ravings are not exactly in tune with what the imperialists have in mind for women, they nevertheless served to reinforce the idea that the healthy red-blooded American males' job is to willingly march off to defend God and country—spilling their guts out for the greater glory of the U.S. empire while the women darn their socks at home.

Equally disgusting however, were the cries of various bourgeois women's organizations like the National Organization of Women (NOW) who, while saying they are opposed to peacetime registration, shamelessly rushed to line up women as cannonfodder for the imperialists' war plans under the banner of "equal rights". "If there is to be a registration," said NOW President Eleanor Smeal, "it must include women... We are a key part of the trained and trainable pool of young people required to operate today's military... Today women match or exceed men in qualifications, including combat effectiveness. During World

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Bob Avakian and Mao Defendants

Opposition to Railroad Grows

The Washington D.C. Court of Appeals has set March 27 as the next big date in the government's attack on Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants. On this date, all arguments will be presented in the government's appeal of lower court judge Carlisle Pratt's order dismissing the charges against all defendants. Forced to temporarily retreat back in November, the bourgeoisie not only unleashed the secret service on Bob Avakian and started running out a campaign of slander and lies, but it further escalated its attack with this appeal which has a much more openly political character. In response to this, the Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants has continued to expose this escalated attack and mobilize support for Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants throughout the country. Below are a few examples of the support that is building among a broad spectrum of people.

*As soon as the government filed its notice to appeal, the Committee drew

up a protest of the appeal. This protest was circulated among all those who had signed the original statement of support for the Mao Defendants as well as many other individuals and organizations. The Committee's goal is to print this protest in the *Washington Post* on the morning of the Appeals Court hearing. A small list of people and organizations who have signed the protest so far includes: 172 residents of East Lake Meadows Housing Project in Atlanta; the West Virginia, Buffalo and Houston chapters of the National Lawyers Guild as well as the Southern California and Texas-Oklahoma regional National Lawyers Guilds; Russell Means of the American Indian Movement; Morton Sobell (sentenced to two decades in prison in the famous Rosenberg frame-up); Phillip Berrigan; Victor Good, the National Director of the National Conference of Black Lawyers; Larry Noble, a board member of the Georgia American Civil Liberties Union and a professor at Atlanta University; James D.

Cockcroft, a New York author; the Reverend Dr. W.J. Stafford, President of the Free for All Baptist Church in Decatur, Georgia; Bobby Seale; Sidney Lens; Mark La Rue, a prisoner at Walla Walla; Maureen Smith, the California State Chairperson of the Peace & Freedom Party; Robert Harris, a Pontiac Brother; the Iranian Students Association of D.C.-Baltimore; the Chicago Gray Panthers; Lo Poco, a Philadelphia anti-nuke group; Grigsby Hubbard, a Washington D.C. poet; J. Marinda Harpole, a professor at Antioch Law School in D.C.; seven professors at Stanford University; the Social Action Committee of the First Unitarian Church of Chicago; the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, Chicago; and 17 workers at Douglas Aircraft in Huntington Beach, Calif. In addition to this, one individual in Oakland, Calif. donated \$1000 to print the protest of the appeal in three Black newspapers.

*The Houston chapter of the National Lawyers Guild, together with

other individuals, unanimously voted to present a resolution at the national convention of the Guild this weekend, urging the government to drop all the charges once and for all and pledging legal and political support for the defendants.

*Dan Sheehan, the lawyer in the Karen Silkwood case, will present an amicus brief to the emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

Although much has been done in terms of creating the favorable public opinion and active support of the people needed to beat back the government once again, there is a lot more that remains to be done. The Committee has launched a major fundraising drive which will enable it to print the protest of the appeal in the *Washington Post* (at a cost of \$7000), pay legal expenses, and generally step up the offensive against the government's attack. As March 27 draws near and support continues to be built, undoubtedly the high and mighty will once again be slapped in the face with their main weakness: their consistent underestimation of the very force they seek to crush—the people themselves!

Youngstown

Continued from page 1

While the eyes of workers around the country were focused on Youngstown, the city itself became a hot arena of political struggle in the past week. From the minute the May Day 10 were slapped in the slammer, the chant "On to May Day 1980" hasn't stopped bouncing from the Youngstown jail walls. The May Day 10 didn't keep their copies of the *Revolutionary Worker* and the May Day Manifesto for long—soon, the revolutionary literature was being passed from hand to hand. Prisoners in the jail vowed to be in the streets on May 1st, and those remaining inside swore to celebrate there.

Part of the picture of this Ohio town was painted in an exchange between a Brigader and a jailer: "What's the scam on the day the Youngstown steel workers trashed the corporate offices of U.S. Steel?" inquired the Brigader. "We weren't there," snapped the cop. "Why not?" the Brigader egged him on. "There were hundreds of them out there," replied the cop, "And that's a job for the National Guard!"

A hearing for the Brigaders was set for Monday, February 11, in the courtroom of judge Leo Morley. It quickly became clear, however, that Youngstown's enforcers would hear nothing that would put the Brigaders out on the street for the time being. The judge looked across the bench at a crowd of May Day supporters who had traveled to Youngstown from different midwestern cities. Enraged at the same lively spirit which had plagued the jailhouse, the judge, who had clearly begun his day easy with a shot glass and a chaser, growled, "I'm trying to protect the rights of the individual. If there's any discussion or laughter, I'll find you in contempt of court and you'll go to jail. I'm referring to you—you with the buttons on! This is no laughing matter..." A supporter of the 10 bent over to tell a friend she was leaving the courtroom. "Were you in the courtroom when I told you not to talk?" snarled Morley, "Take them into custody." The cops hauled off both the woman who had talked as well as the friend she had talked to.

The matter at hand—reduction of the \$41,000 bail on the May Day 10—was taken up after the lunch recess (and after the judge had released an accused rapist on \$1,000 bail). Leo entered the court and took note of two stacks of papers on his desk. He bellowed to the defense attorney, "These are telegrams supporting your clients. I'm not going to let them influence me whatsoever!"

Influenced, however, by the desire to "protect the right of the individual" the judge set the tone for his later ruling as the defendants approached the courtroom. The halls of the courthouse echoed with the chant, "Workers, wake up! Break out! May Day 1980!" The judge flew into a rage, nailing three

defendants—"Contempt of court! Ten days, \$500 fine." As defendants entered, supporters stood with their fists clenched in unity. With this show of solidarity, Morley truly freaked: "I will not accept any indication of political significance in this courtroom, no salute...this is a criminal case, nothing else...if you do that again, I'll find you in contempt."

The defense read dismissal pleas on each defendant. "This (\$4500 per head plus \$500 more on three) is an extraordinary amount of money on relatively minor charges. As to the defendants jumping bail, they very much want to go through with this trial, as they are confident of being completely innocent of all charges. But if the judge is fearful that..." "I want to make it clear I'm not fearful of anything or anybody," the judge cut in, his liquid lunch having taken its toll.

Keep the Brigade Rolling

A Cleveland woman—one of the May Day 10—stood before him. Arguments were being raised to release these hostages on their own recognizance. The prosecutor chimed in, "Just because she lives in Cleveland doesn't mean she won't leave the state." The judge replied sloppily, "There's no reason to believe they couldn't be in Washington next week and Detroit the week after!" Obviously the judge was enough in control of his senses to remember whose class interests were being served by keeping the Brigade members behind bars.

He wrapped up the day by dismissing the motion for bail reduction because it "wasn't signed properly," taking the whole thing under "advisement." Where the judge got his advise had already become clear, with the hand of the state attorney general in the case.

While attempting to stamp out the work of the Brigade—and along with it any ideas the people of Youngstown might get—these low-life attacks are clearly intended to douse the May Day 1980 fire. But the flames have only been fueled.

Three days after the hearing, fifty demonstrators picketed the Youngstown unemployment office and City Hall, marched through the downtown area then ended the action at a local plant. The cops were out in force (close to fifty in all), intimidating people from buying the *Revolutionary Worker*. Cops would literally stand between *RW* sellers and people on the street. Despite this, some joined the march while many grabbed copies of the paper.

The street was alive with debate and discussion. A woman yelled at a postal worker, "You aren't going to buy that commie paper, are you?" He defiantly held the paper up and said, "I'm going to check this out!" An elderly lady

The following is a translation of a letter we received in Spanish from Houston.

All throughout my life I've had so many friends and we all think and see things alike—what this miserable system is. We carry with us a hatred and disgust more profound than anything.

Look, my friends have many more friends and my friends' friends have many more friends, and inside us there is the powerful force of brotherhood, despite the fact that we are accustomed to the shit that the degenerate criminal rulers throw in our faces every day. They tell us, "Come join our army of fools and we will drill into your thick head the USA and its flag and you will have an eternal adventure all over the world killing your brothers of other nations for our benefit." In this critical period of daily increasing problems, these dogs will use the situation. They offer bundles of shit like the army, where you will have food, shelter and money. Some of our friends are falling in that trap.

But that's not all. I'm also selling the *Revolutionary Worker* which is ours and cannot be revoked or drowned because it's our guide and we defend it with our lives. Thousands and thousands have this paper and each day more and more people are making their choices, and some look at you very thoughtfully when you offer them a paper. Their thoughts begin to generate thousands of other thoughts. With their fixed eyes and their heads bowed you can guess what they're thinking.

Never before had I had the opportunity to learn about Marxism-Leninism. Now I've read a little but I know that we can really turn this hell into a paradise, and here I am giving my fist and blood for the revolution. In my life I could not live without struggling, and when I die I will not die without struggling.

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Excerpts from a speech by
Bob Avakian, Chairman of the
Central Committee of the
Revolutionary Communist Party,
November 18, Washington D.C.



yelled out as the march went by—"Give 'em hell!"

The march entered Federal Plaza, where days earlier the public loudspeaker system had repeatedly blared out the warning to Youngstown's people, "There are communists in town! Don't buy their newspaper!" Today, the loudspeaker had another message, "Get out of Federal Plaza with your papers, or the May Day 10 will be the May Day 50!"

As May Day 1980 becomes the topic of discussion among workers all over Youngstown, from Youngstown's increasingly longer unemployment lines to the dinner tables in the homes of workers around the city, the hottest topic of discussion is May Day 1980. And a remark made by a minister, who obviously doesn't agree with everything May Day 1980 stands for, is very significant and indicates the broad reaching impact possible even on other classes as May 1st approaches. The minister who had come to the bail hearing on Monday to sign a statement of support for the jailed Brigaders said, "I see the suffering of the people. I lay

awake until 5:30 this morning and thought about it. I'm taking a stand as an individual. I don't know if my wife will stand with me. I felt I had to come down to sign the petition. If I wasn't a Christian, I'd be out there trying to tear the system down with you."

Youngstown, Ohio has become the site of the first major battle in the struggle of the working class in this country to take the bold, exciting and necessary historic step of mounting the political stage on May Day. The critical importance of taking this step, not only to the revolutionary struggle in the U.S.A., but to that of workers and oppressed people around the world, is clearly demonstrated by the reaction of the enemy. Holding 10 revolutionary fighters hostage is a crime that must be answered by many more workers coming forward.

And the enemy had better get one thing straight: You can muster your force to try to guard your system's gaping sores—like in Youngstown—but it'll only make them more visible. The battle for May Day 1980 has begun—and May Day won't be stopped!

Yugoslav Worker Writes About May Day

“We Are International”

This letter was written by a worker who immigrated to this country from Yugoslavia and read it at a May Day dinner:

In Yugoslavia I was in the Communist Party. Some of the people in the party were chauvinist and like bandits. I criticized them in the party and they threw me out of the party. I told them, “How can this be a socialist country if the Communist Party lies, exploits and throws sand in peoples’ eyes! You say I am not a communist, but I will always be for the working class.”

In the factory the other workers and I had conflicts with the managers. Some of the leaders, “communists,” there were very rich. I tried to fight all this.

Some of my people came to the U.S. They told me it is very good here. But when I came here I saw the way it really is. The working class here are slaves, they are told everything to do, called to war to fight their enemies. Our real enemies are those who are against the working class. They tell us a Big Lie—they say there is freedom, liberty, democracy here for workers but there is none. There are many reactionaries and liars here from my country. They were enemies of the workers there and they are the same thing here. Washington (D.C.) let them come here to

talk bad about all workers.

Today Yugoslavia is in crisis. Tito today is lying about Marx and Engels. He said they didn’t write about crisis in socialism. But Tito is a dictator. How can he lead people to solve problems when they are slaves? He is a red bourgeois. He is for only one country—his—not for the working class. We are international. But I tell you one day workers there will rise up too!

For me, before I had nobody to speak with. I felt very happy to see the call for May Day 1980 in the *Revolutionary Worker*. If the workers make a May Day demonstration in the U.S., progressive people and workers in my country will cheer!

If people in the U.S. stay asleep, like now, capitalists will destroy them, they will be made like animals. Therefore it is very important to tell the working class the truth. Many are afraid to speak, but they see what is happening. What we have to do is turn everything upside down. If the U.S. capitalists are knocked down this will be like a sunrise for people here and all over the world. One day we will hunt them and kill them like poison spiders.

On to Revolutionary May Day 1980

May Day Detour on Ford Plant Tour

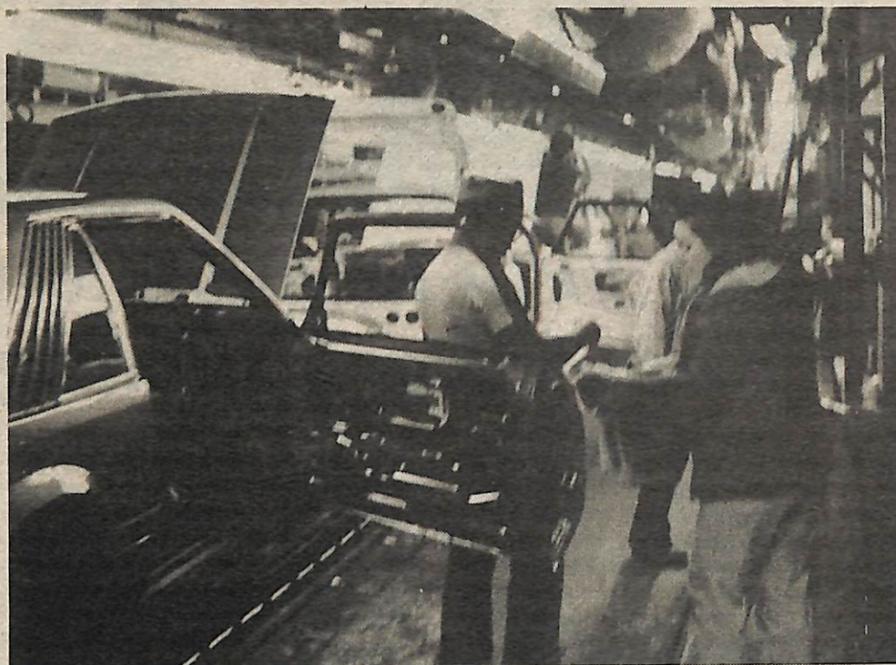
In the week the revolutionary May Day Brigade was in Detroit, some Brigade members decided to take a tour of the giant Ford Motor Company complex at River Rouge. We got the following report from a member of the Brigade:

As the bus rolled through the enormous Ford Company grounds, the motor mouth heading up the tour spoke up, “This is the world center for Ford.” He told us how Ford owns everything from the iron ore, coke and limestone mines to the fleet of ships anchored in the Great Lakes here in Dearborn, Michigan. He bragged about the 26,500 workers here, averaging the payroll to little less than \$400 per person each week and how, in two 8-hour shifts, they produced 1,080 cars. It’s a city within a city and I laughed to myself when he raised the notorious “Ford has a better idea” logo. Before the afternoon was over, we’d see about that.

It was only moments until the revolutionary May Day brigades set out to conduct its own tour of the Rouge complex, complete with *Revolutionary Workers*, May Day manifestos, banner and bullhorn. The workers left their assembly lines. The literature was dispersed quickly as the agitators’ words rang out, “Are we only makers of profit or will we be builders for May Day?”

Some of the brigaders had been a little nervous about attempting such a bold action but all agreed that as soon as they hit the line it felt like we were home. We felt like we belonged there! The brigade itself had been outside the plant all week, struggling with hundreds to break out, to cast aside the “star spangled chains on our brains.”

And today, more were prepared to stand with the action taking place right on the shop floor. As the foreman and plant security headed our way, some of the workers made an on-the-spot decision. To the front of us, about one



Revolutionary Worker

block ahead, a tow motor pulled across the aisle; it was the same a half-block to the rear of the march.

The march moved on and the front line tow motor driver moved aside, beaming and clapping his hands in unison with the chants! The foreman had been forced in through the assembly lines and the line of leafleters, approaching us at the center instead of being able to block our ranks front and rear. One worker spoke up, “Here comes more security. There’s the stairway. Run!”

We hit the stairwell and ran. By the time we hit the exit, only a few outside Dearborn cops had arrived. We ducked and we dodged, most of us leaving the cops in our dust.

* * * * *
Our reporter talked to a worker at Ford who was on the line and witnessed the whole “tour.” Some of his remarks follow.

I was on break, so I saw most of what came down. I couldn’t hear too much of what the people on the bullhorn were

saying. All I really got was, “We won’t work that day, will you—May Day 1980,” and I could hear a lot of the workers on the lines saying, “Yea, yea, right on” and “No, we won’t work.”

I was really surprised to see so many people actually stop working and take newspapers and leaflets and read them right there. I only heard one person say, “You ought to kill all them bastards” to a foreman.

I followed the march all the way outside. I was worried about what would happen to these people when they left. I saw security catch up to a couple of them and put one guy on the ground. Two or three of the security guards had him, but he put up one hell of a fight.

When I went back in, I asked a woman for some papers. She said the super came up and took every one he could find laying around. But the supers really freaked when they saw this car rolling down the assembly line with bright orange bumper stickers all over it that said, “We won’t work that day, will you?” They tried to pull them off, but that glue is pretty strong. ■



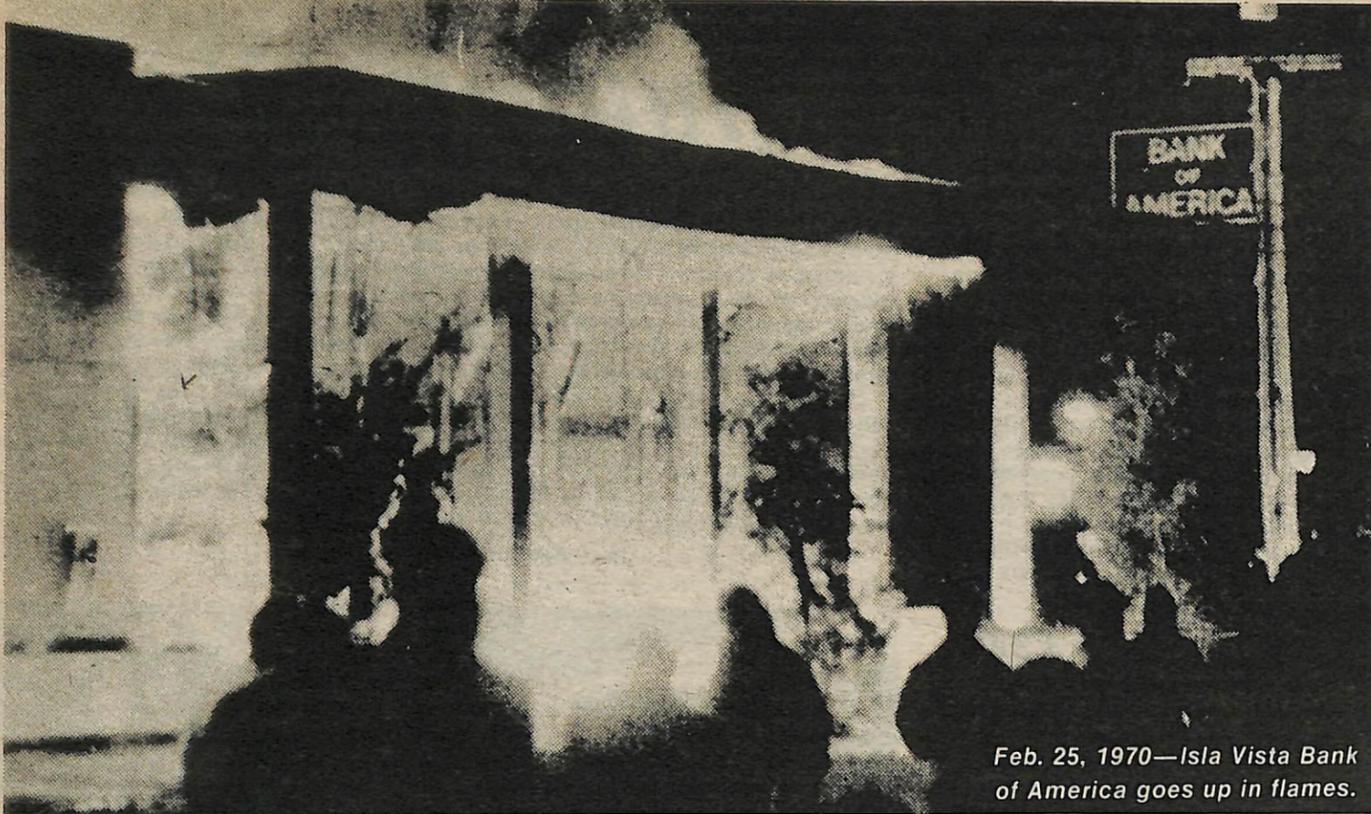
Tito Kills a Bear—Get it?!

Now that the U.S. favorite dictator in Eastern Europe has only one leg to stand on (and one foot in the grave!) AP has released this cryptic photo. . . Could this be Smokey the Bear? . . . No, that would be unamerican, hmmm. . . maybe it’s a great Soviet bear. Message attached to photo advised “Save for future use.” After the burial this photo might be a good illustration for an ad “Loyal Hunting Dogs Are Hard to Find”!



We Won't Work That Day—Will You?

Get your Revolutionary May Day 1980 Button and Bumper Sticker Available from the RW. See local addresses p. 2.



Feb. 25, 1970—Isla Vista Bank of America goes up in flames.

Isla Vista Reunion to Celebrate Historic Bank Burning

Ten years ago this month, the youth of Isla Vista, California, rose up in a massive rebellion and burned down the local branch of the Bank of America, turning the hated symbol of U.S. imperialism into a pile of ashes. Thousands of students from the University of California at Santa Barbara and other youths, filled with a burning hatred for the Vietnam War, the U.S. lies and hypocrisy and the rotteness the masses of people face here in the belly of the beast, barricaded the streets and fought the pigs for two days and nights, until the National Guard was called in. They continued the fight, changing the names of street signs to confuse the guardsmen who were unfamiliar with the layout of the community. Sheriffs from three counties converged on the area, indiscriminately

breaking down doors, beating handcuffed youth, and dropping tear gas from helicopters. One sheriff's captain had his picture taken brandishing various medieval weapons and joking about how they were being used on the rebellious youth. But even though this picture was circulated in every newspaper in the country, and the gruesome tales of pig bestiality were spread all over to intimidate others from getting similar ideas, the vision of that Bank of America engulfed in flames remained an inspiration to millions in this country and around the world.

The ruling class moved quickly to try and turn things around in Isla Vista. In addition to increased police terror, they rapidly rebuilt the bank, this time in the form of a fortress which proved to be

flame resistant despite numerous attempts at a repeat performance. They also flooded the area with various reform programs, recruiting local poverty pimps and others to promote Isla Vista as a place to retreat from the struggle against imperialism.

But the 1980 Isla Vista homecoming on Feb. 22, 23, and 24, promises to be something far different. Sponsored by the Isla Vista Recreation and Park District, (yes, this is for real) the purpose of the homecoming is "celebrating ten years of community evolution and commemorating the 10th anniversary of the burning of the Bank of America." While there are still people who would prefer to keep things politically quiet, a number of the organizers are calling for a weekend of political debate, to sum up the lessons

of the '60s and the rebellion, and to struggle over the road forward in the '80s. Planned events include: guerrilla theatre, showings of the film about the bank burning called "Don't Bank on Amerika," panel discussions, and an "artifacts" gallery. The leaflet being distributed to build this celebration consists of a book of matches, and a commemorative poster will be printed.

This whole deal is proving to be too much for the local ruling class. Santa Barbara county supervisors and the main Santa Barbara newspaper have publically condemned the homecoming. The sheriffs and the University have also let it be known they aren't too pleased. County and University pigs have once again, been going on maneuvers on Isla Vista, hassling and busting weekend partygoers as the celebration draws closer. They've also been paying late night visits to the offices of the organizers. Increasingly, these pigs are being met with catcalls and firecrackers when they drive into the community.

Meetings of the local apartment owners association have been organized by local politicians in opposition to the celebration. At one recent meeting, one of the members of this group got up and said that she now could appreciate the Ku Klux Klan. She received a standing ovation. In addition, some organizers and supporters of the homecoming have suddenly started receiving obscene and threatening phone calls and letters. It appears that a list with their names, addresses, and phone numbers was circulated to pornography peddlers who were told these were people soliciting sexual contacts. Naturally, the sheriff's department has refused to investigate.

All in all the Isla Vista homecoming promises to be a politically charged event with many important and burning questions being put out on front street for heated debate and struggle. The Santa Barbara reactionaries have good reason to fear such an event. Not only because it brings back distressing memories for them and proud and inspirational memories for millions in this country and around the world, but because of its potential to help turn up the heat and spark struggle in the period ahead. ■

Revolutionary Lawyer Barred from the Bar

On Feb. 7, the Cincinnati Bar Association's Committee on Admissions and Legal Education denied Martha Kociolek the right to take the bar exam and to be admitted to the practice of law in the state of Ohio. Bar committee approval is normally a routine formality for graduates of the University of Cincinnati College of Law like Kociolek. But her Feb. 7 interview by the Association was anything but routine as the committee asked her questions like: "Did you allow yourself to be associated with the Revolutionary Communist Party? Do you subscribe to the doctrine of the violent overthrow of the government? Do you subscribe to some of the theories of the RCP? Are these the leaflets you passed out? Did you ever actively participate in a demonstration where these leaflets were handed out? How can you associate with a group like this, how can you be married to a Communist and not believe in those goals?"

The attempt to blacklist Kociolek has been underway for several months. Last June, a subcommittee of the Bar Association refused to recommend Kociolek to take the July Bar examination. Immediately, Kociolek and other members of the National Lawyers Guild began circulating a petition and soliciting letters protesting this action. So on February 7 up came "Catch 22" from the Committee: "Did you type and write this petition? Isn't it true that you publicized the statement that the Cincinnati Bar Association was preventing

you from taking the Bar exam and this led to a large number of petitions and letters being submitted to this committee?" In other words, Martha Kociolek's protest became grounds for turning down her protest. A long time Guild activist testifying as a character witness in Kociolek's behalf was likewise grilled about a letter he wrote protesting the committee's action.

The court system under the mask of "justice and equality" was built, as Rap Brown once said, for "just-us" capitalists. As the contradictions sharpen up in the country, the "legal profession" has been stung by a number of attorneys stepping forward to take a stand against government repression and stand with the masses of people. Martha Kociolek has been in their ranks—working in recent months giving legal assistance to the defense in the railroad of Bob Avakian and the other Mao Tsetung Defendants. The ruling class recognizes that progressive and revolutionary lawyers and other professionals can have a real influence on other professionals and they are attempting to isolate them and intimidate others from coming forward.

Letters and petitions protesting this action against Martha Kociolek can be sent to Milton Thrumond, Jr., Chairman, Committee on Admissions and Legal Education, Cincinnati Bar Association, 26 E. 6th St., Cincinnati, Oh. 45202. Send copies to Kociolek, 189 W. Patterson, Apt. 6, Columbus, Oh. 43202. ■

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As a Mighty Force For
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REVOLUTION IN THE U.S.A.

The Line of the RCP

The Science of Revolution (Part IV)

This is the fourth and final article in the series on the science of revolution. These articles have introduced and summarized the basic points of an important new book which is now entering the final stages of preparation and will be published shortly. This new book will contain, in concentrated form, the foundations of the science of revolution—Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought and the line of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA. The *Revolutionary Worker* encourages all our readers to pursue more deeply the points that have been outlined in this series, and especially to study this new book when it appears, for, as Lenin said, "Without revolutionary theory, there can be no revolutionary movement."

This series has so far made clear the historic inevitability of proletarian revolution, especially in the sense that until the fetters of capitalism are finally shattered and buried, masses will constantly be propelled to rise up in struggle against their exploitation and oppression, learning more each time, until final victory.

But at the same time, revolution is a *conscious* act made by classes and people who are armed with a correct understanding of the world and how to change it. Anyone who expects to wake up one morning and find that the revolution has come, without years of painstaking preparation and activity by those who see now the need for it to come, will never see it. Or, as Mao once put it, the dust doesn't move of its own accord, it must be swept away by the broom. In the U.S. this means the fiery broom of proletarian revolution, armed insurrection to overthrow the greatest exploiters in the world today and in doing so not only emancipate the workers of this country, but detonate revolutionary explosions the world over, as masses of oppressed everywhere, inspired by the example of proletarian revolution in the U.S., and with a top international force of oppression destroyed, will pour into the streets to celebrate victory here with shouts of joy, clenched fists and upraised guns.

History has entrusted a tremendous task to the U.S. working class, a task which we may well have the opportunity to carry through in the decade ahead! But to actually do it, the proletariat must have a "general staff" to lead in the revolutionary battle, a vanguard party basing itself on Marxism-Leninism in order to both learn from the masses and simultaneously imbue them with the ability to correctly understand and change the world.

The Revolutionary Communist Party, U.S.A. (RCP) is that vanguard, the political Party of the U.S. working class and a part of the communist movement internationally. This article will explain how the RCP applies Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought to the concrete conditions of the world today, and the U.S. in particular, in order to lead the masses to make revolution, and will show how its line developed in the course of struggle including struggle against opportunist lines and the influence of the bourgeoisie inside the revolutionary movement.

Create Public Opinion...Seize Power

Today a situation in which the proletariat can mount an insurrection and seize power does not exist in the U.S. Yet the deepening crisis faced by the imperialists, the accelerating moves to world war to resolve that crisis, and the quickening eruptions of mass struggle and intensifying questions and concern of millions of people indicate the *seeds* of a possible future revolutionary situation in the period ahead—one in which the ruling class can no longer politically rule in the old way, and the torment of the masses drags them by the tens of millions into political

life and instills in them the willingness to fight and die to change things.

Thus while a revolutionary situation doesn't exist *today*, neither is the situation today somehow totally divorced from the upheaval and turmoil of tomorrow. And in fact, the kind of work and preparation carried on today is what in large part will determine whether that upheaval will merely flare up and then die down or if instead the masses will be able to finally carry things through to revolution.

What then are our tasks today? How does the Party conduct its work among the masses? What is its strategy?

The central task of the Party is concentrated in Mao's famous slogan, "Create public opinion...seize power." The Party must raise the consciousness of the masses, until through the development of the objective situation and the work of the Party, they become convinced of the need for revolution. At that point the Party organizes and leads the armed insurrection, and the struggle to seize and consolidate power.

The Party mainly does this through conducting agitation around the burning events of the day, training the workers through countless concrete cases to see the real class interests at work in society, interests that are normally camouflaged by the ceaseless din and thick smokescreen of the bourgeois media, its politicians, other agents, etc. Only through persevering in this, focusing on the biggest social questions of the day, can the workers' consciousness be developed into *class-consciousness*: i.e., an understanding of the historic mission of the working class to make revolution, lead society forward and carry the struggle through to communism.

The Party's central weapon in this is its newspaper, the *Revolutionary Worker*. The weekly circulation of this paper creates a network of tens of thousands today, and millions tomorrow, who are able to respond as one behind the line and interests of the working class. In addition to agitation around all events of society, which simply, boldly and repeatedly draws out the class contradictions of society, the Party also carries on propaganda work, which gives a more all-sided and sweeping understanding of the system than agitation alone can, although of necessity reaching fewer people. Through this work new forces are trained in a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary outlook and the Party grows and is strengthened in close connection with the strengthening of the broader revolutionary movement.

Even in building key struggles that the proletariat and its allies must initiate or support at critical junctures—such as Revolutionary May Day, or the struggle to free Bob Avakian and the Mao Defendants, or particularly concentrated instances of struggles against imperialist aggression, national oppression, etc.—the Party's central weapon is still its newspaper, by which the masses are consistently educated to the stakes of various battles and impelled to act.

Mass Line

But to wield the weapon of its press, to carry out vital and revealing agitation, and generally to carry through the struggle to classless society overall when the distinction between the Party and the masses will essentially cease and the Party itself go out of existence, the Party must learn from and lead the working class and its allies in the application of the *mass line*.

"In all the practical work of our Party," wrote Mao Tsetung, "all correct leadership is necessarily 'from the masses, to the masses.' This means take the ideas of the masses (scattered and unsystematic ideas) and concentrate them (through study turn them into concentrated and systematic ideas), then go to the masses and propagate and explain these ideas until the masses embrace them as their own, hold fast to them and translate them into action, and test the correctness of these ideas in such action." ("Some Questions Concerning Methods of Leadership," *Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 120)

This does not mean merely reflecting back to the masses what they already know or are prepared to do—if that was the point, then why *have* a party? To apply the mass line requires studying the science of Marxism and the experience of the class struggle broadly and historically. To take an example of what it *does* mean, look at the call for revolutionary May Day 1980: here "scattered and unsystematic ideas" such as the hatred of millions for this system, the acutely felt lack among these same millions (and millions more just beginning to question things) of a living driving working-class force that can actually change things, and the sense among these masses of the rapidly changing objective situation are traced to their essentials, concentrated into a bold policy—based in part on the initiative of the masses that was unleashed both around previous May Day celebrations and highly charged political actions like the demonstration against Teng Hsiao-ping in Washington last January—and taken to the masses until they take them up as their own and translate them into action. And, in the course of this May Day campaign, as the line has begun to unleash the initiative of the masses and new things have been created by them, further summation and application of the mass line on a higher level will be necessary in order to advance, and so on in an endless upward spiral.

Constant application of the mass line is essential to the Party and to the masses—should the Party either cut itself off from the masses' experience, or (what is more generally the error made by the communist movement historically and internationally) should it blindly tail the masses' level of understanding, failing to *concentrate* what is correct and advance it to a *higher* level, then the revolutionary links between the Party and the masses will be severed, the relationship robbed of its dynamism, and the Party will eventually turn into an *obstacle* to the masses' struggle to know and transform the world.

United Front Against Imperialism

The strategy for proletarian revolution in the U.S. is the united front against imperialism. This strategy points out the stage of society and the main enemy—imperialism; and on that basis it analyzes the potential allies of the proletariat. The imperialists not only exploit the proletariat, they also drive down large groups and sections of the rest of the people, most of whom have no future under this system. Further, the contradictions that characterize imperialism—at bottom the contradiction between socialized production and private appropriation which is manifested not only in the conflict between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat but also, flowing from that, the system's oppression of minorities, women and youth; its drive to dominate the world, periodically leading to wars; and its tendency to crush farmers, small businessmen and other petty-bourgeois strata—continually erupt and drive the masses into struggle and political life, creating many potential strong allies for proletarian revolution.

To win these allies, the Party must lead the proletariat to support these outbreaks and struggles, and to direct the main spearhead of struggle against the imperialists. The Party *diverts* these struggles from their spontaneous course, relying first and foremost on the class-conscious workers to bring the revolutionary outlook and interests of the proletariat to the fore, exposing the real enemy and propagating the solution of proletarian revolution. Since many forces come into battle against the bourgeoisie with conflicting viewpoints, ideas and interests, this task is a complex one requiring firmness in principle and, based on that, flexibility in tactics.

The key alliance of the united front—its solid core—is the revolutionary unity of the working-class movement with the struggles of the oppressed nationalities in this country against their oppression as peoples. The savage oppression of minority peoples has been central to the entire history of the U.S., and

Continued on page 8

Line of the RCP

Continued from page 7

struggle against that oppression is a powerful engine driving forward the class struggle. Further, the fact that today the majority of Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican and many other oppressed nationality peoples are members of the single multinational U.S. working class makes this solid core all the more possible and necessary to forge.

How can this decisive unity be forged? The Party, through tireless agitation and exposure, and through building on the role of the struggles of oppressed nationalities as sparks to the working class's own political struggle and understanding, struggles to imbue the working class with a proletarian-revolutionary understanding of this question. It fights the bourgeoisie's constant efforts to either win the white workers to oppose the struggle against national oppression, or else to keep the more class-conscious workers of all nationalities in a passive relationship to these struggles. Within the national movements the Party brings to the fore the fact that the enemy is indeed the imperialist system, that only proletarian revolution can wipe out national oppression by wiping out its source, and in doing so relies on the minority workers as the main force within the national movements. Only by winning the working class to take up and lead the fight against all oppression, including national oppression, while fighting for proletarian leadership in the national movements, can the solid core of the united front be formed, and the victory of the revolution made possible.

Proletarian Internationalism

But the U.S. working class can hardly limit its strategic sights to the U.S. The proletariat is an international class, waging a united struggle around the world to advance along the path of socialist revolution to communism; and further, the U.S. proletariat lives in the home of one of the two biggest imperialist exploiters, with its tentacles gripping and squeezing masses of workers and peasants the world over.

Revolutionary struggles in other countries, especially those dominated by U.S. imperialism, are a tremendous aid to the working class here, weakening our own rulers (as well as accumulating advanced revolutionary experience to learn from). But because the U.S. has used the crumbs of its worldwide plunder to pacify a section of the working class here, the bourgeoisie has some success in winning workers to see these battles not as the fight of allies that must be supported, but as something alien to their interests. Further, the bourgeoisie is impelled to do this because they must try to get the workers to fight and die not for their own class's freedom, here and worldwide, but the starred-and-striped trademark on their leg irons.

In the face of this, the Party recognizes the absolute necessity to win the working class to proletarian internationalism, to support the struggles of the working class and oppressed people everywhere, especially when it is the U.S. rulers and their empire that are targeted. Any slackening in this effort, any failure to carry it through, will not only strengthen the hand of reaction worldwide, it will allow the bourgeoisie to put off revolution in this country indefinitely. And this is all the more underscored by the looming war, in which only a proletariat trained through a thousand concrete instances in internationalism will be able to resist the bourgeoisie's calls—which are nothing but calls to slaves to fight other slaves in defense of the plantation—and instead take advantage of the weakness of its rulers to press forward to revolution. And as events of the day increasingly show, this is not a debater's point or a dreamer's fantasy, but an urgent task and a very possible prospect.

Development of the RCP

The RCP is the Party that can lead the masses to take advantage of the opportunities that will assuredly arise in the decade ahead. But this is not because its members are somehow more courageous, sincere or intelligent than the other groups that went before it and failed. Rather, it's because this Party has based itself on linking Marxism-Leninism to the struggles of the masses to develop and fight for a correct revolutionary line. This question of *line* is indeed the cardinal question.

The most decisive struggle over line occurred following the 1976 revisionist coup in China. The RCP had from its beginning drawn inspiration from and struggled to grasp the immortal contributions of Mao Tsetung, especially his leadership in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Yet with the defeat of Mao's closest comrades following his death, and the purge, jailing and murder of thousands and thousands of revolutionaries, these contributions came under severe attack, not only in China but in the international communist movement too.

Connected to this in the U.S. was the fact that the movements of the '60s had finally and clearly ebbed—in the words of rebel musician Gil Scott-Heron, it was "winter in America"—though it was becoming increasingly clear that there were great revolutionary storms on the horizon.

At this crossroads, two lines formed, both internationally and within the RCP. One concluded that since the revolutionaries in China had lost in the latest round, they had been wrong all along. Further, since

times had changed in the U.S., the best thing to do was to adapt to the ebb—and even more, to duck our heads in the face of the much greater tests coming—by watering down the revolutionary message of the Party and submerging it under whatever currents of spontaneous struggle might roll ashore. This was a safe, and deadly, formula for caving in to the enemy.

Against this was the correct line which insisted on upholding revolutionary principle. Had the revolutionaries in China been defeated? If so, then our duty was to study more deeply their line and the battles they had waged so as to defend their contributions when under attack and support the proletariat in a difficult and fierce struggle. Had the revolutionary movement of the '60s temporarily ebbed? All the more reason, then, to gain a more rational understanding of its great contributions as well as its shortcomings, to go down deeper among the masses to those who still burn with revolutionary ardor, and to strive to keep the proletariat's revolutionary consciousness tense and advance its understanding. These two lines hardened into two camps within the RCP: one which came to be dubbed the "Mensheviks" after their opportunist predecessors in Russia in Lenin's time, and the other, made up of the genuine revolutionaries in the Party, which was led by Comrade Bob Avakian.

Due to the extremely complex nature of the questions involved, the difficulties in the objective situation just outlined, and the long American tradition of pragmatism that had totally corroded revolutionary movements before the RCP and was eating away at our Party too, the Mensheviks mustered a very serious attempt to seize the leadership of the Party and change its line. At this point, in late 1977, the leadership of Comrade Avakian, Chairman of the Party's Central Committee, was decisive. Chairman Avakian's thesis on China—"Revisionists Are Revisionists and Must Not Be Supported, Revolutionaries Are Revolutionaries and Must Be Supported"—was presented to the Party Central Committee for debate. The clarity and force of the arguments, their undeniable Marxist and revolutionary content, rallied the proletarian forces in the Party who still burnt to make revolution. His thoroughgoing materialist analysis of the setback in China wiped away the demoralization of the setback and tempered the Party and its supporters in their understanding of the tortuous nature of proletarian revolution. The leadership of Comrade Avakian was the difference between the Party being more or less shattered as a *real* revolutionary force, and what actually happened—the growth and development of its influence and ability to rally the revolutionary-minded masses around a revolutionary line.

In the course of this struggle, two opposed lines on revolution in the U.S. also became clear. The Mensheviks had promoted all sorts of formulas and accepted conventions that had been handed down from the international communist movement in the '30s and '40s. While in the main the Party and RU had always carried out a revolutionary line, the Menshevik line, the weight of a tradition that had, on analysis, been seriously affected with reformism, and the overall pull of spontaneity took their toll. Either the Party would nurture and develop the revolutionary core and kernel of its line, and flush the revisionist sludge out of its veins, or that sludge would clot and block off the Party's revolutionary vigor.

In a sharp and persistent struggle that began before the 1977 split with the Mensheviks and has continued down to today in a non-antagonistic but still intense form, the Party has fought all tendencies toward complacency and forged forward with its revolutionary line. The creation of the weekly *Revolutionary Worker*; the understanding of the centrality of revolutionary agitation and the break with economism (i.e. the tendency to reduce the working-class struggle to a fight over wages, working conditions, etc.); the call for Revolutionary May Day; in fact even the chance to seize the time in the '80s for revolution and not throw it away—are all the fruit of this continuing struggle.

But even before the 1977 split, the tradition of the RCP and the RU has always been one of consistent struggle over line. Had it not been for that foundation, the Party would not have been able to stand firm at the crucial test.

Roots of the RCP

The Revolutionary Union was founded in 1968, amid the tremendous revolutionary upsurge in this country and the Cultural Revolution in China. At this point, many recognized, at least in word, the need for a revolutionary party based in the working class. This required no simple process of paper resolutions, but a struggle to integrate Marxism-Leninism with the concrete conditions of the U.S.—in the context of the world situation.

But in doing that, two lines inevitably arose. Within the RU a group concentrated around Bruce Franklin, a petty-bourgeois intellectual, developed a line that revolution in the U.S. would take the form of guerrilla warfare concentrated in the ghettos. The task of revolutionaries, particularly white revolutionaries, they claimed, was to help this imaginary war by carrying out acts of terrorism.

The obvious wrong-headedness of this line today was not so clear at the time, and many honest revolutionaries were sucked into it. Why? Because winning the working class to political consciousness turned out to be an arduous and protracted task indeed, and the Black liberation struggle still seemed at high tide. The Franklin line was ultimately a defeatist one, giving up on the proletariat and retreating from mobilizing the

masses. And when this terrorism failed, as it inevitably did, most of its champions sunk into the crassest open reformism.

Comrade Avakian led the revolutionaries in the RU to defeat the Franklin line of "revolutionary adventurism" and move forward to deepen the RU's understanding of fusing Marxism with the working class. This was done not only in opposition to the Franklin trend but also to social-pacifism (socialism in words but the most cowardly capitulationism before the enemy's force in deeds) that arose in opposition to it, particularly among other political forces such as the forerunners of the CPML.

The importance of this struggle was not so much that the RU upheld the working class, but that it also deepened its understanding of the need to bring *revolutionary* politics to it, one early fruit of this struggle being the RU's revival of May Day as a revolutionary working-class holiday in the early '70s.

As a result of the practical advances following the Franklin line struggle, including the growing influence of the RU on many forces turning to Marxism, new challenges arose. By the fall of 1973 the RU leadership assessed that the time had come to sum up the struggles of the '60s and the attempts of the revolutionaries to fuse Marxism with the working class, and to build a party based on the correct line and programme flowing from that. To hold back would result in the loss of another generation of revolutionaries who would lack the organization that could sustain, lead and guide their work in the demanding periods ahead.

But again, because things stood at a key juncture, two opposing lines developed and crystallized into two camps.

The Bundists, made up of a few people in the RU and the leadership of two organizations that had been closely united with it (the Black Workers Congress and the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization) opposed the advance to the Party, arguing instead that they needed to win more people of the oppressed nationalities to *their* organizations first. They further asserted that Marxism had to be watered down to do that—combined with nationalism—or else the masses of oppressed nationality workers could not be won to it. Finally, as the struggle developed, they ended up arguing that the key struggle for Black and other minority workers was *not* proletarian revolution but the mythical fight for an independent state in the Black Belt South (an area of roughly 1/3 Black population in parts of Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, Georgia and Louisiana).

The RU, again led by Comrade Avakian, showed that this line amounted to giving up on winning the working class to take up the fight against all oppression, including national oppression, and reduced the Black struggle itself to a bourgeois-democratic revolution. By trying to water down Marxism to supposedly make it more palatable, these opportunists exposed their real lack of faith in the ability of *all* workers to grasp the historic mission of the working class.

At the same time, the RU also fought a trend headquartered by the October League (now the Communist Party, M-L) and the *Guardian* newspaper—and echoed in its own ranks by those who later developed into the Mensheviks—to sever the revolutionary tie between the working-class struggle and Black liberation movement from another end. This line promoted economic struggle only for the working class, and tailed after bourgeois leadership in the liberation movement.

The RU upheld the revolutionary thrust of the struggle of the oppressed nationalities, while insisting that because of the proletarian character of those nationalities, the struggle could only be resolved by proletarian revolution. Further, the RU intensified the fight to win the working class to take up these struggles in countless concrete cases.

The great advance of this struggle was to break with the long-held revisionist line among communists that the way to revolution was to organize various sections of the masses as special interest groups with their own little bourgeois-democratic demands and reforms, and instead to uphold and develop an approach of, yes, uniting with the forward thrust of various movements, while fighting to divert them to an overall revolutionary movement. Without this struggle the formation of the RCP a year later in 1975, and the successful carrying through of later line struggles, is inconceivable.

Class of the Future, Party of the Future

The battle to form the Revolutionary Communist Party—and having formed it, to maintain, defend and develop its revolutionary line—has been a crucial one for the working class. Had the proletariat lost at any point, there would today be *no* party to lead the working class and masses into the storms of the 1980s, where the real prospect of a revolutionary situation exists. Instead, those who came forward would find themselves struggling for their bearings and cursing the revolutionaries of the previous generation for squandering the lessons that had been paid for in blood.

Instead, today there is a revolutionary party that can and will lead the masses forward to meet the challenges and take advantage of the great opportunities ahead. The Revolutionary Communist Party now turns full face to the future, together with the class-conscious workers and revolutionary-minded people of all strata. The struggles that have gone before have been a prelude—crucial, but a prelude just the same to the historic deeds waiting to be done and the even more intense struggles just over the horizon. ■

Pigs Run Amok in L.A. Black Community

Los Angeles—The L.A. County sheriffs had hounded Cedric Steward incessantly for over a month. They continuously stopped his girlfriend's car to search him and the vehicle. One time, they had forced the 19-year-old Black youth to stand barefoot in a rainstorm while "searching his shoes for drugs." Like most of the people in his neighborhood, he felt that a pig's bullet had his name already marked on it.

On Feb. 1, with the rent due and his mother short of money, Steward stole a purse and brought it home. His mother refused the money and sent the youth out to return it. Two of the area's more notorious uniformed thugs spotted him and went into action. While they spread-eagled Steward across the hood of the car, his mother rushed out to tell the cops that he was taking the purse back. One of the pigs raised his baton

and threatened to use it on Mrs. Steward. Cedric jumped up from the police car, and the pigs went to work. They beat him from one end of the alley to the other, finally pushing him face down on the ground. According to witnesses, Steward was unconscious when one of the pigs handcuffed him and the other coldly placed the barrel of his revolver against the back of the youth's neck, pulling the trigger. There was no need to call an ambulance.

19-year-old Cedric Steward was the fifth Black man to be murdered by L.A. police in the last six weeks. The latest reign of terror, following the death of at least 120 people since 1975, represents an intensification of the brutal oppression of Black people in Los Angeles. The pigs roam the streets of the Black community like an occupying army with orders to shoot on sight.

The particular neighborhood that Steward lived in, East Compton, is a case in point. People are afraid to go out after dark, because that's when the pigs really go on the rampage. One young Black told a local reporter, "I go to work at 6 at night and I don't get off before 1 or 2. I don't have a car, so walking is the only way I can get to my job. But every night they stop me. I know enough not to say anything or to show any resistance. You can get killed for that around here."

The most recent wave of officially sanctioned murder began on Dec. 29, when more than 20 L.A. police and sheriff department assassins confronted William Gavin on a busy street in broad daylight. They claimed he had a knife. For nearly an hour they surrounded and taunted him, while maintaining communications with headquarters on their

radios. Finally, they must have gotten the word that it was time to end the recreation and move on to other locations. They opened fire, killing Gavin instantly.

L.A. County's hospitals are participating in the murder campaign. Martin Luther King Hospital in Watts has an emergency room staffed with as many security guards as medical workers, and all questions about police shooting victims are referred to the head of hospital security. On Jan. 31, the hospital admitted Anthony Belvin shortly after sheriff's deputies had shot him in the back. The "healers" determined that Belvin's wound was "superficial" and released him to the custody of the police. Several hours later, Belvin collapsed at the county jail and died—the "superficial" bullet had lodged in his brain. Another Black man, Roval Williams, bled to death at the jail ward at County/USC Medical Center two days after being shot in the arm and leg by the L.A.P.D.

In '78 and '79, there were 197 police and sheriff shootings in L.A., 61 of them resulting in the deaths of their victims. One community group estimated that 85% of those shot were Black and other oppressed nationalities. Not one of the ruling class's hired thugs has even been brought to trial.

Appeals Court Upholds Terrence Johnson Conviction

Annapolis, Maryland—On February 5, a three-judge panel of the Maryland Court of Special Appeals upheld the railroading of 15-year-old Terrence Johnson to 25 years in jail.

His trial last spring had been an outrageous farce from beginning to end. Johnson's "crime" was his refusal to quietly accept a deadly beating by Prince Georges County cops. As one pig worked him over in the back room of a police station, he grabbed another one's revolver and killed both in self-defense.

Determined to insure that the jury

would not recognize what happened as a righteous case of self-defense, the judge had ruled as inadmissible vital witnesses' evidence and testimony on a reign of police terror that Johnson had stood up against. For instance, the testimony of a witness to a prior police brutality incident involving one of the very cops who Johnson had defended himself against was not allowed to reach the ears of the jury. And now, the Maryland Court of Special Appeals has given its approval to this and other blatant acts aimed at crippling Johnson's defense.

Also endorsed by the Appeals Court was the trial judge's ban on the results of a public opinion survey of Prince Georges County residents as evidence. The accuracy of the results of this survey by the National Jury Project was never questioned by the judge. According to the survey, 67% of Black people and 36% of whites in the county agreed that "Black youth have good reason to fear the Prince Georges County police." 27% of Prince Georges County Blacks agreed that "if Prince Georges County police arrest someone, that person's life is in danger." While

the trial court banned this survey, neither the judge or prosecutor questioned its accuracy. Now the Appeals Court says it was correct to rule out such evidence because it could "inflammate the jury."

But try as the judge had to keep any taste of reality from reaching the jury, the jury still acquitted Johnson of murder charges. Furious that he could not put Johnson away for life, the judge had openly declared in court, "...I want you to be thankful...that Officer Lowe allowed you to live on the night of June 26, 1978...You could be thankful...I am limited by the law as to the sentence that I can impose in this case." Then the judge had proceeded to sentence Johnson to the maximum of 10 to 15 years for the remaining lesser charges (manslaughter and illegal use of a handgun) to be served consecutively for a total 25 year sentence.

Was such a murder type sentence for these relatively minor charges vengeful and vindictive? Not according to the Appeals Court. They praised not only the sentence meted out but the judge's string-him-up rhetoric. In its statement, the Appeals Court quoted the trial judge's reasons for wanting Johnson's blood, "you (Terrence Johnson) have absolutely no respect for authority...you are a walking time bomb..." The court concluded, "the sentence appears to be one that was carefully considered and weighed in the light of the judge's sense of duty."

In an effort to choke off (or at least delay) Johnson's links with the thousands on the outside who love what his name has come to stand for, prison authorities at Patuxent Institution last week prevented a *Revolutionary Worker* reporter from interviewing him. Their excuse? He's too young! "He needs parental consent to talk to reporters," they said. Check it out—the Appeals Court upholds the trying and sentencing of 16-year-old Terrence as an adult, as a result of which he was sentenced to an adult prison, but he can't talk to the *RW* because "he needs parental consent to talk to reporters."

From the court which originally sentenced Terrence, to the jailers who have repeatedly attempted to kill him, to the Appeals court which has upheld the original conviction—the authorities have again proven their desperation to break Terrence as an example to others who won't accept the chains the system offers.

But they will never keep the fighting spirit of Terrence Johnson locked away behind prison walls.



Revolutionary Worker

Poll takers, fond these days of indicating the popularity among America's youth of the reinstatement of the draft, should take their little clipboards out to Lincoln High School in E. St. Louis, Illinois.

A couple of weeks ago, members of the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade showed up at this High School as the afternoon bell rang. Students streamed out to the sight of a banner reading: U.S.—Russia Moves Toward War, That's Not What We're Fighting For. Turn the Guns Around, Tear the System Down!"

Attempts of school officials to clear the students from the range of bullhorns only aroused more interest.

"Why don't they want us to hear that?" asked a student. "This is what we need to hear."

The school called the cops, the cops screeched up, jumped out, drew their guns and attacked the Brigade members. The students saw what was happening, and the cop in the above photo put his gun to his side, trying to conceal it.

Enraged, one student grabbed a handful of leaflets, immediately passing them out. As Brigade members were thrown into a paddy wagon, the students began jeering and taunting the cops.

A nearby schoolbus full of students started rocking back and forth—from

the inside—as people tried to climb out the windows, reaching for leaflets.

The students in the bus were chanting, "We won't fight, we won't fight your war!" The cops started tossing tear gas canisters into the crowd of high school students on the street who by now were pelting the police with snowballs. Four Brigade members were in custody, but in the confusion the cops lost track of the two remaining agitators who escaped into a nearby housing project where the *RW* is regularly sold. Project residents hid the agitators in their apartments until the cops stopped searching two hours later.

When Soviet troops first entered Afghanistan in late December the howls of protest against "Communist aggression" emanating from the mouthpieces of the U.S. bourgeoisie were deafening. "Typical Red treachery!" they shouted. Of course, the U.S. and its allies have long been meddling not only in Afghanistan but in most every corner of the globe and their horror at Soviet "aggression" is certainly the most naked hypocrisy.

The empire of the U.S. imperialists, an empire forged in the blood of the people of the world since the U.S. emerged from World War 2 as the top-dog imperialist power, is now being seriously challenged, not by "communist aggressors" as they would have the people of this country and others believe, but by a band of capitalist slavemasters in the U.S.S.R. just like those in the U.S.

Of course, the rulers of the U.S. have the task of convincing everybody that America is actually the great peace-loving country, the friendly superpower, which must send its troops all over the world to combat Soviet aggression. They also have the task of convincing people in this country in particular that their interests lie in fighting and dying to protect their world-wide empire. And while they must conceal the actual nature of the coming war—which is to be a war between two imperialist sets of slavemasters to re-divide the world—they also must conceal the actual nature of their enemies in the Soviet Union. That is because it is the headlong clash between the competing economics and politics of the same system—imperialism—which is driving the world toward war between these superpowers.

During the first inter-imperialist war—World War I—the U.S. rulers attempted to rally the people of this country behind their entry into the war against Germany on the basis of "making the world safe for democracy" by

U\$R: Today as Capitalist as U\$A

defeating "Attila the Hun." On the other hand, the German rulers told the German people that they must fight the "oriental despotism" of the Tsar in Russia (who had joined the bloc of imperialists headed by England against Germany). And in World War 2 there was a just fight against Germany—but not for the reasons the U.S. gave. It was right and necessary to fight Germany because it was the German set of capitalists, headed by Hitler, that were attacking the then-socialist Soviet Union and it was just to defend socialism. It was not to fight the "fascist menace" of Hitler, as if some difference existed between capitalist rule in Germany and that in the U.S.

Today, as inter-imperialist rivalry between blocs headed by the U.S. on the one hand and the Soviet Union on the other heads straight for a third worldwide shootout, the U.S. must again do some public opinion work to convince the world that the dragon which emerged first as "the Hun", then later as the "fascist menace" has returned to plague the world as "Communist aggressors."

But what they will never say is that

the motor which drives this beast to its nasty deeds is exactly the same thing that has driven the U.S. to create the worldwide empire it must now not only protect but expand: the profit system, in other words—capitalism.

State Capitalist, not Communist

Despite the Soviets' claim to carry on the communist tradition of Marx and Lenin, and the echo of this claim by our own rulers, who have much to gain by tarring authentic Marxism with the foul Soviet brush, these so-called "communists" are not really communists at all. The fact is that the Soviet Union hasn't been a socialist country for some 25 years.

While the form which capitalism takes in the USSR is in many respects different from "traditional" capitalist countries, its essential content is exactly the same. In the Soviet Union, production is even more centralized and concentrated than in the U.S., and the main form of ownership is by the state. But state ownership is not incompatible with private appropriation by a capitalist class; it can be just a form of monopoly capitalist production, of imperialism. Thus real communists call the Soviet system social-imperialism: socialism in words, imperialism in deeds and in fact.

The Soviet rulers are powerful state-capitalists who have reorganized a formerly socialist economy according to the dictates of the profit principle. Their much-vaunted "planned economy" is planned only in the sense that the big state monopolists scheme with each other to try and guarantee the highest rates of profit for key sectors under their control. Describing this process, one Soviet economist noted that "...economic responsibility is nowhere stipulated in a comprehensive way. Therefore, each ministry seeks preferential conditions." In other words, in working out their "plan," different factions of Soviet state capitalists enter into cutthroat competition with each other and the end result differs little, in essence, from the anarchy of so-called "free enterprise" system of the West (which is itself, of course, also dominated by a tiny financial oligarchy).

But having restored capitalism the Soviet rulers must face the fact that once capitalist development reaches the highly centralized and concentrated state of imperialism it is no longer possible to profitably develop the productive forces, at least within the context of strictly domestic investment. Though there is distorted growth, imperialism is capitalism at the stage when its fundamental role is to hold back the continued development of production. The laws of capitalism dictate that under imperialism tendencies to stagnation and crisis are the rule and growth and development can only take place through the ever-increasing and highly parasitic export of capital and the consequent need to defend that capital and facilitate its further export through the establishment, defense and continued extension of spheres of influence, etc.

Crisis and Decay

This is the situation faced by Soviet social-imperialism today. The symptoms are clear enough: the growth rate of the Soviet economy has been steadily declining since about the mid-50's with some observers even predicting a zero growth rate by the mid-80s. It is widely acknowledged that the current five-year

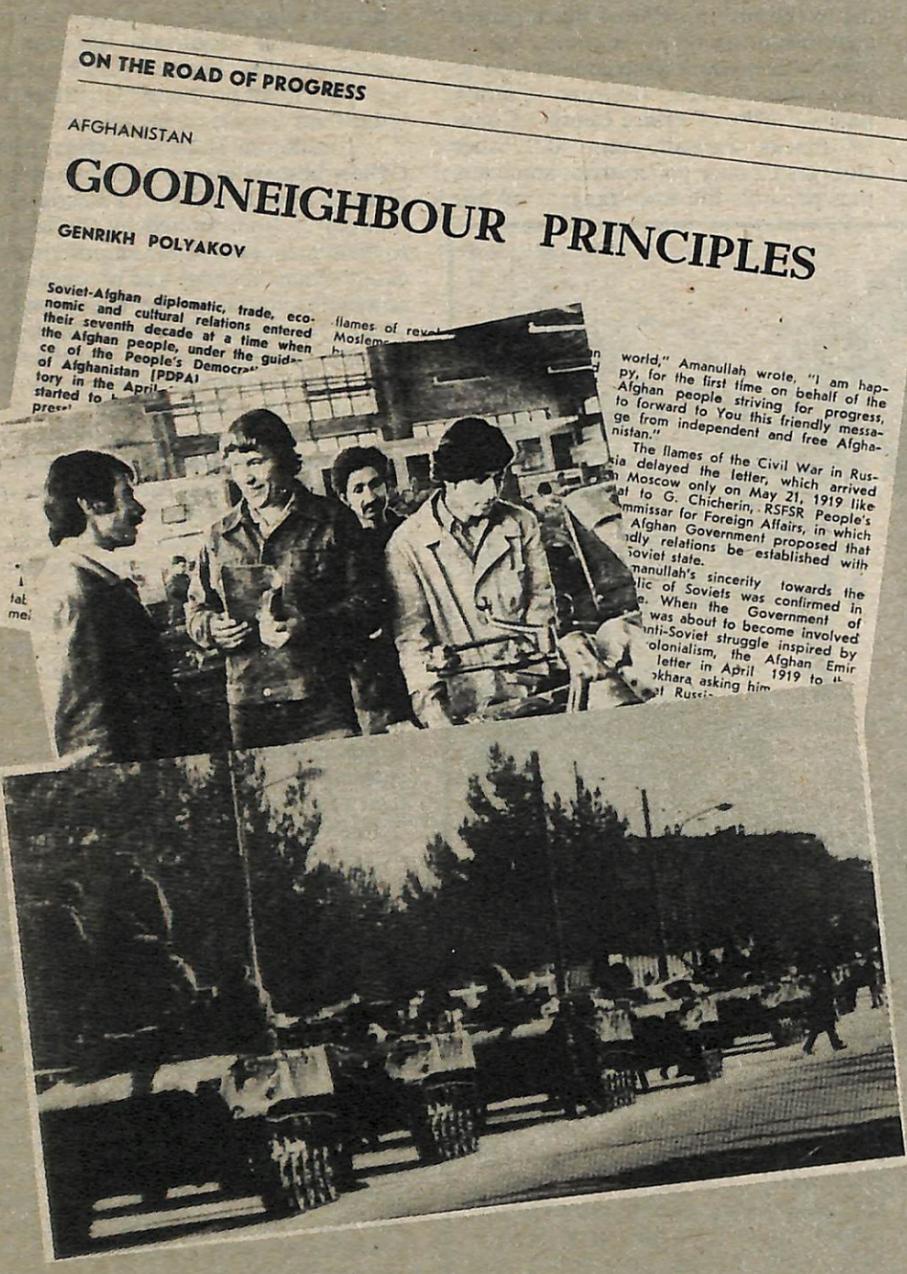
"plan" is a shambles. While the availability of consumer durables like TVs and washing machines has increased somewhat during the past decade, the last five years have also seen a near-complete collapse of portions of the food supply system. In some provincial cities meat, fruits and vegetables are often unavailable except to members of the privileged elite, a result of completely inadequate investment in agriculture which is less profitable than other sectors.

The depth of the Soviet crisis and stagnation is most evidenced by the marked decline in productivity to levels so low that just about every issue of *Pravda* contains new and ever more frantic calls for its increase. This decline is highly significant and basically indicates a more fundamental tendency for the rate of profit to decline. It can only be reversed in two ways. First would be a major technological retooling of the Soviet productive base. Such a retooling, however, is most definitely not within their grasp—and not just because they don't have the "know-how," but because to do so would require capital outlays beyond the capabilities of present depressed profit levels. The second way is to look elsewhere; to gain access to more profitable outlets for capital investment in less developed countries and, perhaps more important, to parasitically win control over rival capitals, using these advances to resolve (at least temporarily) the heightening contradictions of the system. In fact this is the only alternative for the Soviet rulers—it is the internal logic of capitalist imperialism itself—just as in the West.

Of course, this conclusion should not be taken simplistically to mean that the Soviets have gone into Afghanistan (or Angola, Ethiopia, etc.) in the expectation of solving their economic problems by milking this relatively poor country dry. While the Soviet rulers are in fact concerned with gradually expanding their sphere of control and investment, and while they are certainly ready, willing and able to take full advantage of any new opportunity to expand their still fledgling empire, their real requirement is something much more fundamental. The nature of imperialism in general and the particular crisis of Soviet social-imperialism are such that only a wholesale redivision of the world can resolve the crisis for them, just as the same is true for the U.S. imperialists. This means grabbing from U.S. hands the most profitable and lucrative prizes, those countries which present the best opportunities for the parasitic acquisition of technology and profit. Thus, despite important skirmishes between the two superpowers in Africa, Asia and the Middle East, the focus of the long-term contention is Europe.

It is not and cannot be enough for the Soviet rulers to whittle away at U.S. hegemony, moving gradually into relatively "undeveloped" areas and grabbing up bits and pieces which fall from the grasp of the U.S. bloc. The growing intensity of their own crisis,

Continued on page 14



Stealing a popular phrase from their U.S. imperialist rivals, the Soviet magazine *Asia and Africa Today* entitles their article on Afghanistan the "Good Neighbor Principles" (Nov.-Dec. 1979 issue). How nice—Soviet technician teaches workers in Soviet-built auto repair plant in Afghanistan. But these good neighbors don't stop there. At the bottom, neighborly Soviet tanks roll through Afghanistan streets.

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V.I. LENIN

The Defeat of one's own Bourgeoisie in the Imperialist War

Why does rallying behind the slogan "defend the country," in an imperialist country like the U.S., amount to nothing short of complete betrayal of the workers and masses of people? Why should the actual defeats suffered by the rulers of this country in time of war be welcomed by the people here? Because they weaken our immediate main enemy and therefore strengthen the revolutionary cause of the working class here and around the world. The following excerpt from an article by the Russian revolutionary Lenin written during the first imperialist world war in 1915 speaks to these questions.



April 1917. Lenin returning to Russia months before the victorious revolution.

During a reactionary war a revolutionary class cannot but desire the defeat of its government.

This is axiomatic, and disputed only by conscious partisans or helpless satellites of the social-chauvinists. Among the former, for instance, is Semkovsky of the Organising Committee (No. 2 of its *Izvestia*), and among the latter, Trotsky and Bukvoyed, and Kautsky in Germany. To desire Russia's defeat, Trotsky writes, is "an uncalled-for and absolutely unjustifiable concession to the political methodology of social-patriotism, which would replace the revolutionary struggle against the war and the conditions causing it, with an orientation—highly arbitrary in the present conditions—towards the lesser evil" (*Nashe Slovo* No. 105).

This is an instance of high-flown phraseology with which Trotsky always justifies opportunism. A "revolutionary struggle against the war" is merely an empty and meaningless exclamation, something at which the heroes of the Second International excel, unless it means revolutionary action against one's own government even in wartime. One has only to do some thinking in order to understand this. Wartime revolutionary action against one's own government indubitably means, not only desiring its defeat, but really facilitating such a defeat. ("Discerning reader": note that this does not mean "blowing up bridges", organizing unsuccessful strikes in the war industries, and in general helping the government defeat the revolutionaries.)

The phrase-banding Trotsky has completely lost his bearings on a simple issue. It seems to him that to desire Russia's defeat means desiring the victory of Germany. (Bukvoyed and Semkovsky give more direct expression to the "thought", or rather want of thought, which they share with Trotsky.) But Trotsky regards this as the "methodology of social-patriotism"! To help people that are unable to think for themselves, the Berne resolution (*Sotsial-Demokrat* No. 40) made it clear that in all imperialist countries the proletariat must now desire the defeat of its own government. Bukvoyed and Trotsky preferred to avoid this truth, while Semkovsky (an opportunist who is

more useful to the working class than all the others, thanks to his naively frank reiteration of bourgeois wisdom) blurted out the following: "This is nonsense, because either Germany or Russia can win" (*Izvestia* No. 2).

Take the example of the Paris Commune. France was defeated by Germany but the workers were defeated by Bismarck and Thiers! (The chief German and French reactionaries of the time—*RW*). Had Bukvoyed and Trotsky done a little thinking, they would have realised that they have adopted the viewpoint on the war held by governments and the bourgeoisie, i.e., that they cringe to the "political methodology of social-patriotism", to use Trotsky's pretentious language.

A revolution in wartime means civil war; the conversion of a war between governments into a civil war is, on the one hand, facilitated by military reverses ("defeats") of governments; on the other hand, one cannot actually strive for such a conversion without thereby facilitating defeat.

The reason why the chauvinists (including the Organising Committee and the Chkheidze group) repudiate the defeat "slogan" is that this slogan alone implies a consistent call for revolutionary action against one's own government in wartime. Without such action, millions of ultra-revolutionary phrases such as a war against "the war and the conditions, etc." are not worth a brass farthing.

Anyone who would in all earnest refute the "slogan" of defeat for one's own government in the imperialist war should prove one of three things: (1) that the war of 1914-15 is not reactionary, or (2) that a revolution stemming from that war is impossible, or (3) that co-ordination and mutual aid are possible between revolutionary movements in all the belligerent countries. The third point is particularly important to Russia, a most backward country, where an immediate socialist revolution is impossible. That is why the Russian Social-Democrats had to be the first to advance the "theory and practice" of the defeat "slogan." The tsarist government was perfectly right in asserting that the agitation conducted by the Russian Social-Democratic Labor group in the Duma—the sole instance in the International, not only of

parliamentary opposition but of genuine revolutionary anti-government agitation among the masses—that this agitation has weakened Russia's "military might" and is likely to lead to its defeat. This is a fact to which it is foolish to close one's eyes.

The opponents of the defeat slogan are simply afraid of themselves when they refuse to recognise the very obvious fact of the inseparable link between revolutionary agitation against the government and helping bring about its defeat.

Ask any Social-Democrat who calls himself an internationalist whether or not he approves of an understanding between the Social-Democrats of the various belligerent countries on joint revolutionary action against all belligerent governments. Many of them will reply that it is impossible, as Kautsky has done (*Die Neue Zeit*, October 2, 1914), thereby fully proving his social-chauvinism. This, on the one hand, is a deliberate and vicious lie, which clashes with the generally known facts and the Basle Manifesto. On the other hand, if it were true, the opportunists would be quite right in many respects!

Many will voice their approval of such an understanding. To this we shall say: if this approval is not hypocritical, it is ridiculous to think that, in wartime and for the conduct of a war, some "formal" understanding is necessary, such as the election of representatives, the arrangement of a meeting, the signing of an agreement, and the choice of the day and hour! Only the Semkovskys are capable of thinking so. An understanding on revolutionary action even in a single country, to say nothing of a number of countries, can be achieved only by the force of the example of serious revolutionary action, by launching such action and developing it. However, such action cannot be launched without desiring the defeat of the government, and without contributing to such a defeat. The conversion of the imperialist war into a civil war cannot be "made", any more than a revolution can be "made". It develops out of a number of diverse phenomena, aspects, features, characteristics and consequences of the imperialist war. That development is impossible without a series of military reverses and defeats of governments that receive blows from

their own oppressed classes.

To repudiate the defeat slogan means allowing one's revolutionary ardour to degenerate into an empty phrase, or sheer hypocrisy.

What is the substitute proposed for the defeat slogan? It is that of "neither victory nor defeat" (Semkovsky in *Izvestia* No. 2; also the entire Organising Committee in No. 1). This, however, is nothing but a paraphrase of the "defense of the fatherland" slogan. It means shifting the issue to the level of a war between governments (who, according to the content of this slogan, are to keep to their old stand, "retain their positions"), and not to the level of the struggle of the oppressed classes against their governments! It means justifying the chauvinism of all the imperialist nations, whose bourgeoisie are always ready to say—and do say to the people—that they are "only" fighting "against defeat". "The significance of our August 4 vote was that we are not for war but against defeat," David, a leader of the opportunists, writes in his book. The Organising Committee, together with Bukvoyed and Trotsky, stand on fully the same ground as David when they defend the "neither-victory-nor-defeat" slogan.

On closer examination, this slogan will be found to mean a "class truce", the renunciation of the class struggle by the oppressed classes in all belligerent countries, since the class struggle is impossible without dealing blows at one's "own" bourgeoisie, one's "own" government. . . Those who accept the "neither-victory-nor-defeat" slogan can only be hypocritically in favour of the class struggle, of "disrupting the class truce"; in practice, such people are renouncing an independent proletarian policy because they subordinate the proletariat of all belligerent countries to the absolutely bourgeois task of safeguarding the imperialist governments against defeat. The only policy of actual, not verbal disruption of the "class truce", of acceptance of the class struggle, is for the proletariat to take advantage of the difficulties experienced

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MAY DAY IN IRAN

May 1, 1979, Tehran. Such a sight had never been seen by most of the revolutionary fighters leaving the slums of the southern part of the city, on their way to the place where the march would begin. Yes, they were veterans of the massive explosion of popular fury that had reduced the almighty Shah's regime to smouldering ashes, and that had deeply wounded U.S. imperialism's hold on every aspect of Iranian society. But to openly celebrate May Day, to take the streets as their own, issuing a living manifesto that the future belongs to the international working class—that had been impossible for 26 years under the fascist regime.

The older workers could remember marching in the streets in 1953, nearly 100,000 strong, just months before the CIA-organized coup d'état that reinstated the Shah on his throne. Even afterwards, when open demonstrations were banned (a violation punishable by death), the workers of Iran still found the ways to keep May Day alive, often timing their protests and strikes around this date.

The tradition of May Day stretches almost as far back as Iran's working class itself, to 1929, when striking oil workers raised the demand that May 1st be recognized as workers' day throughout Iran. But the size and character of *this* revolutionary May Day went far beyond what anybody could remember from before. Not tens of thousands but hundreds of thousands were in the streets of Tehran, red banners as far as the eye could see. The slogans revealed the advanced political understanding as did the chants that boomed out; "U.S. Imperialism Enemy of the People," "Nationalize All Enterprises Tied to Foreign Capital," "Recognize the Right to Strike," as well as calls to fight for the equality of men and women, and to uphold the rights of Iran's oppressed nationalities, such as the Kurdish people.

May 1, 1979 saw more than two million men and women, workers, students and youth march in city streets throughout Iran, from the capital city of Tehran, where half a million demonstrated, to the Azerbaijani minority area capital of Tabriz, to the southern oil producing centers of Abadan and Ahwaz, and many other cities and industrial areas.

This powerful display of the proletariat taking history into its own hands on that day had a far reaching impact on the course of Iran's revolution, for it concentrated and expressed the deepest aspirations of Iran's laboring people, and most sharply its in-

dustrial working class. Such a mighty force could not be denied.

Yet there were others who feared the growth of the workers' political activity, who tried to stand in its way. The new Islamic government did not share those aspirations. When it came to attacking the Shah's regime, some of these forces, particularly Khomeini, did unite with the masses to bring down this hated despot. But they had no desire to see their own class rule, and its weakness and vacillation before imperialism, challenged from below. For them, the revolution had gone far enough. But for the masses of Iran's people, and first and foremost, the working class, the revolution had only begun. Where was the struggle for emancipation from every type of exploitation and degradation? Not to be won in a day for sure, but where was the progress, what was the direction? The tin shacks made from American cans that housed so many of Iran's unemployed on the outskirts of major cities were grim proof that the revolution was far from finished.

After all its fine words, the Khomeini-Bazargan government was attempting to stop the further advance of the revolution. Their savage military attacks on the Kurdish peasants' just struggle last summer demonstrated that the bourgeois forces were intent on steering things up a dead end, ultimately even if unwillingly in some cases, back into the hands of the imperialists.

Workers Step Forward

In this situation, it was of tremendous importance that the working class, as Iran's most revolutionary social force, not allow the government's bourgeois program for Iran's future to go unchallenged. Objectively, the working class had played an indispensable and often vanguard role in overthrowing the Shah, particularly the oil workers. They had been the first to openly demand the Shah's overthrow, the preceding fall, which even many politically active middle class forces thought was "crazy" at the time.

The oil workers' refusal to be bribed with offers of 100% pay increases during their months-long strike in late 1978 was a striking example of the firmness of will and broadness of mind that is truly characteristic of their class. Such bold actions gave the revolutionary upsurge a more anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist thrust and inspired many from other classes to take bolder steps toward actually bringing down the Shah's dictatorship. But it was of the utmost importance that this increasing-

ly conscious role that Iran's workers had been playing be raised to a higher level, if Iran's revolution were to go forward, not only to the completion of the anti-imperialist, democratic stage of the revolution, but to its ultimate goal—socialism and communism.

The genuine Marxist-Leninist forces had to come to grips with what role May Day 1979 would play in this process. Was it too daring to call for the proletariat to raise its own red banner in the face of the popularity and respect that Khomeini, an open anti-communist, enjoyed among the masses? While the revolutionary Left had played a critical role in the armed struggle and the insurrection in February, its forces were still relatively small. Was the potential there to actually pull off a revolutionary May Day that would openly proclaim that the revolution could not stop short of the destruction of imperialism and reaction—and would challenge the new bourgeois class over who should be running society? Even now, reports were coming from Abadan of reactionary minded supporters of the Islamic Republic attacking, and even murdering, revolutionary oil workers.

Yet it was undeniable that events had accelerated rapidly beyond what even the conscious revolutionary forces had foreseen just a few months ago. And didn't the sharpening contradictions between the workers and broad masses on the one hand, and the new regime on the other, underscore not only the urgency, but the potential for the working class to openly enter the political arena under its own class banner? And by stepping onto the political stage, the workers could influence, unite with, and mobilize broad progressive strata of the people, including on May Day itself.

At a conference of more than twenty Marxist-Leninist organizations in April, it was decided to go all out and build May Day 1979. Not just a workers march for more jobs and the like, but a revolutionary May Day, where once again Iran's workers would consciously take their place in the international struggle against imperialism and all reactionary ruling classes.

Even more, the development of world events had injected an added sense of urgency into this call for revolutionary May Day. Pointing out that "the two superpowers and all imperialists are gearing up for a new war to redivide the world among themselves and to crush revolution," one influential Iranian communist organization stated that, "as the great upheaval in Iran has proven, the people of the

world will not heed the reactionary advice of the international robber barons, but will instead wage revolution. For if we are going to fight, let it be the fight for our emancipation."

The battle for public opinion was set. As expected, Khomeini and government officials came out and attacked May Day, calling it "foreign inspired." But when it became apparent that the revolutionary Left's call for May Day was striking chords of approval among the workers, the bourgeoisie had to switch tactics. May Day couldn't be stopped by ignoring it, or by openly at-

RCP Message to Students in U.S. Embassy

In early February, the Revolutionary Communist Party USA sent a message of solidarity to the Iranian students holding the U.S. embassy in Iran:

To the militant students in command of the U.S. embassy in Tehran:

The Iranian revolution that overthrew the 25-year rule of the butcher Shah has been a tremendous inspiration to the people all over the world. We here in the United States will never forget that just as our rulers were declaring revolution dead and buried telling the oppressed people here and around the world to bow down and accept their rule for another eternity—Iran erupted into revolutionary struggle. The "island of stability" of this so-called invincible monarch had been battered and the puppet Shah was sent fleeing for his life.

We were overjoyed and inspired by the might of the people winning victory over every weapon of torture, intimidat-

tion and murder the U.S. imperialists could muster.

Then on November 4 we received news that sent a great shock wave throughout the country and the world. The hated U.S. imperialists, responsible for the bloodshed, suffering and oppression of millions all over the world, the U.S. imperialists who for too long have pushed their weight around—propping up fascist dictators from one end of the world to the other—who had tormented the Iranian people through their puppet Mohammed Reza Pahlavi for too long had received another crushing blow—their embassy had been taken!

As the truth of the events surrounding the takeover became clear we saw the Iranian revolution had taken another leap forward. The seizure of the embassy and the new wave of revolutionary upsurge it had spearheaded had successfully averted a plot by the U.S. government through the CIA spy center to instigate right-wing forces in

and outside the government to stage a coup d'état and overthrow the government of Ayatollah Khomeini and set back the revolution. The so-called humanitarian journey of the Shah to a hospital in New York City was nothing but an attempt in the same manner of 1953 to put the U.S. back in power.

The history and the struggle of the Iranian people have greatly advanced since 1953 and this reactionary scheme backfired in their face. The timely action of the heroic Iranian students not only nipped this plot in the bud but exposed the murdering hand of U.S. imperialism at work for the whole world to see.

The giant U.S. superpower was paralyzed and millions of people, especially in the U.S., were jolted awake and educated to the fact that it was the U.S. imperialists who were behind SAVAK, who had armed the Shah's military and who had plundered the Iranian economy.

Driven into a frenzy of desperation

the U.S. cranked up its diplomatic and propaganda machines to whip up a bunch of flag-waving patriotism and national chauvinism. Forced by the developing worldwide crisis and breakdown of their imperialist system, the U.S. has no way out except the war with their competitors and counterparts the Soviet social-imperialists and it has seized on the hostages in Iran to create public opinion in favor of a war to "protect U.S. national interests."

Through the constant barrage of propaganda and unleashing of the most reactionary dregs of society like the Nazis and the Ku Klux Klan they have tried to create an atmosphere of patriotic fervor to confuse and intimidate the people who haven't bought the caveman sloganeering and distorted lies of the bourgeoisie.

But all this has not succeeded in mobilizing the majority of American people to back their designs for war. Immediately after the seizure of the embassy was announced students on university campuses rallied in their hundreds and thousands to debate the issue of Iran and learn the truth.

In Santa Clara, California known as Silicon Valley—the heart of the Semi-



RAN



Photo from May Day 1979 in Iran.

tacking it. Accordingly, an officially endorsed "classless" Islamic May Day was offered as an alternative to the "godless communists." A daily poster war was waged on the walls of Tehran's buildings, as the two opposing forces fought for the allegiance of the laboring people.

As the day approached, the air was filled with a tense anticipation over what had become a clear trial of strength between the two camps. The revolutionary May Day march of more than a half million took up the entire width of Revolution Avenue in Tehran,

stretching for more than 4 miles. And what a difference between the two events! At the "Islamic May Day", the speakers (including Bani-Sadr) exhorted a considerably smaller crowd to "work harder and give the new government a chance," while on the other side of the city, the workers themselves were carrying posters reading, "Capital Comes from the Blood of the Workers." All along the march route, workers and students proudly displayed machine guns, U.S. M-16s and other weapons captured from the Shah's army which they had refused to turn in to

the new government.

May Day was a great victory for the working class. It was no accident that shortly after May Day, the Islamic government began its attacks on the Left and against the masses' independent political activity overall. The sheer size of the overall turnout—two million strong, when the government had been openly attacking May Day up until a few days before—was like a thunder-clap. It impelled everyone in Iran to see the proletariat in a new and more revealing light. Not just the most productive class in society but the revo-

lutionary class that can politically lead the masses in running and remaking all of society.

Such an impact stands out all the more importantly today. The present situation in Iran brings home how vital it is that the working class take its place at the head of the revolution if revolution is to prevail. And as we approach May Day 1980, where the course of events worldwide has incredibly quickened since ten months ago, May Day 1979 in Iran holds important lessons for the workers of all countries.

conductor industry where women assemble electronic components—a teach-in was held in a factory cafeteria. Under the watch of management and uniformed guards where no one will even speak openly of a *union*, women brazenly spoke their minds. In Los Angeles, aerospace workers in defense plants signed telegrams declaring, "In fact we workers have far more in common with the Iranian students than with the American (read CIA) agents being held hostage." After several weeks even a newspaper public opinion poll had to admit that 43% of the American people don't support the Shah—it seems that even Walter Cronkite couldn't erase the effect of the Iranian students who had marched for ten years in this country to educate the people to the crimes of the puppet Shah.

The Iranian people should know that the political climate in the U.S. is becoming increasingly polarized and that in opposition to the reactionary pole of the U.S. politicians and the media there are, if still small, significant numbers of people who made sure that the American flag not only carried garbage in the streets of Iran but burned in the streets of the U.S. also.

The world since the seizure of the U.S. embassy has seen rapid development in the direction of World War 3. Most notably the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and Carter's State of the Union message made clear that the U.S. is preparing the use of troops and tactical nuclear weapons to secure the Persian Gulf.

These developments have forced the U.S. rulers to drag the masses of people into political life and conjure up forces that they cannot control, like the thousands of students who responded to Carter's call for draft registration with draft card burnings and demonstrations across the U.S.

On January 26, 1500 people marched in Berkeley, California demanding "Send the Shah Back! U.S. Out—No Military Intervention! Stop All Attacks on Iranians in the U.S.!" The Iran Day demonstration followed the tradition of the anti-war marches that sparked the nationwide activity in the '60s but was also marked by militancy and the significant numbers of American Indians, Latin Americans and people from the Black community.

The U.S. government is finding out that once the masses, especially the

working class, are drawn into political motion everything can go up for grabs. This year International Workers Day will mark an important test of strength as the opening salvo of the '80s in the U.S. when for the first time in forty years May Day will be celebrated on a week day, May 1st!

The Revolutionary Communist Party, USA has welcomed these developments as an opportunity to arouse the millions of people being propelled into political activity to see their fight must be against their own government, not the people of Iran—to win them to understand ultimately there is no question that a war will be fought and we will be forced to shed our blood. The real question is for whom and for what are we going to shed our blood, *for* the imperialists or to get rid of them.

Comrades in Iran, we are in a race against time—we are determined not to lose a minute in the urgent task of preparing the masses to turn the monstrous war the imperialists of the two superpowers are preparing into a war against them. In this most critical time the Iranian revolution has thrown a wrench into the plans of both superpowers, teaching the people of the

world a profound lesson—that the way to freedom is by relying on the might of the millions of politically aroused masses, not the so-called might of benevolence of one superpower or another. Every step forward of the Iranian revolution has given inspiration to millions seeking a solution. These same millions have been strengthened by the uncompromising stand of the students holding the U.S. embassy—who have refused to buckle under the pressure of conservatism and reaction.

Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party spoke at a demonstration November 18 (held to support the battle to Stop the Railroad of Bob Avakian and Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants) and said: "The masses of people, revolutionaries, the working class and oppressed people in this society owe a great debt and a great thanks to the Iranian people which we will repay, I am sure, in a way that they will want us to. That means by joining with them to make revolution here and support it all over the world." Long Live the Heroic Struggle of the Iranian People! Workers and Oppressed People of the World, Unite!

V. I. Lenin

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ed by its government and its bourgeoisie in order to overthrow them. This, however, cannot be achieved or striven for, without desiring the defeat of one's own government and without contributing to that defeat.

Whoever is in favour of the slogan of "neither victory nor defeat" is consciously or unconsciously a chauvinist; at best he is a conciliatory petty bourgeois but in any case he is an enemy to proletarian policy, a partisan of the existing governments, of the present-day ruling classes.

Let us look at the question from yet another angle. The war cannot but evoke among the masses the most tur-

bulent sentiments, which upset the usual sluggish state of mass mentality. Revolutionary tactics are impossible if they are not adjusted to these new turbulent sentiments.

What are the main currents of these turbulent sentiments? They are: (1) Horror and despair. Hence, a growth of religious feeling. Again the churches are crowded, the reactionaries joyfully declare. "Wherever there is suffering there is religion," says the arch-reactionary Barres. He is right, too. (2) Hatred of the "enemy", a sentiment that is carefully fostered by the bourgeoisie (not so much by the priests), and is of economic and political value only to the bourgeoisie. (3) Hatred of one's own government and one's own bourgeoisie—the senti-

ment of all class-conscious workers who understand, on the one hand, that war is a "continuation of the politics" of imperialism, which they counter by a "continuation" of their hatred of their class enemy, and, on the other hand, that "a war against war" is a banal phrase unless it means a revolution against their own government. Hatred of one's own government and one's own bourgeoisie cannot be aroused unless their defeat is desired; one cannot be a sincere opponent of a civil (i.e., class) truce without arousing hatred of one's own government and bourgeoisie!

Those who stand for the "neither-victory-nor-defeat" slogan are in fact on the side of the bourgeoisie and the opportunists, for they do not believe in the possibility of international revolu-

tionary action by the working class against their own governments, and do not wish to help develop such action, which, though undoubtedly difficult, is the only task worthy of a proletarian, the only socialist task. It is the proletariat in the most backward of the belligerent Great Powers which, through the medium of their party, have had to adopt—especially in view of the shameful treachery of the German and French Social-Democrats—revolutionary tactics that are quite unfeasible unless they "contribute to the defeat" of their own government, but which alone lead to a European revolution, to the permanent peace of socialism, to the liberation of humanity from the horrors, misery, savagery and brutality now prevailing. ■

Draft

Continued from page 3

War II and in Vietnam, women served in combat. In the next real emergency, women will serve where needed."

Though complaining that "women have less opportunities and benefits" in the military, Smeal even went on to suggest that the government could save billions by drafting women since "a high quality female recruit only costs \$150 while a comparable male costs \$3700." Just give us an equal chance—and a few ranking officer positions as

well. Women can be sacrificed on the battlefield for U.S. imperialism just as well as men—and at less cost to boot! As a press secretary in NOW's national office blurted out, "Let's face it, when they start drafting, they're going to draft women anyway. They need the bodies!"

Yes, it is certainly true that the government needs the bodies and that they will not hesitate to draft women and even train them for combat if necessary to defend the interests of the U.S. empire. But the imperialists and their "women's spokesmen" had better watch their step, for they will be placing in the hands of women the very means necessary for their real liberation, and

the emancipation of all those who suffer under the U.S. boot, the means to strike down these exploiters once and for all! If the imperialists insist on drafting women, on giving them weapons and teaching them to fight, so much the better! The working class welcomes the sight of women picking up the gun and using it in the fight to overthrow U.S. imperialism just as the women of Iran have done.

Carter and the U.S. imperialists would do well to remember the frightened remark (quoted by Lenin) of one bourgeois observer of the Paris Commune—the first socialist revolution in history—where the women fought alongside the men against

French capitalists: "If the French nation consisted entirely of women, what a terrible nation it would be!" For as millions are pressganged and thrown into the meatgrinding horror of the imperialists' war, many women, along with men, will wake to the realization that if they are called upon to fight and die, it need not be in the legions of the imperialists to defend their rotting empire, but instead in the legions of the people against them. Many will decide that their services would be better spent in another army—the army of the proletariat. And when women swell the ranks of this army, it will be a formidable army indeed! ■

El Salvador

Continued from page 3

movements... must be in a position to offer aid and, perhaps, to influence them should the left come to power. ...clear signals of support must be given to the democratic elements trying to assert themselves in the midst of governmental chaos."

Adopting this same strategy of trying to worm its way into the popular movement and objectively aiding the U.S. imperialists while pursuing its own objectives and those of the Soviet Union is the National Democratic Union, (UDN) the legal organization of the revisionist pro-Soviet Salvadoran Communist Party. After serving in the U.S.-managed civilian military jun-

ta government for three months, the UDN resigned, together with some pro-U.S. elements, when the ship had clearly begun to sink. They then joined the Popular Unity Coalition of anti-government organizations, even dropping their longstanding call for the "peaceful road" of participation in elections, now that they sense they may have something to gain from "armed struggle." As agents of Soviet social imperialism, the UDN is just as opposed to true revolution as are the pro-U.S. elements in El Salvador. In fact, the UDN has a history of joining these pro-U.S. forces to suppress revolutionary mass struggle.

In a situation where the masses of Salvadoran people have learned a bitter lesson from those who ruthlessly slaughtered

countless liberation fighters—that the Salvadoran army is a vicious tool of imperialist domination—the UDN promotes the line that the military, minus only its most exposed officers, can be a progressive force and must be preserved. The preservation of the army is key to the future plans of the UDN and the U.S. imperialists. The UDN, no doubt, hopes to win the masses over to supporting a new "people's government" in El Salvador based on an alliance between the UDN and "progressive" army officers, and other "progressive" pro-imperialist elements. Such a government, no matter how it comes to power, will differ little from the current ruling junta.

At the present time, certain interests of both superpowers are coinciding. By

promising the participation of forces that they are still able to influence and attempting to narrow the target of struggle to only the most exposed of the pro-imperialist elements, the surrogates of both of the superpowers are scrambling to contain the masses' struggle within the bounds of the bloodsoaked rule of their masters.

However, there is one tremendous obstacle in the way of the plans of the imperialists and their lackeys in El Salvador—the powerful struggle of the Salvadoran masses which continues to threaten to burst through all this scheming. It is this irresistible force that will rid El Salvador of imperialism once and for all, no matter what twists and turns may confront it. ■

USSR

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and the increasingly desperate necessity of the U.S. rulers to also expand, render such a gradualist strategy inadequate. What has been clear to both sides for some time is that in all the preliminary sparring which is going on the immediate gains to be won are clearly secondary to advantages gained with respect to the real showdown, world war.

This is where the Soviet move into Afghanistan marks a qualitative leap in the situation. What makes Afghanistan important is not what control of the country and its resources themselves will add to Soviet strength—which is, after all, not much at all—but its broader strategic significance, especially in light of the critical battle shaping up over the oil-rich Persian Gulf area and the Indian Ocean. The U.S. and Western Europe—the "on top" imperialists, regard this as "their turf"—they stole it fair and square. Now these nasty "new thieves" are moving in.

The strategic Straits of Hormuz are but a 250 mile flight from Kandahar in south Afghanistan. From there the Soviets hope to stir up movements under Soviet domination among the Baluchi and Pushtoon peoples of southern Pakistan and Iran. Already an estimated 8,000 Baluchis are being trained in the Soviet Union and Afghan businessmen report meeting Cuban military instructors near border areas.

For the Soviets oil is important on two counts. Until now the USSR has been largely self-sufficient in oil, but it has been estimated that by 1985 they will face a domestic shortage of up to

three million bbl. a day. The difference is even greater if one takes into account the east European states, now almost entirely dependent on Soviet energy sources. To maintain the kind of tight control they will need over their allies in wartime the Soviets will have to insure their capability of maintaining this supply. More important, however, is the dependence of western Europe on the region's petroleum. Both superpowers are well aware that control of Gulf oil is the single most powerful lever for control of Europe and it is this factor which above all else has fueled their contention in the area. And oil is very strategic in war. Even if they themselves fail to drain a single ruble from the area, denial of its control to the U.S. would be boon enough to the Soviets.

Contention over Collusion

When the Soviet imperialists first came to power and overthrew socialism, their policy was to collude with U.S. imperialism in suppressing revolutionary struggles throughout the world. And even today, here or there as shown to a degree around Iran, the two superpowers are not beyond temporarily taking some similar actions to oppose revolutionary threats to their criminal dominance of the world. But since the economic crisis began to mature in both powers in the late '60s, increasingly contention has been the order of the day. In fact even where the Soviets appear to have emphasized cooperation with the U.S. bloc in recent years, this must be understood in light of the larger pre-war jockeying for position. Take, for instance, the Soviet policy of importing grain and technology from the U.S. bloc, largely on long-term credit, while funneling domestic resources into ever-increasing military expenditures. Such

maneuvers aim at alleviating some of the symptoms of crisis by dependence on the more technologically advanced rival. This has, of course, led to a sharp increase in Soviet debt to the U.S. bloc, but clearly the Soviet intent is to repudiate all of this debt and more when the conflict intensifies and war breaks out. In fact, the more the Soviets buy from the U.S. the greater is the pressure on them to aggressively challenge the U.S. and ultimately wage war to be free of its financial clutches.

For their part the U.S. imperialists are not unaware of this. Until recently they seem to have believed that they've been gaining more than losing from the arrangement. Soviet grain purchases and technological deals have not just helped the Russians. They have temporarily alleviated some of the pressure of the economic downturn of the 70s in the U.S. bloc by shoring up the balance-of-payments position of the western countries, particularly the U.S.

Moreover, the U.S. and its allies have sought to use financial dealings with the Soviet bloc to gain political leverage there. (There is, for example, a tremendous amount of western investment in Poland). They, too, are gambling on being able in the final analysis to force the Soviets to "pay up", most likely by beating them on the battlefield.

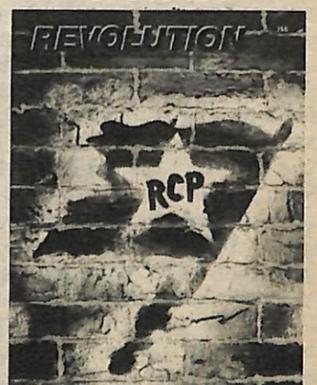
For all this it should be clear that the celebrated "detente" was never more than one form of intensifying contention and military preparation—on both sides. For the Soviet rulers pressure on the U.S. in Angola, Ethiopia, and now Afghanistan are as much an integral part of the "detente" scheme as grain purchases and cultural exchange. In either incidence the point is not the immediate economic results to be won but strategic advantages for the coming

confrontation.

What is changing with the invasion of Afghanistan are the methods used by both sides to take advantage of the perceived weaknesses of their rival. This change marks a qualitative leap both in Soviet and U.S. war moves.

The Soviet rulers act like their imperialist rivals in the U.S. because they are like the U.S. rulers—capitalist to the core. Their expansionism reflects nothing less than the basic law of their system: Expand or Die! The only way to put an end to it is the same in both countries—proletarian, genuine communist, revolution. And there lies the biggest reason of all the U.S. capitalists want to slander communism by sticking its name on the Soviet Union. Behind the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, indeed, behind the war moves of both superpowers, lies the bloody hand of Capital. ■

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Bani Sadr

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Bani-Sadr: The two are not related. It would suffice, and I'll repeat it, that the U.S. admits its responsibilities and resolves never again to interfere in our affairs.

Q: The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Sadegh Ghotbzadeh, indicated that the expulsion by force of the Islamic students surrounding the American Embassy has not yet been excluded.

Bani-Sadr (Showing that he's learned two tactics from his imperialist masters—RW): There is no chance, at this time, that this kind of a measure will ever be implemented. We will never have to resort to violence against the young patriots whose sincerity and revolutionary sentiments are above all suspicion. However, in case our views differ, I would probably head for the American Embassy to try to persuade them to change their minds.

I only blame them for interfering in what is none of their business. If they would like to denounce this or that politician, they would only be able to use the radio and television networks after having received the authorization of the Revolutionary Council."

But while Bani-Sadr forbids the students access to radio and T.V., he did permit former prime minister Bazargan a chance to let it all hang out recently. Bazargan condemned the students as "traitors," and declared that in comparison "the SAVAK seems to have been reasonable." Then Mr. Bani-Sadr, playing off Bazargan's openly reactionary remarks turned around to disassociate himself from such a brazen statement. "I consider men such as former prime minister Bazargan, Amir Entezam (the former Ambassador to Sweden arrested by the students for connections with the CIA—RW) and Nasser Manachi (the Information Minister who was recently arrested also for collaboration with the CIA—RW) as reformers and pro-Americans." How daring of the new President to take this stand when the Azardegan newspaper—a bourgeois paper, came out to declare Bazargan and his friends "traitors and lackeys of imperialism." This newspaper, which is reportedly under the thumb of foreign minister Ghotzbedah, bitter about being creamed in the recent elections and therefore anxious to expose his rivals, then blurted out some of the truth, "Mr. Bani-Sadr, you are scared. You fear the students' revolutionary activities which have been approved by the Ayatollah Khomeini, and a nation who continue supporting the students by requesting them to unmask the lackeys of imperialism."

What all this boils down to is that the Iranian bourgeoisie led by Mr. Bani-Sadr, is ready to make a deal with the U.S. imperialists to end the "hostage crisis." And while the talking turtle from the State Department, Hodding Carter, announced that the U.S. was interested in Bani-Sadr's proposal but would not "profess guilt" for its record in Iran and Carter announced "positive progress" in secret talks, Washington has been rather tight lipped. This was explained by one State Department official as a means to strengthen the position of Bani-Sadr in Iran; "He's still building his power base," the official said, "and anything we say at this point would probably harm him." But they obviously think that he's got enough of a base for them to admit that.

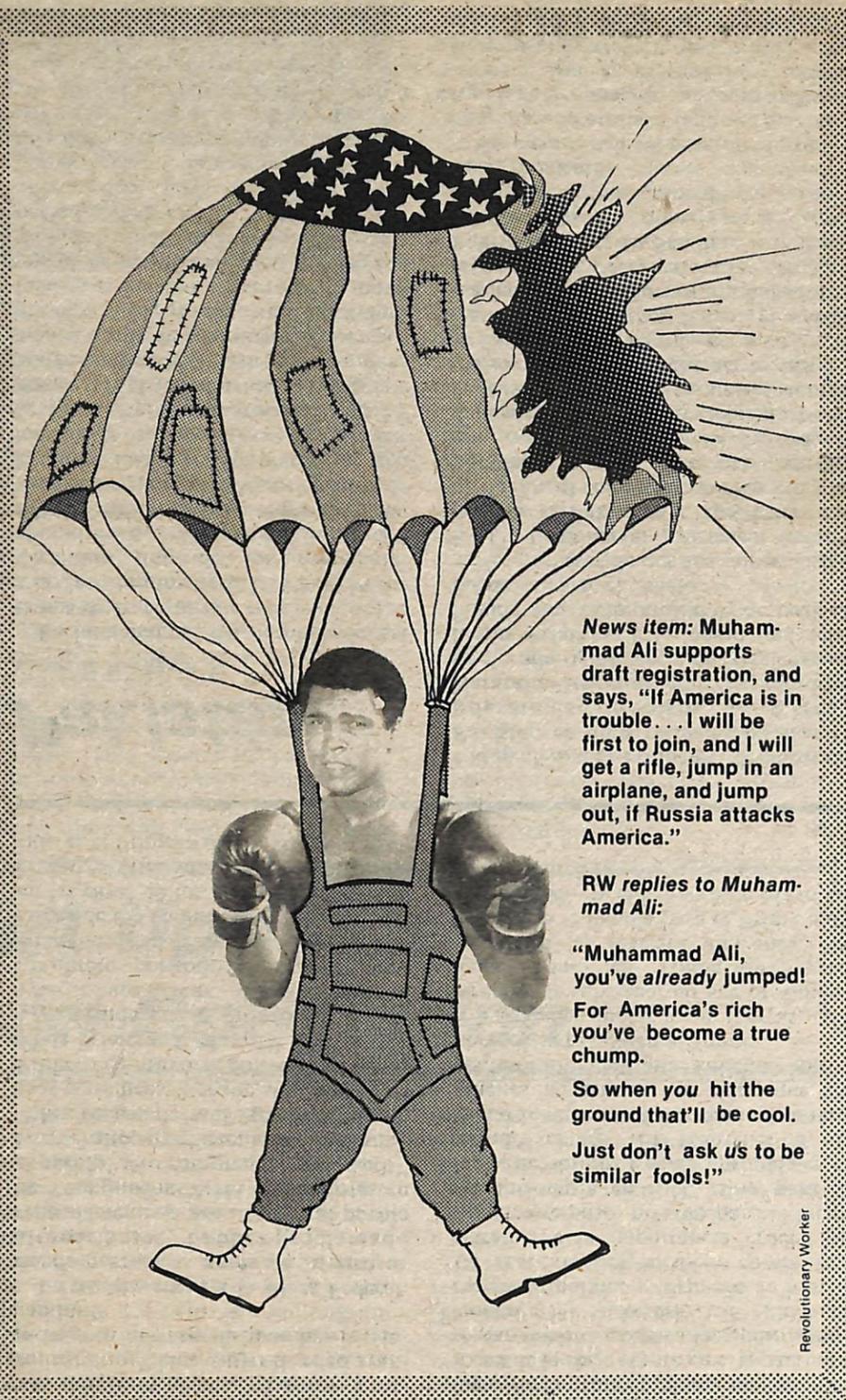
The U.S. imperialists are really quite pleased with Bani-Sadr and don't want to blow his scene. After all, delicate negotiations are underway. The problem for Iran's shaky bourgeoisie is to get the students to let go of the hostages, to make them capitulate quietly on orders from the Ayatollah Khomeini. Although they are not past taking the embassy by force if they have to, they do not want a militant confrontation with the students since that would anger the masses of people in Iran. But if the students would go along with a decision of the Revolutionary Council, then that would take the wind out of the sails of the embassy struggle which has become a symbol for the masses of people in Iran and around the

world in the fight against U.S. imperialism.

The Ayatollah has so far remained silent on the question of Bani-Sadr's proposal, but in a statement on Tuesday, Feb. 12, right after the anniversary of the insurrection, Khomeini appealed for unity and support of the Revolutionary Council, describing the situation in Iran as a "period of examination." For those now in power in Iran, it could better be described as a period of capitulation. With the invasion of neighboring Afghanistan by the Soviet imperialists the ruling circles of Iran have been anxious to come to terms with the U.S. The U.S. imperialists have been continually pointing the finger at the Soviets and telling the Iranian government, look over there—that's your *real* enemy; anxious to bring Iran back into their war bloc. And if you don't go along with us, well, we might just be forced to invite ourselves in like the Soviets did in Afghanistan.

When the Iranian workers, faced with one superpower on their border and another clawing its way into the government of Iran again, went into the streets a few weeks ago chanting "Down with U.S. and Soviet Imperialism," the lines were drawn very sharply. Events since the insurrection have revealed over and over again the position of the various class forces in Iran *vis a vis* the imperialists, not only through their ideology but through concrete action. The national bourgeoisie and the petty-bourgeois elements are vacillating elements in the struggle against imperialism. As we pointed out in the article "Patriotism and Imperialism" (RW December 7, 1979):

"While Khomeini most certainly cannot be relied on to continue the struggle, nevertheless his present stand (in support of the embassy takeover) is an opportunity for the Iranian people to step up their fight against imperialism. And the stand of the U.S. proletariat must be to support this and all manifestations of genuine national and patriotic resistance in Iran and countries like it, that weaken our common enemy. When faced with the choice between Khomeini and the revolutionary struggle of the Iranian proletariat and the oppressed masses, we will definitely choose the latter. But when faced with a choice between Khomeini and the U.S. imperialists we will definitely choose Khomeini!" It appears that Khomeini has answered the question of his reliability once again in the negative, and that the deal for the return of the hostages is the latest exposure of the bourgeois elements in trying to hold back the revolution in Iran and hang onto their positions as new top dogs at the expense of the Iranian masses. And it is more than a little astounding that Bani-Sadr should talk about how the U.S. has to promise not to interfere in Iran when they are very clearly doing



News item: Muhammad Ali supports draft registration, and says, "If America is in trouble... I will be first to join, and I will get a rifle, jump in an airplane, and jump out, if Russia attacks America."

RW replies to Muhammad Ali:

"Muhammad Ali, you've already jumped! For America's rich you've become a true chump.

So when you hit the ground that'll be cool.

Just don't ask us to be similar fools!"

Revolutionary Worker

just that, with him running interference for them. The sort of "independence" they are talking about is precisely the kind of thing that Brezinski was referring to when he said that the U.S. had "guaranteed Iran's independence for more than twenty-five years," under the regime of the Shah. What they guaranteed was that Iran would be guaranteed independence of any *other* imperialist and firmly under the heel of the U.S.

That Bani-Sadr and his kind are forced to couch their capitulation in revolutionary rhetoric is no surprise. They fear the masses, particularly the Iranian working class and the growing strength of the revolutionary Left. On Monday,

at the anniversary rally, a number of people were run over by tanks, some were killed. And one is tempted to ask why those tanks were in the street with a million people demonstrating. Bani-Sadr and company, it appears, are not so confident about their base! Even if these guys succeed in derailing the struggle at the embassy for the return of the Shah, it will only be a stunning exposure of the content of their leadership—leading Iran right back into the clutches of the U.S. imperialists. And this will only add fuel to the fire of the revolutionary workers, peasants and anti-imperialist strata in Iran to finish the job they started a year ago. ■

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