



# REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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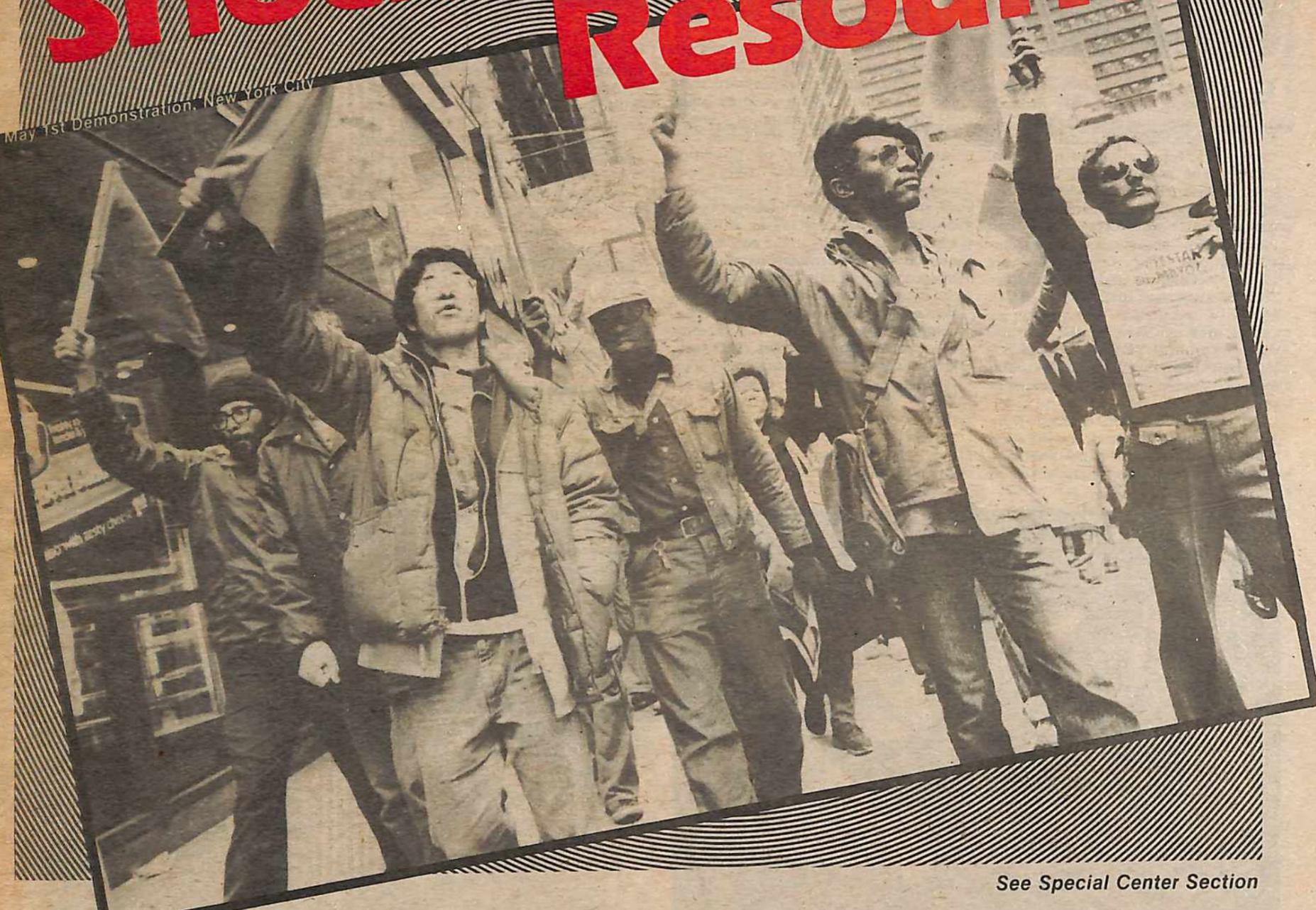
May 9, 1980

Sección en Español

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## May Day Shock Waves Resound

May 1st Demonstration, New York City



See Special Center Section

Centerfold May Day Photo Poster in this Issue

### German Youth Trash NATO Birthday Party

May 6, 1980—the sports stadium outside Bremen, West Germany was going to host a military extravaganza, a clear statement from the government to the West German people themselves. 1,200 recruits were going to be mass inducted into the West German military machine, pledging their allegiance and their young lives to the imperialist Constitution. Even the day, May 6, was carefully chosen for symbolic significance. Twenty-five years ago, on May 6, 1955, West Germany joined NATO, as its imperialist rulers dropped their sham masquerade of guilt and repentance for the crimes of World War 2, and started to seriously remilitarize, this time as a junior partner in the U.S. war bloc.

Coming quickly on the heels of West German support for the boycott of the Moscow Olympics and a new, bulging war budget, this military spectacle was an unmistakable signal to the West German people to resign themselves to the “unthinkable”—the third world war of this century. But the message millions received from Bremen on May 6 was not the sobering pomp of war preparations and reactionary national unity. As the ceremonies started, just as the national anthem of the Vaterland started to rise from the military band, vigorous chants broke out from various places in the stadium crowd: “Stop it! Stop it!” and “Out of NATO!” Police moved in quickly to restore the “dignity” of the

occasion. But by then the flares and fireworks raining into the stadium from outside, and the wail of police sirens, heard over the martial music, made it clear that the statement in Bremen that day was being made in the streets. Outside the stadium, over 7000 angry, rebellious youth squared off with police and turned the entire area into a battle ground. Armed with cobblestones, clubs and firebombs, the demonstrators forced the police to retreat time and again, leaving their vehicles behind to be burned. Three military buses and several cop cars were put to the torch. A barricade, manned by military police, was needed to prevent the youth from storming the stadium itself. Here were the very youth

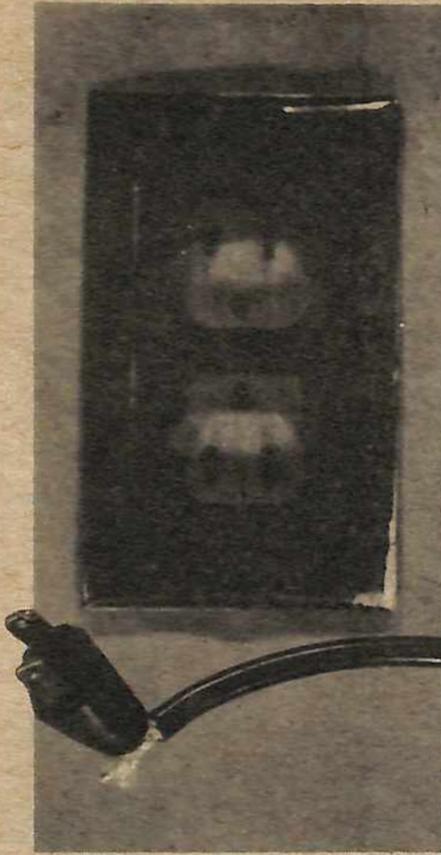
that imperialism plans to turn into cannon fodder, firing firework rockets at the helicopters evacuating West German President Karl Carstens and War Minister Hans Apel to safety far from the Bremen stadium. The quickly organized demonstration was an extremely broad action, drawing in forces from widely divergent political trends in West Germany, including many “spontis” (semi-anarchist youth) as well as members of the Revolutionary Youth League, affiliated with the Communist Workers League of Germany (KABD). Once in the streets, some march organizers, specifically the youth groups of the Socialist Party and the pro-Soviet German Communist

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Revolutionary Worker

**It's About Time!**

# TITO: ORTHODOX REVISIONIST, DIES



a Nazi fighter and a tough cookie who defied Stalin and went on to build his own "unorthodox brand of communism." Britain's Margaret Thatcher called Tito "a great statesman and leader of his people." He was a "tower-

ing figure on the world stage," proclaimed Jimmy Carter.

Such praise and glory from these pillars of capitalism is not at all surprising, since Tito himself was stamped from the same mold. What is often called "Tito's unorthodox brand of communism" is in reality nothing but revisionism—the betrayal of revolution under the guise, even if rather thinly veiled, of Marxism.

Tito was never a communist, orthodox or otherwise. "Get rid of the old exploiters and bring in the new" was as high as his aspirations ever went. He hitched his wagon to the then-socialist Soviet Union in the 1920s and '30s because it was the only force giving uncompromising aid in the fight against the type of monarchy that ruled ruthlessly over the Yugoslav people. Tito rode to power at the conclusion of World War 2 on the strength of the popular resistance movement against the Nazis. This was a powerful mass movement that dealt blows against the Germans and helped to topple Yugosla-

via's former rulers, many of whom were Nazi collaborators. The ground was cleared of the "old"—but with Tito's revisionist outlook in command, the "new" which was substituted for this amounted to socialism in words, but capitalism in fact. (The economics of Tito's "unorthodox communism" was analyzed in the *RW* shortly after Tito's leg was amputated and is only briefly recapped here—see *RW* No. 43.)

Tito, embarking on the road of capitalist development, was expelled from the international communist movement in the late '40s. "Independent Yugoslavia" thereafter relied on billions of dollars in U.S. aid (as well as aid from other capitalist countries) to develop the economy. "Workers' self-management" was Tito's brainchild for building capitalism under a very raggedy socialist cover. Basically, workers' self-management is nothing but a handful of workers turned into bureaucrats who run things for one purpose—profit. Politically, Tito's foreign policy became totally subservient to the U.S., with Tito at the head of a travelling road show that crisscrossed Asia, Africa and Latin America—all countries under the heel of U.S. domination—preaching that a "general movement for peace," rather than the violent elimination of imperialism, transcended all other issues. But Tito's slavish posture before imperialism did not save Yugoslavia from the effects of the economic crisis plaguing capitalism worldwide. Yugoslavia is today in the throes of a major crisis, notable for a phenomenal unemployment rate.

Following Tito's death, Carter announced that "For more than three decades, under administrations of both parties, it has been the policy of the U.S. to support the independence, ter-

ritorial integrity and unity of Yugoslavia. I reaffirm today that America will continue its longstanding policy of support for Yugoslavia and do what it must to provide its support." The U.S. imperialists are indeed concerned about maintaining the independence of Yugoslavia—from the Soviet Union, that is. Carter's statement was a clear-cut warning to the Soviet Union to stay off U.S. turf—that the U.S. would use military force if necessary to counter any moves in the area by the Soviet Union. (This question was addressed in *RW* No. 42, shortly before Tito began to lose heart.)

Of course, the amount of sabre rattling between the superpowers over Yugoslavia has subsided somewhat since Tito first fell ill; it has been overshadowed by events in Iran and Afghanistan. But even so, Yugoslavia continues to be a focus of contention, as Leonid Brezhnev's appearance at Tito's funeral indicates. Yugoslavia sits right on the critical point joining Eastern and Western Europe, and could well become a flashpoint in the near future.

In one of the many hymns of praise sung to him by the press, Tito was called a "tough, practical, canny politician who walked a political tightrope between East and West." Actually, he resembled a bureaucratic con-artist rather than a high-wire artist—one who plunged into the depths of counter-revolution long ago. He will be immortalized by the imperialists for being the first ruler to blaze the trail into the pit of revisionism, stabbing the working class in the back under the signboard of "socialism." And for this, future generations of workers will spit on his grave. □

After four months of medical bulletins monitoring every detail of the protracted decline of President Tito of Yugoslavia, four months of premature eulogies and predictions of his imminent demise, Tito's actual death on May 4 was anti-climactic—in fact, straight out boring. There had been blow-by-blow accounts of the leg amputation, the kidney failure, the heart failure, pneumonia and various other failures, each accompanied by a fresh round of speculation over the future course of Yugoslavia. By the time the plug was pulled, Tito's death was ho-hum news. There wasn't enough of him left for the commentators to comment on.

Nevertheless, heads of state from Pierre Trudeau to Valery Giscard d'Estaing managed to rouse themselves for a veritable orgy of praise, hailing Tito as



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# "HUMANITARIAN" IMPERIALISTS PLOT BLOODLETTERING IN IRAN

In the weeks after the "great embassy raid" went up in smoke in the Iranian desert, U.S. aggression—covert operations inside Iran as well as threats of direct military action—has been stepped up at a rapid pace.

In an attempt to divert attention from these new moves, President Carter has claimed that the crisis over Iran has been "alleviated" enough to allow him to start some limited travel and campaigning. This should fool no one. The imperialist rulers of the U.S. that Carter represents are desperate, recoiling to lash out again like deadly snakes. More than ever they need to put an end to the "hostage crisis"—and to the hostages themselves. Even more, they must attempt to choke the life out of the Iranian Revolution.

After the aborted raid, President Carter has repeatedly claimed with the utmost sincerity that "this mission was not motivated by hostility towards Iran or the Iranian people but was ordered for humanitarian reasons." A number of recent press reports indicate just how "humanitarian" this "mission" was supposed to be.

At press briefings, Defense Secretary Brown and top Pentagon officials have been reluctant to discuss the military plans for storming the embassy itself and "rescuing" the hostages, indicating only that this would have been the "easiest" part of the operation for the raiders. In reality, they knew very well what kind of resistance they would meet from the Iranian people.

Thus, it turns out that two of the huge C-130s that were originally described simply as "transports" were actually outfitted as heavily armed gunships, bristling with 20-mm. Gatling guns, 40-mm. Bofors cannons, and a 105-mm. howitzer. While these gunships, similar to those used in Vietnam, sprayed the streets around the embassy,

several squadrons of carrier-launched F-14's and A-7 jets were timed to arrive over Tehran for backup and to make sure that the Iranian army and air force stayed pinned down. As one official was quoted in the *New York Times*, "We were prepared to do whatever was necessary to protect and cover that operation." This is some "humanitarian mission"!

With this concentration of firepower on the U.S. embassy in Tehran, the CIA reportedly estimated that at least 60% of the hostages were not expected to come out alive—and this, of course, does not even count the tens upon thousands of people in Tehran who would fight to their last breath against such an invading force. If this raid had gone ahead, there would certainly be more U.S. planes and uniformed John Waynes littering the soil of Iran for the imperialists to honor for "defending their country."

Even now, as President Carter ventures out of his White House command post, the "humanitarian" U.S. naval fleet assembled in the Indian Ocean now totals 37 ships, including four aircraft carriers with 400 combat aircraft and 34,000 marines, sailors and airmen abroad. This week, in a naked display of military force, several thousand marines were landed in Oman, a reactionary feudal state located directly across the Strait of Hormuz from Iran, that has handed over a former British military base at Masira to the U.S. imperialists.

## U.S. Covert Activity Inside Iran

While the U.S. government undoubtedly "leaked" out some of the details of the planned assault on the embassy in order to intimidate and threaten the Iranian people, as well as to demonstrate U.S. military might and "resolve" to the rest of the world, the

aspect of the raid that the imperialists are not willing to discuss at all is the large numbers of U.S. agents infiltrated into Iran over the past months who were supposed to swing into action when the raiders arrived. These covert forces were the key component in the whole operation.

In the days following the raid's failure, the U.S. press reported that the U.S. had indeed infiltrated such units into Iran, posing as European businessmen. However, we were assured that they had all left Iran as secretly as they had entered. This fairy tale, undoubtedly drafted at CIA Headquarters in Langley, Virginia for release to selected "influential" bourgeois publications such as the *New York Times*, the *L.A. Times*, AP, UPI, etc., was run out for a reason—to keep the cover on the large numbers of U.S. agents still operating inside Iran. These imperialist spies, whose dirty work against the Iranian revolution was directed from the sprawling U.S. embassy compound in Tehran until November 4 of last year, are absolutely crucial for the next U.S. "humanitarian mission," as well as for U.S. imperialism's intensifying efforts to "destabilize" Iran and set up the atmosphere for an actual coup attempt involving pro-U.S. forces centered in the Iranian military.

While there were in all probability a number of Green Berets-type CIA commandos and agents infiltrated into Iran posing as European businessmen (since U.S. businessmen are a rare species today in Iran), the vast majority of U.S. agents are Farsi-speaking, student-aged reactionary scum drawn from Iran and neighboring countries such as Pakistan, Turkey, Egypt, etc.—who were specially picked and trained to operate in Iran. Their job was to scope out the embassy defenses, as well as to develop ties with

pro-U.S. elements in the Iranian military and upper classes who would be willing to cooperate with the U.S.

According to a report in the *London Telegraph*, these teams were able to penetrate the telephone exchange, Tehran's radio station, the fire services, the electric power station and even the central traffic control center. Thus, when the raid began, these units were to have thrown the city into confusion, causing traffic jams to prevent the people and army units from reaching the embassy compound, setting off bombs elsewhere as diversions, and taking over the radio station to announce false information.

But even these sketchy reports on the activities of U.S. agents inside Iran—who are not only still there, but surely have been joined by many new agents for the next round of CIA-engineered "dirty tricks"—tell only part of the story. It is an open secret in Iran that there were people high up in the Iranian military and the government itself who both knew about the raid in advance, and actively aided it. An important job of the U.S. agents was to make contact with them and sound them out about the possibility of moving to "restore order" in the wake of the raid at the expense of the forces within the government allied with Khomeini who have proved to be such a thorn in the side to U.S. imperialism. The maps and documents left behind in the U.S. helicopters indicate that the raiders were preparing to assault the homes of Khomeini and other government officials with the intentions of either taking them hostage or killing them.

Another highly revealing bit of evidence that there were people high up in the Iranian military who were in cahoots with the imperialists is that

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In the wake of the abortive U.S. military "rescue" of the hostages in Tehran, the U.S. imperialists have seized the opportunity to further pump up the American public into a "war mentality" and whip up a storm of controversy about "the ability of the U.S. to protect its interests". IRAN FIASCO REKINDLES DEBATE ON U.S. MILITARY READINESS—screams the *Christian Science Monitor*, worrying that the exodus of trained personnel may be affecting U.S. effectiveness. And on the flipside, the *CSM* announces: THE 82ND—READY 'IN HOURS' IF NEEDED IN IRAN—and warns that this "elite shocktroop" division "could conceivably find itself fighting in the streets of Tehran". The 82nd Airborne, we are told, was "ready to descend on Tehran International Airport last November" and is pictured by their public relations officer as chomping at the bit: "It's like being on a football team. You practice, practice, practice, but you never get a game."

But clearly all this preoccupation with "U.S. readiness" is concerned with descending on more than Tehran International Airport. This worrisome handwringing alternating with extreme bluster is aimed at far more than the question of Iran which, as the *New York Times* admits, is a "word which has become shorthand for all the trouble in the Persian Gulf area." And when Defense Secretary Brown warned that "no one should doubt our resolve" he was talking about more than U.S. resolve to free the hostages. Though the U.S. rulers are definitely weighing the possibility of various "surgical" military options directed specifically against Iran, overall they are primarily concerned with preparing for the "big game"—World War III, the showdown which will decide who's the "No. 1" exploiter. "We've got the power" to respond forcibly to Iran, remarked one general. "The problem would be in confronting any Soviet opposition and is basically getting to the right place quickly enough. For operations in the Middle East and Africa, you've got to get the people there in time." After all, if the U.S. rulers can't get six helicopters safely into and out of Iran, how the hell are they going to solve such knotty problems as transporting heavy equipment—tanks, artillery, etc.—halfway around the world to defend their far flung empire from the military might of their Soviet imperialist rivals?

They are definitely working on it. And if anyone still doubts that contention between U.S. and Soviet imperialism is heating up to the boiling point, then we'll direct your attention to the fact that the Senate Appropriations Committee recently gave the nod to Carter's draft registration bill. Moreover, check out the recent military maneuvers of the units which make up the U.S. Rapid Deployment Force (see photo), whose fundamental mission, according to the *New York Times*, is "the swift injection of American power into a friendly (read: U.S. dominated) country to help repel a hostile (read: Soviet) invader." Held in Idaho (whose terrain conveniently resembles Southwest Asia) a few weeks ago, the joint "readiness exercise", one of a series scheduled for 1980, simulated a reinforced armor and mechanized infantry battalion going into battle alongside Pakistani forces trying to drive out Soviet aggressors. For training purposes (the troops thought they were training for Iran), the nations on whose territory this "battle" took place were called Sikap (Pakis spelled backward) and Steivos (for Soviets).

Troops from all of the army's 14 active divisions stationed in the U.S. are being required to spend two weeks at the Army's new National Training Center at Ft. Irwin, California, where they will take the field in simulated combat against other U.S. soldiers trained in the doctrine, tactics, and weapons systems of the Soviet and Warsaw Pact armies, with the "enemy" using real Soviet equipment. As one Lt. Colonel at Ft. Hood, where similar "Red Thrust" programs are being developed, bragged: "We're training against real-life adversaries, wearing Soviet uniforms."

## Mass Murderers Oil War Machine



Getting ready for WW3—GIs outfitted with Soviet uniforms and equipment during simulated combat against "enemy" forces.



10 Years  
**The Hand  
of the  
Oppressor  
at  
Kent State**

Kent State students (rear) face off against National Guard (front) while ROTC building smolders.

May 4th marked the tenth anniversary of the massacre at Kent State University in 1970 when National Guard troops opened fire on student anti-war protesters demonstrating against the U.S. invasion of Cambodia, killing four and wounding nine. The murderous volley lasted 13 seconds, its echo thundered into every corner of this country, and these were indeed shots heard round the world.

Along with Jackson State (an all-Black college in Mississippi where two students were murdered a week later when police riddled a dormitory with gunfire during an uprising against the Cambodia invasion and national oppression), Kent has come to symbolize for millions the militant spirit of resistance to U.S. imperialism right in the belly of the beast itself as well as the spirit of international solidarity with oppressed peoples world-wide fighting to rid themselves of the same enemy. It is a spirit this country's rulers have never been able to bury. At a demonstration at Kent State on May 4, 1977, a Cambodian resident of the U.S. told how the blood shed at Kent and Jackson State had cemented the unity between the Cambodian and American people. She presented the flag of her then-liberated country as a gift to the students and said: "The people of Cambodia will never forget how Americans rose up against the U.S. invasion of their country."

What happened at Kent State on that bloody day ten years ago still holds important lessons for the struggle here in the U.S.

For one thing, Kent taught people something about the vicious nature of the imperialist enemy. While every year, the bourgeois press sums up the murders at Kent as "blatant violations of civil rights," what was actually revealed was the fact that their rule is no-

thing but capitalist *dictatorship* and ultimately rests on naked force. Kent State was a vivid example of how, as Lenin pointed out, even in the "freest," "most democratic" capitalist countries, the state with its armed enforcers is nothing less than a machine for the suppression of one class by another and that, when necessary, the capitalists will not hesitate for a moment to unleash their apparatus of violence and coercion—in this case the National Guard—to subjugate by force any who would challenge them regardless of formal "civil rights."

For four days after Nixon's announcement of the invasion on April 30, the students at Kent went right up in the face of U.S. imperialism. Instead of burying their noses in their books, on May Day they took to the streets of Kent, setting bonfires and trashing banks—symbols of the U.S. imperialist's world plunder. On May 2, they torched the ROTC building on campus and prevented firemen from reaching it until it had burned to the ground. That night as Ohio Governor Rhodes ordered in the National Guard, the students defied a nighttime curfew, roaming the campus and clashing with the troopers. Some were wounded by bayonets and a number of Guardsmen were also injured by flying rocks and bottles as the battle continued into the following night.

On the morning of May 4th, a rally was held on the school Commons at noon. As 3,000 people gathered, the students were shouting "Strike! Strike!" and furiously ringing the campus Victory Bell at the bottom of Blanket Hill, a hill that was soon to live in infamy. The authorities drove up and ordered the demonstrators to disperse. At one point a line of Guardsmen even knelt and pointed their rifles directly at some students in an attempt to intimi-

date them—a foreboding sign of what was to follow. But the students held their ground, refusing to obey. The Guard began lobbing tear gas, but the students were picking up the burning canisters with handkerchiefs and throwing them back in their faces. Even as the Guard prepared to open fire, some demonstrators were shouting their defiance from as close as 15 yards.

When the Guard opened fire at 12:24 p.m., shockwaves reverberated across the U.S. Kent State became a battle cry on the lips of thousands, and students around the country rose up, forcing college and university administrations to close the schools for the semester, dealing a powerful blow to the U.S. rulers' plans to continue the war in Indochina.

At first the government attempted to

deny any wrongdoing in the Kent shootings. But when it became clear that their flimsy mask of "democracy" was being torn away, they scurried to portray the massacre as an "unfortunate mistake," a "regrettable tragedy." The Scranton Commission, appointed by the federal government to "investigate" the shootings while asserting that "the actions of some students were violent and criminal" was also forced to conclude in the face of massive outrage that "the indiscriminate firing of rifles into a crowd of students and the deaths which followed were unnecessary, unwarranted and inexcusable"—though, of course, no one was ever convicted in connection with these calculated murders.

Try as they might, the capitalists were unable to scrub the blood from their hands despite their transparent white-wash. Desperate to bury the persistent memory of Kent State, in 1977 they began construction of a gym on the site where the four students were gunned down. This sparked another wave of struggle as thousands from across the country converged on KSU in defiance of court injunctions and university ultimatums. They tore down the fences surrounding the construction site and occupied it with a tent city until 194 were finally arrested. Again in 1978 demonstrators attacked the fence, driven off only by riot-clad police laying down a barrage of tear gas. That Kent remains an enduring symbol of resistance to the crimes of U.S. imperialism was indicated by the fact that many students and youth who participated in these actions years later were no more than junior high school students at the time of the original shootings.

That every year for the past decade, the anniversary of the Kent State struggle has been commemorated in protests of one form or another is testimony that what happened there still points the way to the future, to the righteous explosions that will blast the landscape of the U.S. upside down in the '80s. Though too often it has been the occasion for pacifist candlelight vigils, submissive mourning, long-winded moralizing and reformist rhetoric, it is clear that the capitalists have been unable to eradicate the revolutionary essence of this powerful struggle that will never be forgotten: It's right to rebel against imperialism!

On May 4, 1980 as 1500 assembled at Kent State for a march and rally a new factor appeared on the scene, capturing the attention of the crowd with chants of "We the workers are here to say, Give 'em hell on the Fourth of May." It was a Red Flag Contingent consisting of revolutionary students, Vietnam Vets, Iranian students and a small but significant number of class-conscious workers. Having seized history by the shoulders on May 1st and stepped onto the political stage, they had come to uphold the revolutionary significance of Kent State. Ten years later, the blood-red flag of the proletariat waved on the Kent State campus in tribute to those who had fallen and an ominous cry rang in the ears of those responsible for the massacre: "Give the imperialists no peace! Long live the spirit of Kent and Jackson State!"

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Revolutionary Communist Party,  
November 18, Washington D.C.**



## Cuban Refugees

# Imperialist Political Plum Turns Sour

The immigration of tens of thousands of Cubans to the United States (with the permission and the tacit encouragement of the Castro regime) has touched off a blizzard of U.S. propaganda portraying the migration as a touching and heroic quest for "freedom and democracy" and a ringing victory for the "free world" in its struggle against "communism." But the ugly realities behind this massive immigration (which has deposited 25,000 Cubans on U.S. soil by press time and shows no signs of abating), and the U.S. maneuverings themselves, provide a stark and vivid exposure of the horrors of imperialism.

"Defying fierce winds, thousands of refugees take the freedom ride to Florida," smirks *Time* magazine. President Carter wishes it to be known that the United States, "itself a nation of immigrants," welcomes the Cuban arrival "with open hearts and open arms." Apparently these Cubans are somehow different from the thousands of Mexicans who are hounded, harassed, arrested by the border police, beaten and even murdered because they dare to come to the "nation of immigrants" in their desperate search for work; or the millions of other nationalities branded as "illegals," subject to jail and deportation at any time, who hide in fear in the slums of New York and other big cities. In fact, however, it is the brute necessities, the struggle to scratch out a bare living, that has given rise to this convulsive migration, of the sort that is so familiar all throughout the era of imperialism.

The present migration originated last month when nearly 11,000 Cubans crashed the gates of the Peruvian embassy seeking asylum and emigration rights. Initially, the Cuban government made moves to suppress those demanding to leave Cuba, but it quickly shifted gears, adopting what has been Castro's basic theme ever since: "We could care less about these lumpen, these criminals, these anti-socialist elements; we don't need them. They can leave, we'll be glad to let them leave." Castro then scuttled the plan worked out by the U.S. and its Latin American allies to carefully allocate a limited number of Cuban "refugees" to a number of different countries, including the U.S. Instead, the Cuban regime declared the port of Mariel open to all those who desired to leave the island, and encouraged Cubans living in Florida to sail to Mariel and "come and get 'em."

The result has been hundreds of vessels setting out from Key West and returning from Cuba loaded with human cargo; now, huge refugee camps are being set up in Florida, and the Marines and National Guard have been called in to keep order; President Carter has declared southern Florida, where the Cubans are being processed, to be in a "state of emergency." Thousands of Cubans continue to flock to Mariel, awaiting transport. Estimates of the total who will eventually make the trip start at 50,000 and go up from there.

It is quite clear that the Cuban government, while conducting its vitriolic propaganda against the "lumpen scum" desiring to leave "socialist Cuba," is actually quite intent on unloading as many Cubans as possible. While the revisionist regime orchestrates patriotic demonstrations against the emigrants and has instigated some violent incidents in order to illustrate the "outrage of the general population" at the traitorous behavior of those wishing to split, Castro's contemptuous statement, "We don't need them," absolutely contains a measure of revealing truth. "We can't use them" would be more accurate. Cuba's economy, for years twisted and distorted first by the U.S. and now by

the Soviet imperialists, is in an extremely acute crisis, far worse than it has been in since the 1959 revolution which overthrew the U.S.-backed Batista government. Unemployment has reached epidemic proportions. The tobacco and sugar crops, which still form the shaky foundation of the Cuban economy just as they did when the U.S. ran things, have both failed. Poverty and actual hunger are spreading throughout the island. It is not out of place to draw a parallel between the current desperate flight of masses from Cuba and the huge exodus from Ireland at the time of the Potato Famine in the 19th century.

These thousands have suffered the same fate as the Mexican braceros, the Haitians, and millions of others of the many different nationalities who are uprooted from their homeland by sheer economic necessity and forced to go to the imperialist countries that have sucked their own countries dry in search of work. This is a growing phenomenon in the world today; in West Germany, for example, practically all of the worst-paying jobs in the service industries are held by "guest workers" from poorer countries. The slums of London are filled with Jamaicans, Pakistanis, Indians, and peoples from other lands.

Fidel Castro, that contemptible little cigar-puffing stooge, is now reduced to attempting to relieve some of the hunger and misery in Cuba (the product of his own collaboration in subjugating

his country to Soviet imperialism after the Cuban people had heroically risen and thrown off the yoke of U.S. domination) by allowing the brute forces of spontaneous economic necessity to take their course. It is indeed sickening to watch this servile lackey hurl insults at those who, in desperation, feel compelled to leave their native land in search of a livelihood wherever they think they might find it.

The U.S. ruling class and the Carter administration, meanwhile, find themselves—as usual—torn between conflicting hypocrisies. When the initial incident of thousands of Cubans demanding asylum at the Peruvian embassy came to light, the U.S. was delighted, and was quick to flick the "huddled masses yearning to breathe free" switch on their propaganda machine. But it was one thing when it was maybe 2,000 or so carefully screened Cubans who might come to the U.S., photographed kissing U.S. soil, being carefully reunited with long-lost kin, welcomed festively in New Jersey, etc. A potentially unlimited influx of desperately poor Cubans, without visas and undoubtedly containing a large proportion of what the immigration service would consider "undesirables," is actually the last thing the U.S. wants. The Carter administration, which fears that the policy of unrestricted acceptance of all Cuban immigrants will lead to a wave of demands for similar treatment

for immigrants from many other countries, waffled for days before finally enunciating on May 6 that the U.S. would receive all Cubans "with an open heart and open arms." This line was finally adopted for a couple of reasons: one, the political propaganda accruing to the U.S. as "still the beacon of freedom to all oppressed" is valuable, contrasting though it does to the brutal realities of illegals being hunted down like dogs in this country. Two, Carter was confronted with a *fait accompli*; thousands of Cubans were already here, thousands more were on the way, and the whole process could only be halted by a politically suicidal "crackdown."

At the same time, the media has begun to play up different aspects to what is now being termed the "refugee crisis." The pretense that those clamoring for admission to the U.S. are all motivated by a deep dedication to the ideals of the founding fathers, and fleeing persecution in Cuba for their love of bourgeois democracy, is gradually being modified with reportage designed to raise doubts about whether this is so wonderful after all. The following from the *New York Times* is typical:

"The refugees at the hangar seemed weary and listless today. . . ."

"Half a dozen fist fights have broken out in the last few days, and sometimes the refugees have started pushing and shoving, trying to be the first to get on board planes and buses."

"There was a report the other day that some Cuban prostitutes among the refugees had gone into business behind cardboard barriers in the hangars."

The press has also picked up the rumor, which may indeed have some foundation in fact, that Castro is releasing "common criminals" from jail and ordering them to join the exodus. Clearly, public opinion is being prepared for some future move to cut off the flow should it prove to become intolerable—and certainly to void allowing the "special case" of the Cubans to set a precedent for dealing with other waves of immigration. The Carter administration has already attempted to draw a distinction between the Cubans and the Mexicans and Haitians, acclaiming that "most of the Haitians and Mexicans are trying to improve their economic situation and do not face actual persecution at home."

There is another potential angle to this affair, however, that is worth watching. On May 8, the Cuban press carried a report that, as summarized by the *New York Times*, "The Cuban government plans to demand substantive negotiations to establish normal diplomatic relations with the U.S. as a condition for discussing the departure of 380 Cuban refugees from the American diplomatic mission in Havana." In addition, red carpet treatment, including the opening of beach and mountain resorts, has been provided by the Cuban government for Cuban-Americans who have come to Havana to fetch their relatives.

The significance of these moves is unclear. It is certainly true that Cuba remains very firmly under the Soviets' thumb. But neither is it out of the question, particularly given the grave situation in Cuba today, that Castro would also seek to establish some kind of relationship with U.S. imperialism, if he thought that by so doing he could gain additional "economic assistance." For Fidel is the biggest *gusano*\* in Cuba today, and while his training has been in the service of the Soviet imperialists, by now he would certainly fit into Batista's shoes comfortably as well. □

\* *Gusano*: a word meaning "worm" which was used to describe pro-U.S. imperialist counter-revolutionaries who left Cuba after the revolution.

## Cuba: The Evaporation of a Myth

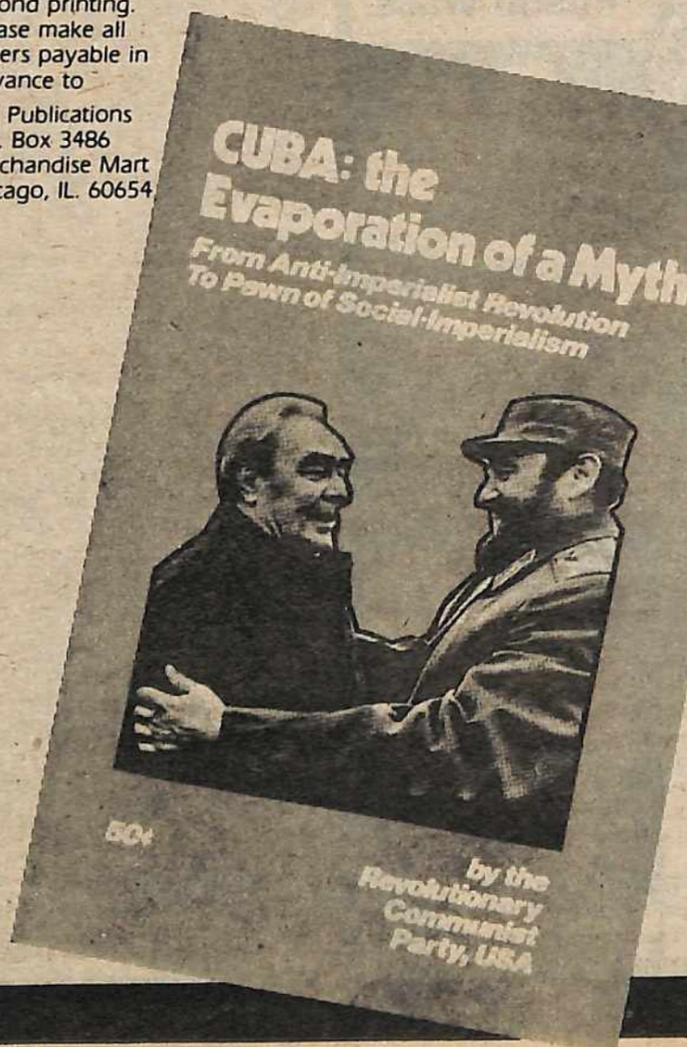
Cuba, home of the first successful revolution against Yankee imperialism in Latin America, a country which as a result became a symbol for revolution for a great many people opposing imperialism around the world.

Cuba, which despite all this has become a pawn of Soviet social-imperialism, a breeding farm for cannon fodder for the expansionist ambitions of the revisionist superpower.

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Jean-Paul Sartre—playwright, novelist, essayist, political activist, and above all the leading representative of the philosophy of existentialism—died April 15 in Paris.

Existentialism grew and flourished, becoming a social phenomenon, in the years following World War 2.

In Sartre's hands it became a philosophy of rebellion, but one which always remained profoundly individualistic. Most of the prominent representatives of existentialism became reactionaries—from Martin Heidegger in Germany who found little difficulty reconciling his philosophy with Nazism, to Gabriel Marcel in France who pushed religious mysticism, to Sartre's one-time cohort Albert Camus who became a virulent anti-communist. Others—for instance, many U.S. college students in the early 1960s—embraced it for a time as an expression of rebellion. But those who remained rebels and developed their rebellion further beyond individualism of various kinds passed through it on their way to a more adequate outlook, revolutionary practice compelling them finally to Marxism. But Sartre, although he became more politically conscious, more revolutionary-minded, as he grew older, would not let go of existentialism. In the 1950s Sartre stood up against the attempt by French imperialism to crush the Algerian people's struggle for their national liberation, taking some heavy personal risks in doing so. He was a strong supporter of the Cuban revolution against U.S. imperialism and in the 1960s he was prominent in the worldwide opposition to the Vietnam war. To the end of his life Sartre continued to stand up against oppression, and his politics remained generally anti-imperialist (although not invariably, as shown by his support—much qualified, but still clear support—for Israel

# Existentialism, Marxism and Jean-Paul Sartre

against the national liberation struggle of the Palestinians).

Thus Sartre lived most of his life teetering on the tightrope of fighting against the outrages of imperialism without being able or willing to adopt a revolutionary world-view. He never made the leap to Marxism, despite some tentative steps in that direction—but on the other hand he managed not to fall off that tightrope into conservatism, quiescence, or counter-revolution. A somewhat strange and intricate performance—not one to recommend, but far better than the more common performance of some who do profess Marxism but try to drag the red flag of revolution in the mud.

Although existentialism is no longer the social phenomenon it once was, and almost no one repeats Sartre's balancing act, existentialism remains an influence and an outlook adopted by a certain number of people, especially among artists and intellectuals. But in the present historical situation, with the decline of U.S. imperialism, and with world war and the possibility of revolution looming on the horizon, its individualist outlook is most likely to go over very quickly into cynicism and despair, or into mysticism. (Bob Dylan is a good

case in point. After a very progressive period he got bitten by existentialism and degenerated from there into belly-crawling godliness.)

## Existentialism

"Life is absurd. It has no inherent meaning in itself, but only what you give it yourself." This is the sentiment given philosophic expression by existentialism, which puts a great emphasis on human subjectivity on the individual's consciousness. This is coupled with an emphasis on special and extreme situations, such as facing death, which jerk the individual out of the meaningless everyday life and produce an experience which is supposed to reveal more of the depths of human existence. This seemed to express the feeling of revolt coupled with a sense of social disintegration, of the rottenness of established institutions—which gripped many, particularly among students, in post-war Europe and the conformist desert of the late-'50s U.S.

Freedom—anguish—"engagement"—(commitment)—these are the concepts associated particularly with Sartre. "Man is condemned to be free"—that was Sartre's watchword. "Condemned, because he did not create himself, yet, in other respects is free; because, once thrown into the world, he is responsible for everything he does." (*Existentialism*, p. 23.) The idea is that everything is up for grabs—no god in heaven, no devil in hell, no eternal values and no timeless truths. Each person has to create his own values, his own truths, his own life—and take responsibility for what he's created.

This was in opposition to the philosophy of the Catholic church—a strong force in France—as well as other religions. It was in opposition to the secular philosophies of eternal truths taught in the French schools. And it was also in opposition to the dominant 20th century philosophy in Europe, Britain and the U.S.—positivism. In the 1930s, '40s and '50s this took the form of "logical positivism," (an arid philosophy of quasi-mathematical precision which sought to prevent far-ranging questions about the world and society from even being asked) mixed with pragmatism—the philosophy of "whatever works, do it," which holds that human beings create truth through practice, rather than discovering it. This was the philosophy of imperialism, expressing the imperialists' needs and interests.\* Existentialism, on the other hand, is a philosophy which arose out of the experience and outlook of a certain section of the petty bourgeois intellectuals and students. It expressed the dual tendencies of this stratum—revolt against the domination of the imperialists on the one hand, but also the tendency to individualism and the subjectivist outlook of this group. That comes from their objective position in society, which allows them a certain "freedom" (in comparison to the wage-slave chained to a job) but still brings them into conflict at times very sharply with the ruling class and the absurdities in which capitalism has imprisoned all of society.

Further, existentialism offers a vivid example of how the petty bourgeoisie, this middle class, is caught in the middle, feeling that it can't live with capitalism but can't live without it, often not liking the present but seeing no hope for the future. Existentialism is a philosophy of revolt against the established institutions and values, but a philosophy without anything much to put in their place, a philosophy without

any sense of the forward movement of history, of the solidarity and struggle of the masses of people, or of hope for the future. It sees human beings as free, yes, but also (and in fact because of this), forlorn, abandoned in the world, in anguish and in despair. It is a philosophy of both rebellion and despair.

Why should freedom bring despair? Because this freedom was not seen as having any material basis in the world.

## Freedom

Freedom for Sartre simply consists in the fact that human consciousness can (and in fact must) constantly define itself by negating what is in the world, and a person's own past, and projecting itself toward a non-existent future.

This freedom is a negation (Sartre says a "nihilation") of the past and present, and a movement toward the future. It is in terms of this "upsurge," as Sartre calls it, that the world is organized around the individual.

For instance, this is how Sartre approaches the question of why people rebel against oppression:

"It is on the day that we can conceive of a different state of affairs that a new light falls on our troubles and our suffering and that we *decide* that these are unbearable. . . . Therefore this suffering can not be in itself a  *motive* for [a person's] acts. Quite the contrary, it is after he has formed the project of changing the situation that it will appear intolerable to him. This means that he will have had to give himself room, to withdraw in relation to it, and will have to have effected a double nihilation: on the one hand, he must posit an ideal state of affairs as a pure *present* nothingness; on the other hand, he must posit the actual situation as nothingness in relation to this state of affairs." (*Being and Nothingness*, p. 435.)

There is a truth that Sartre grasps here. Freedom and change involve *negation* of what is the case at present—there is this sort of "nihilation." But where does this negation come from? For Sartre it is a pure spontaneous creation of consciousness; individual consciousness negates the present and creates another possibility toward which it tries to move.

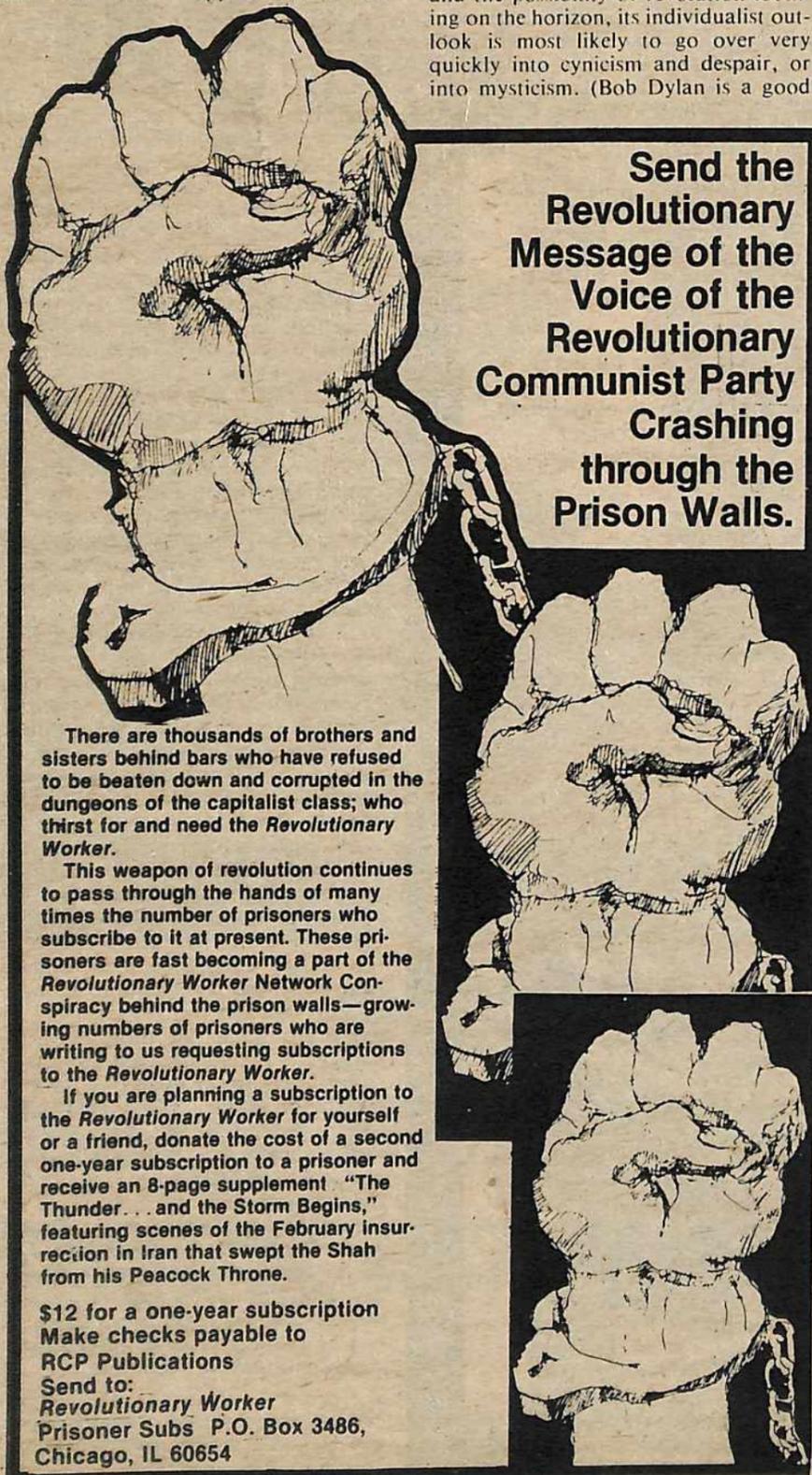
To this, contrast what Mao said:

It is only when there is class struggle that there can be philosophy. . . . The oppressors oppress the oppressed, while the oppressed need to fight back and seek a way out before they start looking for philosophy. It is only when people took this as their starting-point that there was Marxism-Leninism, and that they discovered philosophy." (*Chairman Mao Talks to the People*, pp. 212-213).

In other words, it is not consciousness which is primary, but *practice*—not ideas, but interaction with the world, attempting to change it. Theory sums up practice and in turn serves practice. After correct theory has been developed (out of practice and not as a spontaneous creation of consciousness), it can then be used to guide practice—thus giving scope and initiative to the dynamic role of human consciousness.

Further (and closely related with this), what Sartre also cannot see is the fact that if consciousness can grasp this negation of the present and this possibility for the future, it is because negation and possibility exist within the present, *within material reality itself*. Matter, material reality, contains contradictions within itself—it's *made up* of contradictions, in fact—and human freedom consists in grasping through practice and thought the actual contradictions in the world, and then using this grasp, this understanding, to change the world.

"The splitting of a single whole and the cognition of its contradictory parts. . . is the *essence*. . . of dialectics." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 38, p. 359.) The key to understanding everything in its real movement and change, is to understand it dialectically, that is as a unity of opposites, a contradiction. All reality—from nature, to society, to the brain—is one form or another of matter in motion. Sartre, however, thinks: "One can readily accept this dialectic in the realm of



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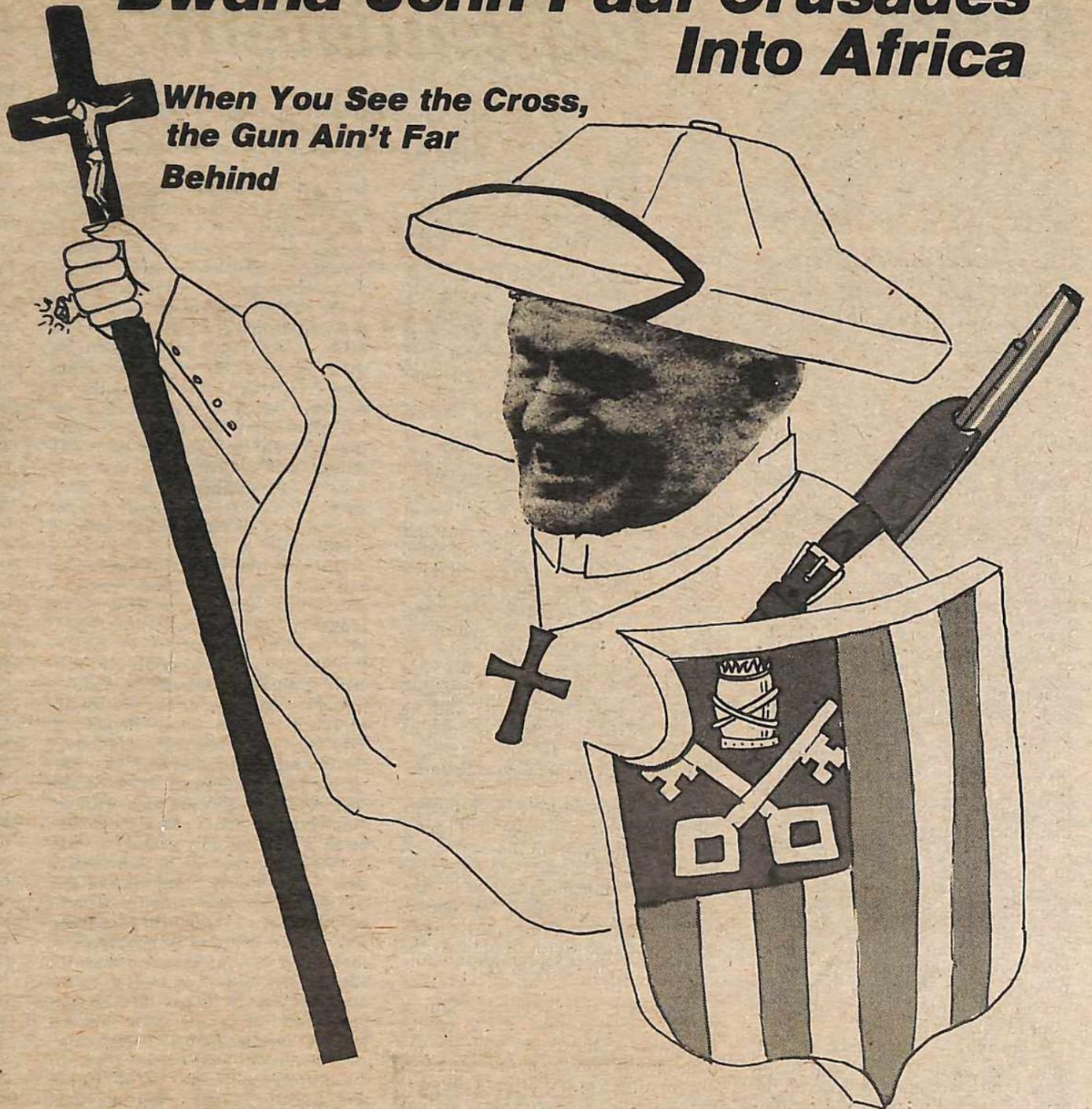
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# Bwana John Paul Crusades Into Africa

**When You See the Cross,  
the Gun Ain't Far  
Behind**



Jetting into Zaire on May 2, Pope John Paul 2 started off his latest expedition with the usual humble ground-kissing ceremonies. "I come as a man of religion, I come as a messenger of peace." And as usual, the western press ooh'ed and aah'ed over having found such a vigorous spokesman for western "spiritual values." For the umpteenth time the bourgeois press raved that here is a man whose "spirituality" can grapple with atheistic ideology for the loyalties of the poor and starving. Tenderly, the *New York Times* painted a picture of how "legless beggars crawled between the legs of others to wave their rags in welcome." A fitting image of that Africa which Catholicism props up!

Like his previous pilgrimages to Latin America, Poland and the U.S., the Pope's is an urgent mission—and he wasted no time bringing his message to the faithful. In Zaire, the Pope mounted an ebony throne to preside over a five-hour mass, which on his insistence was not conducted in any African language, but in Latin (the language of the Vatican) and in French (the language of the French and Belgian colonialists who have dominated Zaire for a century). In Kenya, the Holy Father held a special mass for young people when he heard that revolutionary political agitation was going on among students and pointedly attacked "atheism"—a symbolic reference to the growing challenges to western neo-colonialism from both the Soviet forces and genuine revolutionary movements. "An atheistic ideology can never be the moving and guiding force for advancing the wellbeing of individuals," noted J.P.

For thirty years the Catholic Church has been holding its own in an Africa awash with nationalism and cosmetic decolonization. In fact, it is one Western institution that has grown and transformed itself into a powerful pillar of the neo-colonial system of Central Africa. Based on the network of missionary schools that have a stranglehold on education in several African countries, the Catholic Church has grown from 12 million to 50 million in the same thirty years that overt Western control of colonies has been replaced by a whole system of puppet regimes. The Catholic Church has been a vigorous and enthusiastic participant in the process of pasting an ebony veneer onto colonialism. There are now 16,000 Catholic priests in Africa, and 36,000 missionaries, more than ever before.

In the course of this cosmetic decolonization, the Catholic Church has itself undergone a process of "flexibly" absorbing and reinforcing every reactionary and mystical remnant of tribal Africa. In Zaire, for example, Catholic masses are often conducted by priests dressed in traditional zebra-mane headdresses. Just as Catholicism creatively incorporated pre-Christian European religions by allowing worship of local "saints," so in Africa, the Mother Church has been open minded enough to allow ancestor and spirit worship to merge with the usual devotions to Holy Virgins. There has even been tacit consent given to polygamy among the supposedly chaste priests.

In one sense, the Pope's whirlwind

tour of Africa marks the end of a period for Catholicism in Africa. Up until now the task has been to survive as an institution, and to play a role in connecting the "emerging nations" of Central Africa to the European and U.S. imperialists by a thousand intellectual and economic threads. In that process certain concessions to "Africanization" were allowed. Now the world is barreling into international confrontation between the U.S. and the Soviets, and as a result, the message of the Pope is that it is time to haul in the nets, tighten up discipline in the Holy See, and actively forge the church into more of a "spiritual" combat organization for the confrontations ahead. Discipline and dogma have been stressed at every stop, meaning loyalty to the political and ideological baton in the Vatican. The point of the French mass in Zaire was that while a little Africanization is OK, it is important not to forget exactly whose interests dominate here.

While stressing orthodoxy to the

priests, and anti-communism to the masses, the Pope has engaged in a round of fence-mending with pro-Western but non-Catholic forces in the area, working patiently to prop up every possible ally of "Western civilization." Meetings were held with Anglican clergy and Western diplomats to mesh strategies. Negotiations were held with Zaire's puppet ruler Mobutu, who has spent a decade demagogically "cleansing" his country of superficial imperialist culture while religiously protecting the direct imperialist investment. Mobutu, high priest of "Africanization," personally greeted the Pope at the airport and sat humbly through the 5-hour mass, showing clearly that he knows what side of the bread the butter is on.

The six countries of the Pope's trip (Zaire, Congo, Kenya, Ghana, Upper Volta, and Ivory Coast) were hardly chosen by accident. Together with non-Catholic Nigeria, they encompass the core of Western imperialist strength in Central Africa, the staging areas for

any confrontation with the Soviet footholds in the southern tip of the continent and on the eastern horn. Temporal head of the strongest imperialist institution in Central Africa, the Pope is obviously rallying the troops, handing out assignments and patching up alliances.

Throughout the history of Africa, the sight of a cross meant that guns were not far behind. Close on the tail of the pious missionaries to the heathens came the body-snatchers of the slave trade, and behind them the imperialist expeditionary armies, moistened by holy water, fighting it out with each other in the periodic wars to divide and redivide Africa. The appearance of John Paul 2 marks the intensification of the contradictions in Africa, a continent where the Soviets have been making headway.

The Pope is an imperialist politician sensing that time is running out in his race to ideologically prepare his flock for major war. He may have billed his little safari as a "mission of peace," but this bwana came hunting bear.

## Zionist Biker Bites the Dust

In the late 1940s the Palestinians were forcibly driven from Palestine and the Zionist settler state of Israel was established as the "stronghold" of U.S. imperialism in the Middle East. But from the start Palestinian people have waged a righteous battle to regain their homeland and have battered U.S. imperialism and its puppet state of Israel on all sides. The U.S., for its part, has not only waged a relentless campaign to smash the Palestinian struggle, but has gone all out to create favorable public opinion for their creature Israel and the war of annihilation it has waged against the Palestinian people.

Over the years, the Palestinians have been portrayed as "blood-crazed Jew haters" similar to Hitler's Nazis, while the fascist Zionists have been painted as long suffering people of light and justice who have, over some 20 centuries or more been searching for their free-

dom. The most recent descendants of Moses made headlines on May 3rd when world-wide reports appeared detailing yet another "terrorist atrocity" committed by the Palestinian people in the city of Hebron on the West Bank. According to news reports, Palestinian gunmen mowed down 5 innocent religious students on their way between two religious shrines. Listed among those killed was an American immigrant to Israel, Eli Hazez.

Upon closer investigation, however, an innocent religious student Eli Hazez, turns out to be one James Mahon, a long-time rabid fascist. Mahon, the son of a U.S. Army colonel and religious nut, attended military academies in the U.S. He had gone to Vietnam back in the '60s as a sniper in the 101st Airborne—compelled, as he put it, by "an overwhelming desire to kill communists." In fact, his desire was so

overwhelming that Mahon continued to volunteer for combat duty despite the fact that, among other things, he had his thumb blown off, a bullet in his lungs, and all of his teeth shattered by hand grenades. After his tour in Vietnam, Mahon continued his illustrious career in the Vipers Motorcycle gang in Washington, D.C. where he was affectionately known as "Crazy James." In early 1974, Mahon's love for U.S. imperialism drove him to convert to Judaism and emigrate to Israel where he could once again be on the front lines. According to one friend, "He was overcome emotionally by the 1973 October war, and the fighting instinct came out again." Once in Israel Crazy Jim, now known as Eli Hazez (Hebrew for Wolf), continued to distinguish himself by his zealous attacks on the Palestinian people. In the last 6 years, Mahon participated in the 1978 Israeli invasion of

Lebanon, attempted to assassinate a PLO official, joined in on vigilante raids on Palestinian homes and vicious beatings of the residents and continually pressed to be able to reenlist in the Israeli army, even offering to serve at half pay for the privilege. Politically, Mahon was a sort of super-fascist—while he wholeheartedly supported the Jewish Defense League and a number of "ultra nationalist" groups on the West Bank, he was quoted as saying that these groups "were not radical enough."

While Mahon's death has no doubt caused some grief in Zionist circles—the loss of even one such maggot should be celebrated by the people. Moreover, the revelations about the "life" of this "religious student" give a glimpse of the real nature of U.S. imperialism and its friends.

# Sartre

Continued from page 6

ideas... [But] matter is characterized by its inertia. This means that it is incapable of producing anything by itself. It is a vehicle of movements and of energy, and it always receives these movements and this energy from without." (*Literary and Philosophical Essays*, p. 204.)

Because Sartre couldn't see the possibility of contradiction within material reality in general, he thought that negation can only be introduced into the world through human consciousness and he failed to see how matter and consciousness are a unity of opposites and can transform into each other. Not only does consciousness come from matter (the brain and, more broadly, social experience) but consciousness can become a powerful force in changing the material world. Freedom was for Sartre simply the ability (indeed the necessity) which human beings have to introduce this negation, to "nihilate" material reality through thought. But this means that freedom has no material basis. It becomes merely ideal. It means that people can stand back in thought, "withdraw in relation to" their situation and think of, hope for, plan for something different—but these plans and projects have no foundation in the material world. Rather than seeing human freedom as the understanding of necessity—of the real contradictions inherent in reality and their motion—and the changing of reality on the basis of that understanding, Sartre sees freedom as the attempt to escape from necessity, to introduce a "nihilation" into the necessity of matter, to simply negate necessity. But since this negation is ideal, purely a creature of consciousness, there is no basis for the transformation of necessity. For Sartre, freedom is not the ability to actually change the world, but the ability to want to change the world.

"Humanity is condemned to freedom," says Sartre. That is, each person must create all values and decide his own attitude toward the world. Thus rebellion against domination by the norms of all established institutions is the only honest and authentic approach to life, since all are trying to force people into a predefinition of what they are and should do. For it's an individual rebellion, with no consciousness of the necessary connection with other people, and no basis in the objective situation. Thus it is at the same time a realization of forlornness and despair.

## Politics

Rebellion and despair. This contradiction necessarily characterized Sartre's politics. World War 2 catapulted him into political life. In the French army, captured by the Germans in 1940, released after a year (France having been defeated in the meantime), he returned to Paris to write plays, to write philosophy (*Being and Nothingness* in 1943), and to work in the underground resistance to the German occupation.

A time of tremendous upheaval and devastation in Europe. What did it mean, what were the great historical forces at work, what were the historical possibilities? The answers were by no means clear to Sartre and many like him. But it was clear that the institutions and personages that had ruled the old France were thoroughly rotten and despicable, and that Nazism, with which the bulk of the old ruling class was collaborating so readily, was an evil horror. It was clear that it was right to resist and for the people to take the future into their own hands. The world was absurd, incomprehensible, it seemed, but yet one must take action and thereby give meaning to it.

The Resistance in general had the clear aim of transforming French society after the war, but without having a clear revolutionary perspective. This should have been provided by the French Communist Party, the strongest single political group within the Resistance and in postwar France. But the French CP, rather than giving revolutionary leadership, capitulated to the bourgeoisie, instructing the Resistance militia to disarm after the

German occupiers had been driven out, and making no effort whatsoever to even raise the issue of revolution. Rather, pursuing the putrid aspiration of participation in a bourgeois government as their highest aim, the CP was instrumental not only in betraying the revolutionary stirrings of the people as the war ended, but in reestablishing the capitalist economy through a massive effort on the CP's part to get workers to produce more and not to engage even in economic struggle with the capitalists.

As in the case of the CP in this country, the reformist and conciliatory posture of the French CP did not spare it from attack. The French bourgeoisie, along with the U.S. rulers who were tightening their hold on their junior imperialist partners in Europe, found too much danger in a party that claimed adherence to Marxism-Leninism (even if it wasn't carrying it out) and which contained large numbers of revolutionary-minded workers, as well as in the connection of the party with the Soviet Union, then still a socialist country and the object of sharp attack coordinated by U.S. imperialism. In France, as in the U.S., the early 1950s saw a big wave of anti-communism stirred up by the ruling class. To his credit, Sartre refused to give in to this. He broke with some of his friends and associates, including both Camus and Merleau-Ponty, who were becoming anti-communist, and he himself moved to a closer position of support for the CP. He later summed up his conclusions at that time as follows:

"An anti-communist is a rat. I couldn't see any way out of that one, and I never will... In the name of those principles which it had inculcated into me, in the name of its humanism and of its 'humanities,' in the name of liberty, equality, fraternity, I swore to the bourgeoisie a hatred which would only die with me." (*Situations*, p. 287)

Essentially this remained Sartre's political stance—that of a radical bourgeois democrat. In politics, any more than in philosophy, existentialism did not offer a means of getting beyond the confines of bourgeois ideology. Sartre was able to stick to the viewpoint of radical democrat with a rare consistency—an individual stand against oppression—but he could not see the laws of development of history, and how the forces and contradictions within the present situation will transform and revolutionize society. He could see the rightness of rebellion, and emphasized the individual's conscious role, but could not see how conscious rebellion can change the world through acting on an understanding of the world's real material contradictions.

This came out in Sartre's relation to the events of May 1968, which saw a tremendous eruption of revolt in France, beginning among the students and spreading to the working class. Many radical groups emerged among the students, while the French Communist Party played a treacherous and counter-revolutionary role. Sartre was greatly affected, as he said later, by the emergence of "a powerful force to the left of the CP." He became a staunch supporter of the "new left" which arose, at one point (in a famous incident) taking on the editorship of a banned newspaper whose previous editors had been jailed in order, as he said, "to protect the freedom of the revolutionary press." But this remained his role—an independent supporter, unable to give theoretical guidance to the movement, which was moving toward Marxism, not existentialism, as the only theory capable of guiding revolutionary practice.

## Marxism and Existentialism

It was not that Sartre consciously or explicitly put himself against Marxism. In fact, beginning in the 1950s, he sought to adopt Marxism, but at the same time to inject existentialism into Marxism. He called existentialism "... a parasitical system living on the margin of [Marxism], which at first it opposed but into which today it seeks to be integrated." (*Search for a Method*, p. 8)

Sartre thought that Marxism can explain history and society overall, but

not *individuality*—it cannot "... grasp the process which produces the person and his product inside a class and within a given society at a given historical moment." (*Search for a Method*, p. 56) There are historical reasons why Sartre should have thought that Marxism—or rather, what was being passed off as Marxism—had no place for the role of the individual. In large part, in the theory and practice of the French Communist Party, what he was displayed as "Marxism" was nothing but a degraded and revisionist caricature of this revolutionary science. Masquerading as Marxism was a form of mechanical materialism, which took the attitude that everything was "in the cards," already determined, which held that, in the words of Lenin's biting characterization, "That struggle is desirable which is possible, and the struggle which is possible is that which is going on at the given moment." (Although such a viewpoint is also quite capable of condemning even the struggle which is going on if it shows signs of getting "out of hand" and becoming revolutionary.)

However, the answer to mechanism and tailism is not petty-bourgeois individualism. But this is what Sartre sought to "inject." The contribution of existentialism to Marxism, he says, is that "... into the universality of concepts, it wants to reintroduce the unsurpassable singularity of the human adventure." (*Search for a Method*, p. 176) This "unsurpassable singularity," this irreducible individuality, is for Sartre the foundation upon which classes, societies and history are built. He cannot see that, as Marx put it, the human being is "... not only a social animal, but an animal that can be individualized only within society," and that in fact this idea of the "free" atomized detached individual is a creation of capitalism, for "in this society of free competition the individual seems detached from the natural ties, etc., which in earlier historical epochs make him an appendage of a particular, limited human conglomeration." (*Introduction to a Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, pp. 10, 9) History and capitalist society create the idea, and the reality, of the "free" individual; but instead of seeing it as their product, Sartre makes this individual the beginning and origin of history and society.

Further, Sartre has by no means grasped the actual role of the individual in history. His justification for supposedly giving Marxism an injection of existentialism is that Marxism supposedly has no place for the individual's dynamic and particular role. What Lenin says in the following quotation (which is from a passage immediately following what's quoted from Lenin above) is a good rejoinder:

"But this is a slander of Marxism; it means turning Marxism into the caricature held up by the Narodniks in their struggle against us. It means belittling the initiative and energy of class-conscious fighters, whereas Marxism, on the contrary, gives a gigantic im-

petus to the initiative and energy of the Social-Democrat (Communist—RW), opens up for him the widest perspectives, and (if one may so express it) places at his disposal the mighty force of many millions of workers 'spontaneously' rising for the struggle."

Marxism unleashes the individual to *actually* play a part in making history and reshaping reality. But it does this on the basis, not of a glorification of the individual as such (à la existentialism), but of understanding the real relation of the individual to material and social reality.

The individual is not very important at all simply as an individual. It is fundamentally the masses that make history, and social forces work themselves out through necessary laws, not through individual spontaneity or caprice. Individuals act in the last analysis as representatives of classes, and human practice in general is essentially *social*, not individual. Yet the individual can become more than just an object tossed about and submerged by the forces of history through a process of understanding the dynamics of these social forces and helping to unleash and guide them on the basis of that understanding. It is thus that Marxism, in Lenin's words, "gives a gigantic impetus" to the initiative of the individual—the individual class-conscious fighter and communist who can grasp and apply the moving dynamic of the laws of history—and through this revolutionary understanding and practice "places at his disposal the mighty force of many millions of workers 'spontaneously' rising for the struggle." It is the existentialist individualist who, in contrast—and despite whatever intentions and desires—becomes the object acted upon by forces he cannot understand, thus providing the basis for a flip from individual revolt into nihilism, cynicism, or capitulation.

Sartre, unlike most other existentialists, did not make this flip. But toward the end of his life he drifted, stymied by the deceptive political-social quiet of the '70s and the irresolvable contradictions of his philosophy, thus allowing, for instance, the *N.Y. Times* to characterize him at death as "... a rebel with a thousand causes, a modern Don Quixote... an ancestor figure whose generative conceptions had lost their force." Yes—in many ways a failure. Yet the proletariat will remember him—critically, of course—but warmly, in contrast to those vile traitors in France and elsewhere during this period who had some understanding of Marxism and leadership in the working class, and who betrayed it all for a few crumbs.

Sartre's life was overall a failure, it is true, in terms of his goals of understanding the world and becoming himself a revolutionary, but it was not (to use the phrase with which he once described mankind) "a useless passion." □

\*For more on positivism and pragmatism See "Against Pragmatism: Bourgeois Philosophy 'Made in U.S.A.," *The Communist*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (Summer/Fall 1978), pp. 12-17.

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# Ruling Ranks Tighten as Vance Falls Out

The resignation of Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, and his replacement with Senator Edmund Muskie, represents yet another step in the tightening up of the U.S. imperialist leadership in preparation for war with their act-alike rivals in the Soviet Union. While the Vance resignation has been explained as either the result of a power struggle with President Carter's National Security Advisor, Zbigniew Brzezinski, or a result of Vance's personal disagreement over the embassy raid fiasco in Iran, the fact is that Vance had come to represent an overall foreign policy which no longer corresponds to the actual necessities of U.S. imperialism.

There has also been some attempt to portray Vance as a "dove" in contrast with the "hawk" Brzezinski. But this "dove" has a long history of service to the bloodiest exploits of U.S. imperialism. In the 1950s, Vance was called from the Wall Street law firm of Simson, Thatcher and Bartlett to serve as counsel to a Congressional committee investigating America's "military preparedness." During Lyndon Johnson's administration, Vance served as general counsel to the army and as an Undersecretary of Defense during the height of the Vietnam War. And in 1965 he landed in the Dominican Republic, right behind the U.S. Airborne Division sent in to occupy the country and prop up a military junta that had seized power.

But following the defeat of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam and the rise of Soviet political and military strength, Vance became a chief spokesman for overall U.S. policy vis à vis the Soviets; Vance was thus a great believer in the SALT talks and detente. But this view corresponded to a temporary state of conditions in the world, conditions in which the Soviet Union had grown too powerful to be pushed around as it had been by Kennedy during the Cuban missile crisis, but not yet strong enough to contest straight up with the U.S. for world hegemony.

As these conditions began to pass away, so did the logic of Vance's policies. The SALT agreements became only new targets in an escalating arms race, a mutual agreement to scrap obsolete weapons in favor of new ones. And now, with the revolution in Iran and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the Vance school of "conflict management"—a diplomacy characteristic of a now-departed era when the U.S. was undisputed king of the imperialist dung heap—must give way to "conflict and confrontation."

In contrast to Vance's series of

negotiations with European allies to arrange sanctions against the Soviet Union, Brzezinski responded to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan by rushing to Pakistan to be photographed scanning the Afghan countryside through binoculars. "Maybe it will start here," Zbig quipped to reporters. It was a scene reminiscent of John Foster Dulles's "inspection" of the 38th parallel a few weeks before the start of the Korean War.

The seriousness of the escalation of events and the sharp new necessities for the ruling class were brought home by Vance's abrupt resignation and a very embarrassing moment for Carter. Vance had in fact already been eased out of the key decision-making role. The April 11 decision to go ahead with the raid on Iran was made without Vance's knowledge while he was out of town on a vacation. When he got back and found out, he sent his letter of resignation to Carter and prepared to go back to Wall Street whence he came.

While Senator Muskie has been widely identified in the past with the basic policies of Vance (Vance was Muskie's foreign policy advisor when he ran for president in 1972), Muskie has made it clear that he has learned his lesson and is now prepared to do what has to be done to defend the U.S. empire. While Muskie was the floor manager for the 1973 War Powers Act which supposedly prevents the president from sending U.S. troops abroad in hostile action without first consulting Congress, he now sings a different tune. On the Iran raid, he said, "I believe the president had the authority and the responsibility to... develop it as an option and carry it out at such time as his best judgment dictated... we cannot rule out the use of any appropriate means which might end the confrontation and bring sanity back to Iran."

Muskie, having long been a supporter of detente and SALT (and thus widely, if incorrectly, identified as being on the left side of the "dove"/"hawk" continuum), is now in a position of being able to posture as "a reasonable man pushed beyond the limit of endurance" by the nasty Russians. Interviewed in January about the views of those who pushed for accommodation with the Soviet Union, he said "We feel betrayed, used..."

The point to be learned from all this frantic cabinet-shuffling is that it is not the "statesmen" who shape policy, but rather the necessities of the imperialists that shape statesmen in a system which is driven toward war for its very survival.

# NATO Birthday

Continued from page 1

Party, attempted to reduce the entire protest to a plea for illusory detente and disarmament, spreading fairy tales in a world where mammoth imperialist war blocs are careening toward collision and where only revolution offers the possibility of either avoiding or ending this world war in the interests of the masses of people. Huge sections of the demonstrators broke with this feeble reformism, and fought militantly to take the stadium and disrupt the ceremony. For all practical purposes, the demonstration became two separate actions. As thousands of radical youth, many wearing helmets and face scarves, fought the cops back and forth across the streets, their chants targeted not only the accelerating war preparations, but to a considerable extent the system itself. Chants of "Screw the State!" were particularly popular as youth charged into police-manned high-pressure water hoses.

According to bourgeois reports, 250 riot police and 40 demonstrators were injured.

In the aftermath of the battle in Bremen, all of West Germany is buzzing with debate. The bourgeois media has whipped itself into its usual "anti-terrorist" frenzy, trying desperately to link the actions in Bremen with the capture in Paris the same day of two Germans charged with bombings. The press has been filled with barely veiled calls for the suppression of any internal opposition to the war moves.

The bourgeoisie in West Germany has every reason to be worried. First-hand reports to the *RW* made it clear that the militant call made in Bremen on May 6 to resist war preparations has fallen on very fertile ground, and that it immediately sparked broad enthusiasm throughout the country, especially

among the youth. Twice in three generations, the German people have been dragged along as imperialist war blocs squared off on the plains of central Europe and hurled millions of men at each other's throats. No one can overlook the fact that West Germany is once again on the front lines of a world war, the planned battle ground for swarms of tanks and first expected ground-zero for the growing stockpiles of nuclear weapons. The problem of how to rally the West German people to yet another imperialist war has occupied center stage in West German bourgeois political debates for some time. Without an enthusiastic, militarized and united West Germany, the entire U.S. military bloc is in serious trouble. Not only is West Germany on the front lines of the confrontation, but it is also the most economically powerful, financially sound and politically stable imperialist country on the continent. It is the keystone of the entire NATO alliance.

In one graphic demonstration, the West German youth have shown the quicksand that West German political "stability" rests on. The illusions of a generation of economic growth crumble in the face of the nightmare of world war that the bourgeoisie is forced to confront the masses with. The very preparations the bourgeoisie must make for war, to resolve their international crisis, draw thousands into struggle against them, and awaken forces to challenge their system.

Thanks to the militant actions of the youth of West Germany, a major statement of war preparations has been turned into its exact opposite. A fuse of opposition to the capitalist war plans has been lit, their public opinion campaign has been challenged. Both revolutionaries and reactionaries have taken note of the fact that many of the same youth firing flare guns to disrupt the mass induction will soon be inducted themselves and will have automatic rifles thrust into their hands. □

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# Taking the Pulse of May Day

In the few days since the historic Revolutionary May Day 1980 demonstrations, the *RW* has received a number of reports that begin to flesh out more of what actually went down on that day at the demonstrations and more broadly at various workplaces and throughout society. Some of these reports are published in various forms in this section. While these reports are still scattered and initial, representing only the tip of an enormous iceberg, they already confirm and deepen the analysis made in the last issue of the *RW* (May 5, 1980), that amidst sharp and intense class struggle a tremendous leap was made on May First, 1980 as the U.S. working class exploded onto the political stage, that literally millions of not only workers but of other classes had their heads turned by this historic political event, and that the actions of the working class and others oppressed by the U.S. imperialists on this day dramatically illustrate the potentially inexhaustible revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses of people in this country (a potential that could have been tapped even more by the class-conscious forces).

Reports like those that have begun to come in are key to making the kind of assessment and summation of May Day that is needed to both more accurately gauge the breadth and depth of the qualitative leap toward the goal of revolution made on May First. It is largely through distributing the Red Flag editions of the *Revolutionary Worker*—"waging the fierce battle against the bourgeoisie on the summation of May First, 1980," as it was put in the last issue of the *RW*, that new and deeper knowledge of the profound and truly awesome effect of May First on the political scene in this country is being obtained. In other words, it is only through political agitation (both the *RW* directly and secondarily spoken agitation) that the real vivid and rich story of this profound advance can be

learned. Reports like those contained in this issue and previous issues are in turn essential in further waging the battle to not only correctly sum up May Day but even more to more deeply grasp where things are at in relation to accomplishing our revolutionary goal. As Bob Avakian has said, "... agitation is decisive in gauging where the movement stands and what is the mood of the masses at every point as well as in influencing that mood and building that movement." And Lenin put it this way: "Only agitation can reveal on a broad scale the real state of mind of the masses, only agitation can make for close cooperation between the Party and the whole working class... only work like this can once again close the ranks of the proletariat, and provide accurate material for judging the speed with which conditions for new and more decisive battles are coming to a head." (from "The Assessment of the Present Situation," *Lenin Collected Works*, Vol. 15, pp. 278-9)

Carrying out this agitation correctly—applying Marxism-Leninism—has revealed many things that were previously hidden. The crowds of "curious onlookers" that followed the marches in most cities turned out to be actual support marches made up of large numbers of workers who had taken off work to come to the demonstrations and wanted to show their support and participate but were still carrying out intense struggle with themselves about actually taking the step of joining the march proper, and some of these workers did in fact join the marches at certain points. In Chicago, for example, a crowd of 50 followed behind the march and many more followed across the street. In cities all over the country there are many many examples of individuals or small groups of workers taking off work and even agitating to get other workers to join them. Many plants reported higher than usual absenteeism.

Although it is not possible to determine exactly how many people actually stayed out to take a stand on May Day, clearly a significant number of workers did stay out—considerably more than indicated simply by counting how many showed up at the rallies and marches. One construction worker, for example, told *RW* sellers, as he sat in his living room playing a tape he had made of the Washington, D.C. rally, that he knew at least half a dozen others on his block that stayed off work on May First.

Besides workplaces, a number of students and teachers in junior high and high schools, and even in a few elementary schools, participated in May Day, with some joining the marches themselves in several areas. At Roosevelt High near the Pico-Aliso projects where Damian Garcia was murdered, a large number of students stayed out of school and a small number came to the march, some joining in the march proper while others followed along on the side. At the Lt. Joseph P. Kennedy Institute, a Catholic-run school for handicapped kids, teacher attendance was so poor because of May Day that the principal, Sister Dolores, and her fellow administrators had to man a number of classes themselves. This turned out to be an easy job, since a large percentage of the school's students had stayed away from school themselves.

As reported in the April 25 issue of the *RW*, May Day became a raging issue at the school with the administration and the Archdiocese of Washington trying everything to stop it, including intimidation, firing and finally adopting a liberal attendance policy in order to avoid having to close the school. One student slapped Sister Dolores in the face the day before May Day when she tried to force him to attend a retreat rather than attend the rally. Stunned by the rebellious actions of her students and teachers on May First, Sister Dolores and her fellow administrators have cracked down,

threatening one staff member with firing and setting up new rules like no meetings on "school time."

More broadly still, sections of the petty bourgeoisie have been aroused by May Day. Many small store owners in the Fruitvale area of Oakland, for example, still proudly display the May Day poster in their shops. Even those not in support of May Day have had to sit up and take notice. In Detroit, 26 women from a major newspaper, went to check out the march. An assistant editor for a major Detroit newspaper commented, "May Day had a very large impact on millions of people around the world and more of an impact right here in this city. I've worked here 16 years—never have I seen anything like it. I don't know what the world is coming to."

All of this scattered and partial information indicates the tremendously broad impact of May Day, but much more investigation is needed. Not only must the profound advances made be summed up, but mistakes and shortcomings as well. It has to be concretely analyzed why, for example, the goal of 10,000 in the streets (ten thousand directly participating in the demonstrations) was not realized. Both the fact that the ruling class raised the stakes of the battle which had a real effect on the participation of workers and others, and the fact that the class-conscious forces were not fully able to make the necessary tactical and political advances to overcome these new examples placed in their path by an enraged and wounded bourgeoisie must be investigated and analyzed.

The *RW* calls on all of its readers and distributors to take up this challenge and send us reports. A big leap has been made. Let's hear all about it. Become Co-conspirator, now! □

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Speech by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

# Why a Little Taste of Freedom is an Uplifting Thing, and Why It's Not Enough

Following are excerpts from a speech by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, which was given in Columbus, Ohio in the summer of 1979 during his national speaking tour.

Thank you. It's very good to be here. We were just down a little bit further south in Cincinnati where, once again and correctly so, our Party's been right in the middle of a lot of turmoil, 'cause as you know, or as you should know, down in Cincinnati in recent months the city has been very sharply involved and embroiled in some very sharp issues. There's been a lot of debate in the places where people work, and where people live and over the media and everywhere else, about what's been going on, particularly in the Black community in Cincinnati because for once, after a long time, once again the killing going on is not going only one way down in Cincinnati. For the first time in a long time people have started shooting back at those murdering pigs out there. Some of them have been killed but the new thing is that they have also taken some of these murdering pigs down with them. This has been a very sharp dividing line in that city and more broadly around the country. What kind of attitude should we take toward this?

Now our strategy for revolution has been laid out. It is not random killings. We don't advocate any assassinations, and random killings is not our strategy. The basic question that divides real revolutionaries—people working to abolish the exploitation and oppression people are subjected to in this country in their millions every day; the question that divides them from all those, whining, bootlicking, world-record belly-crawling so-called revolutionaries who in one way or another want to convince people to stay on their knees and at most beg for a few kneepads, who want to convince people to make their peace with the system to accommodate themselves to the system, to condemn their own selves and the masses of people in this country and indeed the people throughout the world to prolonged suffering and a lifetime of nothing but the same madness that millions of people have to go through out here everyday; the dividing line is where do you stand when the oppressed rise up and strike back against their oppressors? Do you whine? Do you criticize from the sidelines? Do you moan? Do you try to pimp off it? Do you try to use it to hustle a little position for yourself? Do you go up to the ruling class and say, "Look, people are rising up. Hurry up and give me a position so I can keep 'em cool, otherwise they might get out of hand."? Or do you stand completely with and in the camp of the people and say as our Party has said over and over again: we're glad to see the killing is going on both ways, we're glad to see people rising up and resisting this oppression.

This murder goes on here everyday, this police terror that goes on in the dark of night and even in broad daylight all the time against the masses of people, particularly, though not only, against Black people and other minorities in this country. We're glad to see people rising up 'cause we can see in that not the final strategy, not the fully-developed mass movement we need for revolution, where millions will rise in arms, but the seeds of the future. We can see the desire, the burning determination of the oppressed to rise up, strike back against their oppressors and break away out of these chains that drag us down. And, we're glad to be here. We're glad to be here in the thick of it. That's where our Party should be—right in the midst of every such turmoil, every such uprising of every sharp question pointing to the source of the oppression, the source of the murders, that is not simply just these dogs out here that got the nerve to call themselves peace officers. We not only have to direct our attention to them but beyond them, to the other end of the leash that these attack dogs are on—to the capitalist class and its dog-eat-dog system that puts the profit of a few above anything else, that treats every-

thing as something to be bought and sold, that treats the masses of working people and oppressed people as materials to be used up and thrown on the scrap heap when they're no longer of use, or put in a uniform and sent off to the battlefield and have their ass shot off when these capitalists fall in deeper trouble and have to go out and rip away more of the world and rob, rape, plunder and exploit more people and more resources on every part of the globe...

Now we stand up, our Party stands up and says, "Look, we're communists." Like Karl Marx said in the first place, we don't hide nothin'. We disdain to conceal our views and aims; we're straight up for revolution. We represent the exploited and oppressed masses of people in this country—the working class and oppressed people and all those who are sick and tired of living under this system and can see what a rotten, corrupt, murdering and degenerate parasitic system it is; and how it turns everything, everyone into something with a price tag on its head, to be bought and sold by a handful of bloodsuckers. We say it straight up: we're gonna lead all these people to unite their efforts, to overcome the petty divisions and differences they try to sow in our ranks, to see beyond the way they try to get us to have our anger erupt at each other and commit violence and vent our hatred on each other, to see beyond that to unite and rise up and strike down this capitalist system and move on to classless society—communism. We're straight up about it; we won't hide it, or apologize for it. We'll say it to everyone who'll listen today and we'll go out and get people who don't even want to listen and tell them anyway. 'Cause people gotta be waked up.

These capitalists they can't stand to be called capitalists. "Oh, nobody here but us entrepreneurs. This is all just free enterprise. Call me industrialist. Say anything but don't call me a capitalist." Now every once in a while one of them will run some little private institute somewhere and talk about capitalism and talk among themselves about how, "Yea people hate it all over the world but we're gettin' over with it

ain't we? So let's keep it goin' and when we get out there in front of all those people, let's say that everybody can become a millionaire—anybody if they work hard, if they open their own little business can get ahead. Let's lie and cover up how do you become a millionaire or a super-millionaire or billionaire in this country. Let's not tell people you do it on the blood and the bones of the suffering of the people here and around the world. Let's hide the real history of this country and push it inside out and upside down. And let's keep anybody from calling us a capitalist."

See, what is a capitalist? What is capital? Capital is nothing—and this is what it scientifically is—but the control over and the exploitation of the ability of other people to work. It is the control over and the forcing of other people to work for you for wages that keep them alive and keeps them doing it over and over again—the control to force them to do that so that you can accumulate more and more profit, so that you can fight some other capitalist dog-eat-dog cutthroat thief among thieves and see which one of you can pile up the most wealth. That's what capitalism is.

Don't talk to us about free enterprise! The only thing it's free for is a handful of bloodsuckers and for the masses of people there's no freedom in it. We're tired of hearing about *freedom and democracy*, people's rights, without asking the basic question: freedom for whom? For what class? For the exploiter or freedom for the exploited? Freedom for the oppressor or freedom for the oppressed? You can't have both. Anybody who jumps out here and tells you that they represent all the people—slavemaster and slave alike; capitalist and worker alike; rich and poor alike; you know they're lying. How can you represent Dracula and Dracula's victim? There's no way you can. We're being ruled over by a class of Draulas. In fact these people can make Dracula look like Mary Poppins. That's a whole class of vampires sucking the blood of the peoples of the world and that's the law; that's the law that they live by; that's the nature of the beast.

Continued on page 16



# CIA Gets Blank Check

In the aftermath of the aborted embassy raid in Iran, Congress quietly dropped any attempt to enact a "charter" for the CIA which would restrict the agency's operation and subject it to the review of Congress. In fact, the same Senator who was sponsoring the so-called "reform" charter, Senator Huddleston of Kentucky, turned around and introduced a new proposal following an April 30 meeting at the White House. The new bill would, in effect, repeal any restriction of the Hughes-Ryan amendment of 1974. It would exempt the agency from most provisions of the Freedom of Information Act, it would make no mention of the use of newsmen, clergy and professors as covers for CIA operations, and it would make it a heavy felony to reveal the name of an intelligence agent. It further states that if the CIA targets American citizens for investigation, it must do so "under guidelines established by the Attorney General," in other words, the pigs shall be closely supervised by the hog.

The original plan for a charter came as the result of partial disclosures of the role of the CIA in the overthrow of the Allende government in Chile in 1973 and the installation of the U.S. puppet, Pinochet. This action, led by the Nixon administration, was not universally supported in the capitalist class. Various bourgeois elements had sought to develop a manufacturing economy in Chile based on American high technology and capital and implemented by "moderate" Christian democratic gov-

ernment. The result of the infighting was a series of hearings led by Senator Church designed to discredit the Nixon/Kissinger policy in Chile.

This petty squabbling within the ranks of our rulers has been overshadowed by developing events in the world, namely, the coming showdown between the U.S. imperialists and their rivals in the Soviet Union. Any "restriction" on the CIA—even if only formal—has become an anachronism as the bourgeoisie needs instead to *expand* its covert actions. The failure of the great embassy raid has been alluded to as the result of "faulty intelligence." Great moans have been heard—"If only we hadn't shackled the CIA." Of course, the CIA was never shackled at all. And while the capitalist class will unhesitatingly take any action it deems necessary, no matter what laws may be on the books, the official rejection of restrictions on the CIA is playing an important role for the bourgeoisie: it is spreading the notion that "yes, the CIA is into some nasty shit, but this is vitally necessary for the sake of our national interests."

The role of the CIA in the organization of coups, murders and torture in Iran, Guatemala, Brazil, Chile, Ghana, Zaire, Vietnam, the Dominican Republic, etc. etc. shows that there is no crime to which these craven mercenaries will not stoop. The abandoning of any restrictive charter on the CIA shows that the agency's employers—the bourgeoisie—has far greater crimes in mind.



**LOCAL NO. 560**

MAILING ADDRESS:  
31 EAST DIXON ROAD  
MILPITAS, CALIFORNIA 95035

April 15, 1980

RE: Ford Plants

TO ALL MEMBERS U.A.W. LOCAL 560

\*\*\* Special Announcement \*\*\*

This information came out of the Board of Directors Meeting today:

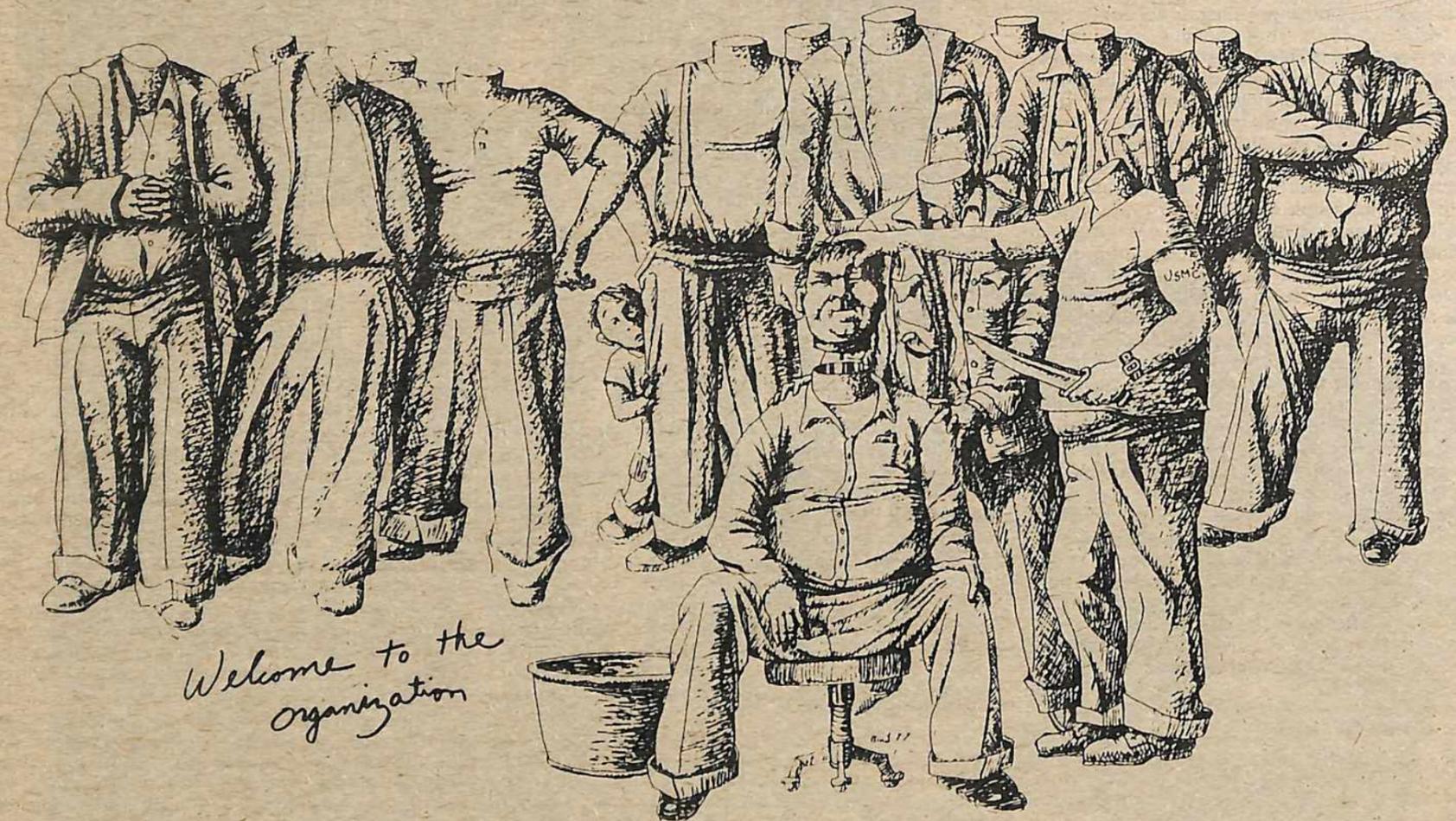
- Milwah New Jersey - Closing June, 1980
- Oakville Truck - 1 shift
- Kansas City Truck - 1 shift
- Michigan Truck - 1 shift
- St. Louis-Mercury - 1 shift

OUR PLANT IS SAFE - (no changes were mentioned)

Fraternally,  
*Ella Ledbetter*  
Ella Ledbetter,  
President  
Officers and Plant  
Comm. Local #560

EL/CP

The working class is the most broadminded class in history, but the labor traitors who masquerade as representatives of the workers are no example of this characteristic. Above is a particularly outstanding example of the narrow (and silly) outlook of trade union hacks.



This cartoon was submitted to the RW by a San Francisco artist.

# Eastern Hogs Bail Out Texas Pigs

## Hunt Bros. Debacle Threatens Whole Barnyard



The Hunt Brothers receive injection of big bucks from eleven major U.S. and two Canadian banks.

On Sunday evening, March 30, a select group of the nation's biggest bankers held a desperate meeting in a hotel room in Boca Raton, Florida, trying to prevent a panic when the Wall Street stock market opened the next day. Present were William Spencer, president of Citibank; Willard Butcher, president of Chase Manhattan; Lewis Preston, president of Morgan Guaranty; A.W. Clausen, president of Bank of America; and John McGillicuddy, chairman of Manufacturers Hanover Trust. Around two in the morning, Paul Volker, chairman of the board of governors of the Federal

Reserve System, came in in his pajamas, anxious to see if disaster could be averted.

The immediate cause of the crisis was the collapse of the silver market and with it the recent investments of the Hunt brothers, heavy silver speculators and sons of the late H.L. Hunt, Texas oil billionaire and patron saint of right-wing political causes. The 3 Hunt brothers needed a loan of \$2 billion to make good on their commitments. The loans they required were larger than the loans going to bail out Chrysler, but the alternative was the collapse of several leading Wall Street brokerage firms and

perhaps several banks. As with the bankrupt Chrysler corporation, the fragile crisis-ridden U.S. economy could not stand the shock of their sudden collapse. Something would have to be worked out to let them down gently—the trouble began last year when the Hunt brothers tried to corner the silver market. In less than a year, the Hunt interests bought or contracted to buy almost 200 million ounces of silver. This drove the price of silver up from \$6 an ounce to \$10. Then in December there was a massive rush into precious metals as capitalists worldwide tried to dump U.S. dollars which were worth less everyday. Speculation in silver drove the price up to \$50 an ounce in January.

Every time the price of silver went up by \$5 an ounce, the value of the Hunt brothers' silver hoard increased by a cool \$1 billion. The Hunts, in turn, used this silver, valued at these inflated prices, as collateral to buy even more silver and a wide variety of stocks; their silver and silver futures were used as "margins," the percentage of the price was put up by the buyer while brokerage firms financed the balance of the purchase price. Using this method, the Hunts bought, for example, over 5% of the Penn Central Railroad.

The whole dizzy spiral of speculation began to crumble when silver prices started to decline in February and March. The decline in silver subjected the Hunts to "margin calls." That is, as the value of silver used as margins on stock purchases declined, the Hunts were called on to make good the difference in cash. Even the fabulous Hunt brothers couldn't do that forever. On the morning of March 26 the Wall Street firm of Bache Halsey Stuart Shields Inc. called on the Hunts to put up another \$100 million in cash, and the Hunts had to admit they didn't have it.

In a panic, an officer of Bache called Fed. Chairman Paul Volcker that afternoon to tell him that the Hunts had failed to make a \$100 million margin call. Volcker, in turn, huddled with Treasury Secretary G. William Miller. The problem was that Bache, the fifth largest firm on Wall Street, had a network of only \$130 million but had borrowed over a quarter of a billion from ten different banks to finance their share of the Hunt Brothers' speculations. If Bache Halsey Stuart Shields Inc. failed, then so might several banks which had loaned them money—with no telling where the whole thing might end.

Quickly Bache began to sell off all the Hunt silver futures (contracts to buy silver), and that evening the New York Commodity Exchange quietly lowered the margin requirements on silver contracts to keep Bache "legal." But the cat was out of the bag, and the next day the price of silver tumbled from \$16.25 an ounce to \$10.85. Quickly a mini-panic set in on the stock market as the Dow Jones average dropped 27 points in just a couple of hours. Almost 65 million shares of stock changed hands, the seventh largest volume in Wall Street history. An all-out panic was averted only in the late afternoon when a phony rumor was floated that the Hunts were able to meet all the rest of their obligations. This was Friday, and the nation's key bankers quietly assembled in Boca Raton over the weekend.

Over the next month, disaster was warded off by one lie after another as investors were assured that although the Hunts had lost a lot of money, they had paid off all their debts. Behind the scenes, the Hunts were quietly selling out their interests in the Penn Central, Texaco, First National Bank of Chicago and others. To pay off Englehart Minerals and Chemicals, principal

owners of South Africa gold mines, the Hunts had to give Englehart their 20% interest in the new oil fields in the Beaufort Sea near the North Pole. Finally, at the end of March the Hunts got a new bank loan of \$1.1 billion to pay off the rest of their speculation debts.

For the capitalist class, it was another close call as their decaying system balances on a banana peel. Commenting on the near collapse of the stock market on March 28, the president of Merrill Lynch Economics said, "When you see markets falling so fast, it chills people's thinking about everything." "The potential was catastrophic," said the chairman of the Commodity Futures Trading Commission.

The press has attempted to portray the Hunts as eccentrics or "outlaw capitalists," who gambled irresponsibly in the markets and lost, causing needless harm to the economy. There were feature stories on their stables of race horses, their crass and unsophisticated right-wing politics, and how Brother Lamar owns the Kansas City Chiefs as a hobby. Yet the Hunts are no different from any other capitalist—they worship the same god of profit and do exactly what the rest of their bloodsucking class does, making money wherever they can and by any means. They broke no rules and certainly no laws. And as for their politics, they are certainly not essentially any different from the more refined and sophisticated parasites who are cynically crying foul in the wake of this recent debacle.

While all this was going on, the First Pennsylvania Bank in Philadelphia, the 23rd largest commercial bank in the U.S., collapsed on April 28. As the papers spoke of "a classic assets squeeze" and "mismatched assets and liabilities structure," an analyst for the Federal Reserve Board put it more succinctly: "The goddam thing was bankrupt." The First Pennsylvania was saved, however, by a \$1.5 billion bailout quickly arranged by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation and a group of 22 banks headed up by Citicorp. This became the third largest bailout in U.S. banking history, the only two larger ones occurring during the recession of 1974-75. As always occurs in these crises, the big fish eat the little fish, and the 22 banks "coming to the rescue" will assume control of 56% of First Pennsylvania stock.

Meanwhile, on Capitol Hill, the house committee on government operations held hearings on the whole affair, and congressmen demagogically demanded to know why the Hunts and others could get loans in the billions while "the little man" couldn't get a home mortgage. But these two-faced lackeys of the capitalist class knew full well why. Given the weakness and decline of the capitalist economy, and the precarious pyramid of credit upon which it rests, even the economic failure of one capitalist can have the gravest consequences for the system as a whole. And every effort must be extended by the government to prevent sudden collapse, whether by Chrysler, First Pennsylvania, or the Hunts. These desperate efforts, of course, do nothing to solve the basic problems the capitalists face—a fact they themselves are recognizing—but only forestall the inevitable and even make the situation worse after the immediate crisis is averted. As the bourgeoisie realizes, the only way out of the mess they're in is to go to war and win—only in this way can they deepen exploitation and expand their scandalous empire, and thus provide a new basis for the accumulation of capital.

# V.I. Lenin

# What We Need to Capture the Forces of

The following excerpt is the conclusion of "The Urgent Tasks of Our Movement," an article written by the Russian revolutionary leader V.I. Lenin in 1900. At that time a true revolutionary proletarian party, a communist party (then called "Social Democrats") had not yet been formed in Russia. Another major difference with today's conditions in the U.S. is the fact that the stage of the Russian revolution at that time was democratic (against the Czar and feudalism) and not socialist. But even with these important differences, this essay remains very relevant today—RW.

... What lesson can be learned from the past?

The entire history of Russian socialism has led to the condition in which the most urgent task is the struggle against the autocratic government and the achievement of political liberty. Our socialist movement concentrated itself, so to speak, upon the struggle against the autocracy. On the other hand, history has shown that the isolation of socialist thought from the vanguard of the working classes is greater in Russia than in other countries, and that if this state of affairs continues, the revolutionary

movement in Russia is doomed to impotence. From this condition emerges the task which the Russian Social-Democracy (Communist—RW) is called upon to fulfil—to imbue the masses of the proletariat with the ideas of socialism and political consciousness, and to organise a revolutionary party inseparably connected with the spontaneous working-class movement. Russian Social-Democracy has done much in this direction, but much more still remains to be done. With the growth of the movement, the field of activity for Social-Democrats (Communists—RW) becomes wider; the work becomes more varied, and an increasing number of activists in the movement will concentrate their efforts upon the fulfillment of various special tasks which the daily needs of propaganda and agitation bring to the fore. This phenomenon is quite natural and is inevitable, but it causes us to be particularly concerned with preventing these special activities and methods of struggle from becoming ends in themselves and with preventing preparatory work from being regarded as the main and sole activity.

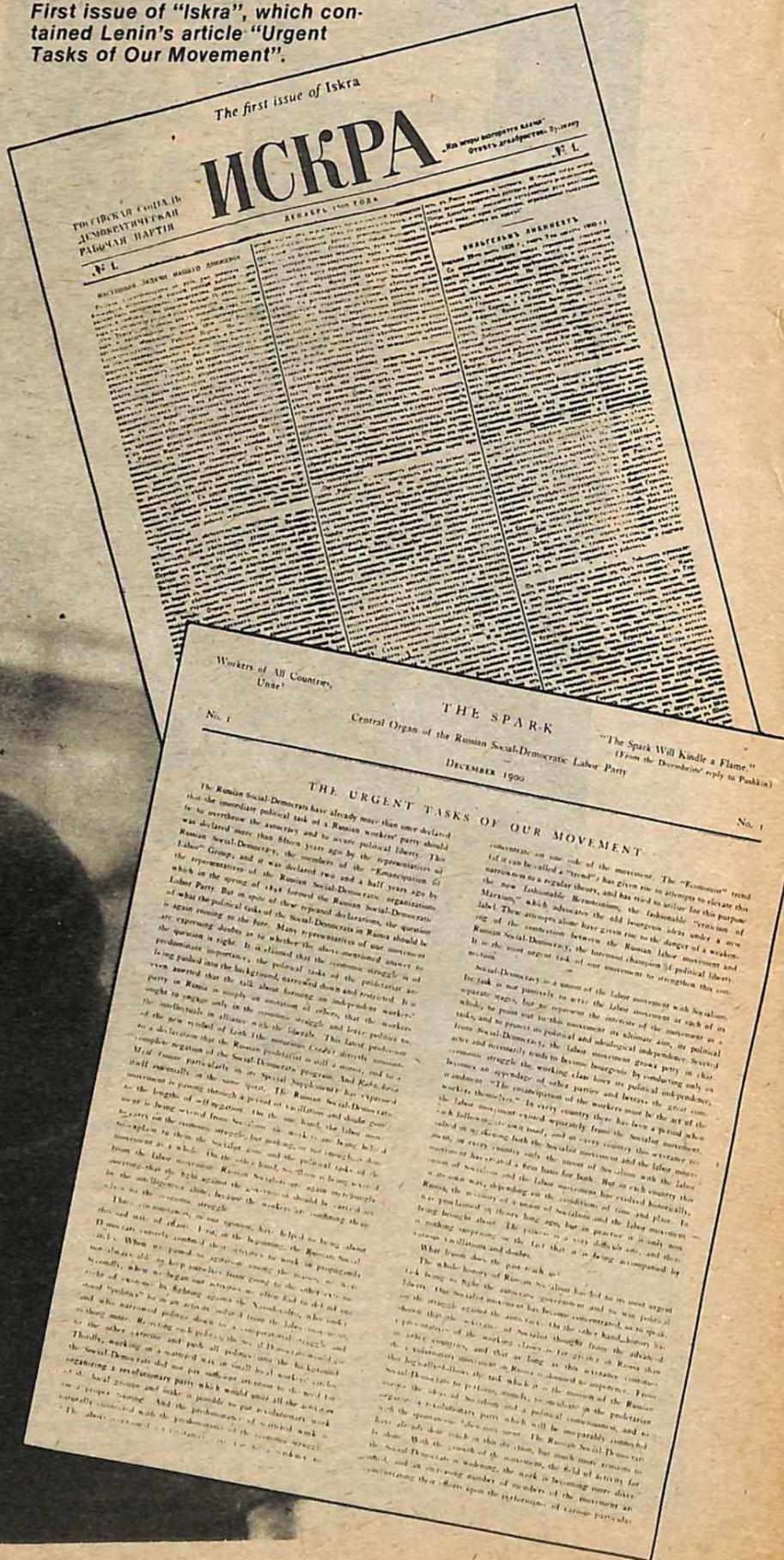
Our principal and fundamental task is to facilitate the political development

and the political organisation of the working class. Those who push this task into the background, who refuse to subordinate to it all the special tasks and particular methods of struggle, are following a false path and causing serious harm to the movement. And it is being pushed into the background, firstly, by those who call upon revolutionaries to employ only the forces of isolated conspiratorial circles cut off from the working-class movement in the struggle against the government. It is being pushed into the background, secondly, by those who restrict the content and scope of political propaganda, agitation, and organisation; who think it fit and proper to treat the workers to "politics" only at exceptional moments in their lives, only on festive occasions; who too solicitously substitute demands for partial concessions from the autocracy for the political struggle against

the autocracy; and who do not go to sufficient lengths to ensure that these demands for partial concessions are raised to the status of a systematic, implacable struggle of a revolutionary, working-class party against the autocracy.

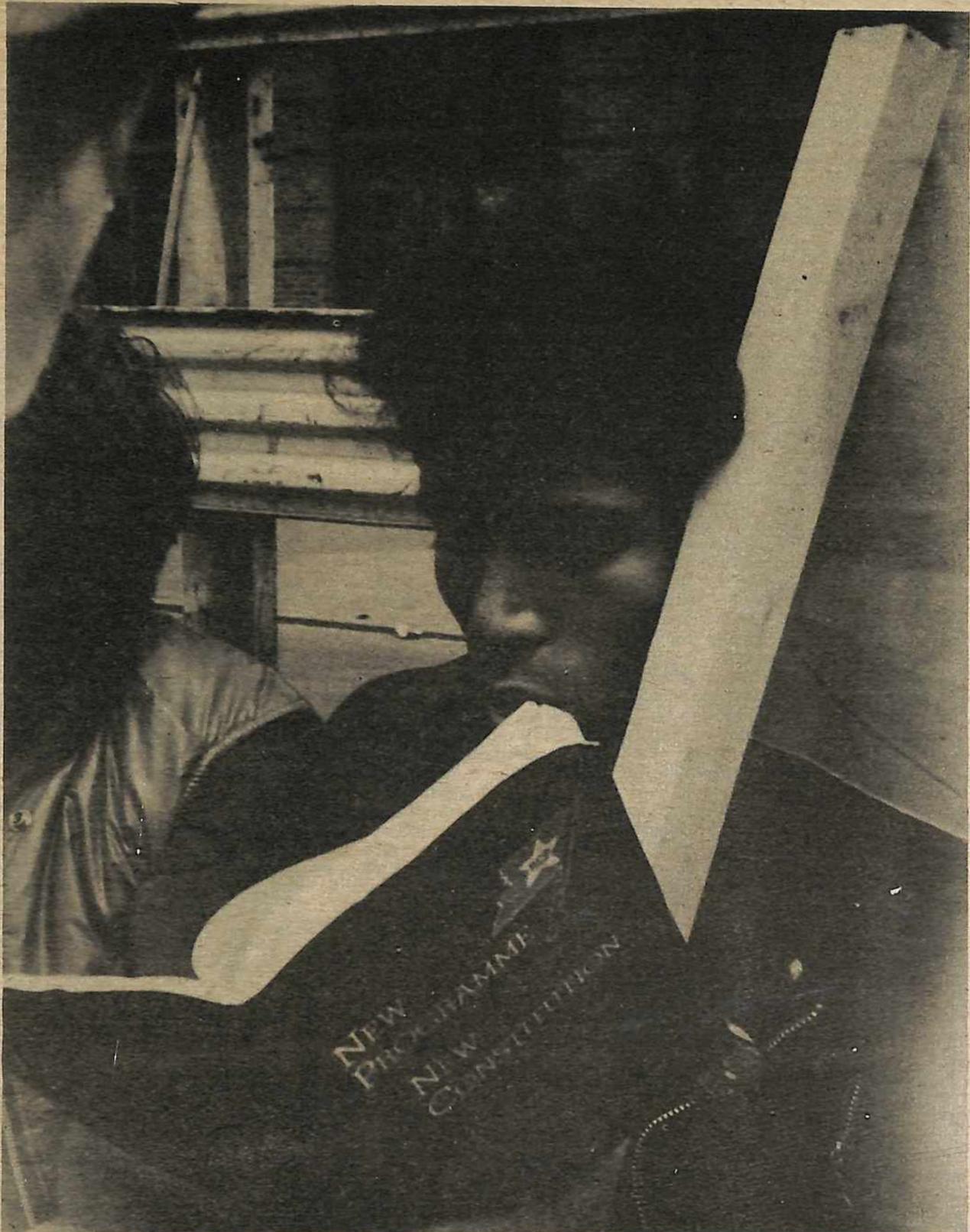
"Organise!" *Rabochaya Mysl* keeps repeating to the workers in all keys, and all the adherents of the "Economist" trend echo the cry. We, of course, wholly endorse this appeal, but we will not fail to add: organise, but not only in mutual benefit societies, strike funds, and workers' circles; organise also in a political party; organise for the determined struggle against the autocratic government and against the whole of capitalist society. Without such organisation the proletariat will never rise to the class-conscious struggle; without such organisation the working-class movement is doomed to impotence.

First issue of "Iskra", which contained Lenin's article "Urgent Tasks of Our Movement".



# eed to rtress

cy. With the aid of nothing but funds and study circles and mutual benefit societies the working class will never be able to fulfil its great historical mission—to emancipate itself and the whole of the Russian people from political and economic slavery. Not a single class in history has achieved power without producing its political leaders, its prominent representatives able to organise a movement and lead it. And the Russian working class has already shown that it can produce such men and women. The struggle which has developed so widely during the past five or six years has revealed the great potential revolutionary power of the working class; it has shown that the most ruthless government persecution does not diminish, but, on the contrary, increases the number of workers who strive towards socialism, towards political consciousness, and towards the political struggle. The congress which our comrades held in 1898 correctly defined our tasks and did not merely repeat other people's words, did not merely express the enthusiasm of "intellectuals"... We must set to work resolutely to fulfil these tasks, placing the question of the Party's programme, organisation, and tactics on the order of the day. We have already set forth our views on the fundamental postulates of our programme, and, of course, this is not the place to develop them in detail. We propose to devote a series of articles in forthcoming issues to questions of organisation, which are among the most burning problems confronting us. In this respect we lag considerably behind the old workers in the Russian revolutionary movement. We must frankly admit this defect and exert all our efforts to devise methods of greater secrecy in our work, to propagate systematically the proper methods of work, the proper methods of deluding the gendarmes and of evading the snares of the police. We must train people who will devote the whole of their lives, not only their spare evenings, to the revolution; we must build up an organisation large enough to permit the introduction of a strict division of labour in the various forms of our work. Finally, with regard to questions of tactics, we shall confine ourselves to the following: Social-Democracy does not tie its hands, it does not restrict its activities to some one preconceived plan or method of political struggle; it recognises all methods of struggle, provided they correspond to the forces at the disposal of the Party and facilitate the achievement of the best results possible under the given conditions. If we have a strongly organised party, a single strike may turn into a political demonstration, into a political victory over the government. If we have a strongly organised party, a revolt in a single locality may grow into a victorious revolution. We must bear in mind that the struggles with the government for partial demands and the gain of certain concessions are merely light skirmishes with the enemy, encounters between outposts, whereas the decisive battle is still to come. Before us, in all its strength, towers the enemy fortress which is raining shot and shell upon us, mowing down our best fighters. We must capture this fortress, and we will capture it, if we unite all the forces of the awakening proletariat with all the forces of the Russian revolutionaries into one party which will attract all that is vital and honest in Russia. Only then will the great prophecy of the Russian worker-revolutionary, Pyotr Alexeyev, be fulfilled: "The muscular arm of the working millions will be lifted, and the yoke of despotism, guarded by the soldiers' bayonets, will be smashed to atoms!"



Revolutionary Worker

## Dare to Grapple with the Battle Plan For Revolution

Revolutionary May 1st,

"If there is to be a revolution," said Mao Tsetung in 1948, "there must be a revolutionary party." Today in the U.S., there is such a party, a party based on Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought—the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA.

With the recent publication of draft documents of the *New Programme* and *New Constitution of the Revolutionary Communist Party*, the RCP has issued a declaration of war. These draft documents are a battle plan for destroying the old—rising in armed revolution and overthrowing the U.S. imperialist ruling class—and then building the new—the consolidation of the rule of the proletariat and the establishment and construction of socialism in this country.

These new documents are *drafts*. While they represent the most correct and highest concentration of the understanding of the RCP, broad discussion and struggle must take place to hone them into an even sharper weapon in the revolutionary struggle.

For a short period over the next months, the RCP is calling on all revolutionary-minded individuals and organizations and others to take up concentrated discussions of these documents. It is within reach to draw literally tens of thousands into this process, propagandists assigned by the Party will travel to meet with people. From discussions on the factory floor, to study groups behind prison bars, from struggle over the line among forces in the national movements to discussion among

radical and revolutionary students; from the farmworkers of California's Salinas Valley to the wheat farmers in South Dakota—the *New Draft Programme* and *New Draft Constitution of the RCP* will circulate. Meetings in housing projects and neighborhoods to discuss the new drafts should be held; women's organizations, anti-nuke groups—wherever people are in struggle against this capitalist system we are calling for broad attention to be focused on the *New Draft Programme* and the *New Draft Constitution* of the RCP. We call on people to bring forward their own ideas, too, about the best ways to popularize and carry on discussion over these documents.

Over this period, the pages of the *Revolutionary Worker* will be opened as a forum for the thoughts, agreements and disagreements of those thousands entering this discussion and struggle. The newspaper will regularly print letters and articles of this nature and will invite response.

The synthesis of this process will be the final *New Programme* and *New Constitution of the Revolutionary Communist Party* some months from now. The result—the battle plan for revolution!

World events are rapidly escalating. Crisis and war are upon us. Along with this, we may well be approaching an extremely rare moment in history—the development of a revolutionary situation.

The victory of May Day 1980, the tremendous expansion of distribution of the *Revolutionary Worker* and now the process of broad, deep and thorough discussion of the new *Draft Programme* and *New Constitution of the RCP*—all this has and will continue to make a revolutionary political line the property of increasing numbers of people. It is therefore necessary and possible to call on class-conscious workers and others—all those who hate this system, burn with a desire for revolutionary change and want to devote their lives to the struggle for the emancipation of all mankind—to step forward and apply for admission to the ranks of the Revolutionary Communist Party. Article One of the draft *New Constitution* reads as follows:

### MEMBERSHIP

#### Article 1

Any worker or any other person involved in the revolutionary struggle who accepts the Constitution of the Party, is committed to working actively in a Party organization, to carrying out the Party's decisions and to observing Party discipline and paying Party membership dues, may become a member of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA.

**Revolutionary Fighters Step Forward!  
Join the Revolutionary Communist Party!**

# Avakian

Continued from page 11

Now how can you talk about freedom, equality and democracy between Dracula and his victims. If he's free to bite your neck you're not free to be rid of him. If you're free to drive a stake into his heart then he's not free to bite your neck. It's one way or the other. And it always will be whenever you have a society divided into classes—divided into those who live parasitically in mansions we can't even imagine—you can go into a housing project and add up the total number of rooms and they don't add up to as many bathrooms as they got in their mansions. All accumulated off the blood and suffering, the literal skin and bones of working people here and around the world...

And because we put this straight up, 'cause we hold this right up in their face and rip the mask off it, this is why our Party's under attack. 'Cause we won't back down, 'cause we go out among the masses of people, we don't just curse at the enemy. We don't just unite with people's hatred for the way we have to live, we expose the system that's the cause of it. We expose every outrage, every abuse, whether it's the ruining of the environment or the shooting down of the people in the streets; whether it's factory workers killed on the job after workin' 30 years and the first thing the foreman does is run up and take his card and punch him off the time clock so they won't have to pay him 50 cents more. Whether it's the world war that they are coldly calculating to unleash, to see whether the capitalist rulers of this country or their capitalist counterparts—not communist but capitalist counterparts—who've restored the profit motive in the Soviet Union, to see which one of them can loot and plunder and control most of the world and the people within it. Whether it's any of these different things we're exposing—it's one system causing all this. One source of all this and one solution for the masses of people—to unite around the revolutionary banner and its Party and rise up and make revolution, millions strong through revolutionary violence to defeat the counter-revolutionary violence that goes on out here everyday and will be utilized ten times more when the slaves do finally rise up. And it's because we put this straight up, 'cause we won't back down or half-step—run off in a corner and say: we're sorry let's start over again, we didn't know you were really serious about hanging on to this system. If we'd known that, we wouldn't have come out here jumpin' bad in the first place. We'd come out here soft-talking or half-stepping about how about a few reforms then. How about a little something to make it a little more tolerable. At least can't we have a little quinine? To make it a little bit more so we can just get through another day? NO WE DON'T DO THAT; WE PUT IT STRAIGHT UP WHAT'S GOTTA BE DONE.

Now of course they lie about everything they do. And all the stuff they put on the tv is not meant for them, it's meant for us. It's meant to condition and brainwash us. See they accuse the communists of brainwashing the people. We've got a stand on that too. IF YOUR BRAIN IS DIRTY WHY NOT WASH IT! You wash everything else, why shouldn't it be clean. They're mucking up our brain every day out here—hanging things inside out and upside down; truth and reality are substituted for falsehood all the time and vice versa. It's just like that line from Alice in Wonderland: things are seldom what they seem, skim milk masquerades as cream. Everytime they're talking about peace you can bet they're preparing for war. Every time they pose as the innocent victim you know damn well they have committed another crime on the people. And the more people begin to wake up and begin to get a scientific view of this society, understand the class basis of what goes on, understand that it stems from one system and its inevitable workings, the more you can see through it.

Society doesn't have to be like this and furthermore it's not gonna be; we're gonna rise up and abolish it and move humanity to a completely higher stage. You see they're telling us every day in every way that there's nothing better or higher than this. This is as high as it gets. So what you better do since this ain't no goddam good, since this is nothing but a life of pain, you'd better go out here and try to find whatever little pleasure you can amidst this pain or try to find some way to escape from us for a little while. And they'll tell you openly and they'll tell you more subtly and they'll work on your mind. 'Cause they know they gotta control your mind to keep your body enslaved, and politically oppressed. And what do they do, for example—they understand that culture is very important—and what we mean by culture, is not just this fancy 7-letter-word. We're talking basic things like music, dance, drama, movies, all these things that people seek for entertainment and seek to elevate their thinking. And they understand that culture is a weapon to be used by one class or another in society and they will wield it, to keep the people oppressed and keep their minds numb. Just think about the junk they push in music, now a lot of people say, "I just listen to the beat, I don't pay no attention to the words." YES YOU DO! 'Cause you'll catch yourself singing the damn words in the shower or somewhere else. That stuff is working on you. Just think about it.

Now our Party believes people should sing and dance and have a good time, in fact we want a society not based on tears and pain. We want a society based

on laughter—struggle, yes, but struggle to move forward with destiny in the hands of the people. We believe that people can and will have a much greater time if you want to put it that way. And even under this system we know people gotta have music. They gotta have culture, they gotta have some relief, but nevertheless let's check out what they're doing to us. Think about this little line that comes pounding at you 58 times in one song: "There's nothin' more that I wanna do than take the floor and dance with you." You mean to tell me that with everything that's gotta be done in the world out here the most we can think about, the highest aspirations we could have is to get out, shake our booty, and boogie on down. BULLSHIT! People got hopes, dreams and aspirations and ideas and thoughts, longings, angers, determination, hatred, all of which can be and has to be directed toward the goal of moving to a completely higher form of society. Or think about another song—Dr. Hook, his group's got a song out—When you're in love with a beautiful woman—you gotta watch your friends, you can never trust her—life is miserable. All because you're in love—THINK ABOUT IT—a society that promotes a song like that where a woman is nothing but a possession for a man and you gotta fight like a dog to keep one of your own friends from stabbing you in the back and stealing it from you.

What kind of society is that? A society that should be buried and thrown in the dustbin of history. A society that degrades people every day. They moan and weep and cry pious tears about all this rape out here and they put pornography all over the place. Women are just a piece of meat. Why are they surprised that people take it to its logical conclusion and go out and start raping them. Now we don't support that but you gotta put the blame where it is—on the system. We'll deal with rapists and we'll deal with them ruthlessly. There'll be no tolerance shown for that, but let's understand what the source of it is and who's really promoting it out here every day. And then there's another subtle way to work on your mind. Check out Superman. Now they had to make a new movie here 'cause the old Superman went and committed suicide, apparently he wasn't so super. So they spend all these millions of dollars in technology and advertising to get you to this movie. And what is the message? What is a better message than Superman. Think about it. Here's a dude come from Krypton—a planet light years ahead and light years away and advanced beyond anything we have ever seen. Can't even imagine it. And he comes all the way down from that planet down to the earth and the most that he can do is to defend capitalism—Truth, Justice and the American Way? Bullshit, I don't believe it!

See what they're trying to tell us is that there's nothing out here higher or better, and never will be, than this madness that we're going through here under the capitalists' so-called Free Enterprise—actually slavery, a modern day slave system. And they've got all these science fiction movies out to drum home the same message over and over again. Think about Star Trek. They even developed cults around it. They got Trekkies runnin' around. What is the message of that. Think about it. Here's the Star Ship Enterprise going to the final frontier—and they go all over space—I mean they travel intergalactically. They go to all kinds of different constellations, galaxies, solar systems and what have you and what have they found? Well they found societies still back in feudal times. Princes, monarchs, queens, kings, emperors, all that nonsense. And they've found societies with a mixture of the old and the new, gladiators fighting over public tv; they've found planets far away from the earth where people are reenacting the drama of Al Capone and Bugs Moran in the 1930s on the earth in the U.S.; they've found people with minds and no bodies that can move all kinds of things and change shapes and make things move and go from here to there without any bodies just through the actions of their minds. They have found all that and they have never yet found anything higher than capitalism in the whole universe, no matter how far you go ahead or how far you go out in space nothing has ever come into being higher than capitalism and I DON'T BELIEVE IT! Well this is what they're trying to get us to accept—that it will always be this way. They're working on your mind, that's not just there for your entertainment. The fact that it's entertaining and well done is all the more efficient, all the more sinister. Now I'm not saying don't watch the tv 'cause until we can put some revolutionary stuff on it all the time people are gonna sit and watch it, but just keep your mind open. What you do is like at election time when you can start to dig it because you can see the message and the class content of what they're saying coming through in everything they do. But keep your mind awake, don't let it get numb. Don't let them turn you into a zombie like they want to do.

And I'd like to get a little more into the other side and the real picture of what the future's gonna be like. Let's project ahead to the future. Say a thousand years from now. Well let's think about what it'd be like when a young person is growing up and people in the older generation are explaining to the young people what life was like on the planet earth at the end of the 20th century. And the young kid will be saying: Now let me get this straight now, I really don't know anything about this—let me get it straight now. You mean to tell me that all the people, the masses of people all went over the same "roads" as they called them,

like ants to an ant colony and they all went down to these big slave holds and had these big machines and everybody went like this all day long for 1/3 or 1/2 of their waking hours and they slaved together on these big machines every day giving their life away to it? And a few people stood up and said "All this belongs to me. And all the rest of you have to live for me, work for me or else you can't live"? And people accepted it? And these people who took all of it for themselves were called capitalists? And people said that capitalism was the highest that society could ever achieve and people believed it? THAT'S NOT TRUE. THAT CAN'T BE TRUE. THAT'S A LIE!

I want to know about the real history, don't tell me all these fairytales. And you mean to tell me that all the people got into these little contraptions, these broken down little pieces of metal and steel encased with plastic and rubber around them and four little rubber things that went around and around and they all stood in line for hours to get some liquid fuel to make these things go round and round so they all could go forward and backward day in and day out to the same place to slave for the same capitalist? They never talked to each other? Millions of people or thousands going to the same place back and forth, going to the same place and they never talked to each other and people said that was the highest society that there could ever be and somebody believed it? I DON'T WANT TO HEAR THIS! That's monstrous, that's criminal, WAIT, HOW COULD THAT BE?

You mean to tell me that when these capitalists couldn't make enough money from these slaves in these big slaveholds that they took them and put them in different-colored uniforms and different insignias on the uniforms and marched them off and gave them these steel instruments that exploded and shot missiles out of the end of them that ripped the flesh and destroyed each other and the capitalists stayed behind hiding and manipulating and accumulating more and more wealth from all this? And then at the end they call themselves victors and vanquished the others? And at a certain point the people said enough of this? And they took some of these same steel instruments, turned them around and exploded them and shot the missiles at the people who had given them to them in the first place and somebody got in the middle and said, "Wait a minute, No Violence. We can't have any violence here." And some people said that was all right? That's acceptable? I DON'T BELIEVE IT. THAT'S CRIMINAL, THAT'S BARBAROUS, HOW COULD THAT BE? And you mean to tell me that people got down on their knees and talked to something or someone that wasn't there, all day long, especially when they were in trouble, and everybody said it's all right, they're not crazy, 'cause it's God or Allah? And people believed it? How could it be, that's ignorance, how could people be that ignorant? And you mean to tell me that on top of that they had these big carnivals, where a few of these people dressed themselves up like clowns and stood before the others and invoked the name of this non-existent God or Allah, and all the other people came forward and went down on their knees and threw money at them? And this actually went on and people accepted it? I can't believe it!

And it will have to be explained that no, people didn't believe it forever and ever, and in fact they saw through it more and more and began to unite, began to go forward and rise up to oppose this; and then, things called police and armies were sent out with even bigger lethal instruments, to shoot even bigger missiles to rip people's flesh. But yet and still, the people rose up against this, took those out of the hands of the enemy and defeated them on the battlefield and banned that system, and finally moved forward—and that's why we're here today, and look back, and both laugh and cry at what people had to go through a thousand years ago at the end of the 20th century on the planet earth.

Now that's what the history of the world and of humanity and of life itself is gonna really be like, and that's how people are gonna look back at what we're going through, and they're both gonna laugh and cry. They're gonna have disbelief that people had to go through this, and they're gonna see how monstrous and criminal and how absurd it is. And the more absurd not only them but we can begin to see it is, the more ridiculous it stands out, the more criminal it becomes and the more urgent the need, and our determination has to become, to rise up and abolish it, because that's what we're on the threshold of.

Now when you get to this point there's always some people—especially when you go out and talk to these liberals—who say, "Now, wait a minute. I agree with a lot of what you're saying, but there's one part I just can't agree with, and that's all this talk about violence. I just can't go for this violence. It's no good. I can't support it. Yes, things need changing, but all this violence is no good. It's just not acceptable to me."

Well I think people who hold that position gotta recognize—whether they're well-intentioned or have bad intentions—whether they genuinely, sincerely want to see things change, and the misery and oppression of people ended, or whether they want to perpetuate it—whatever their intentions might be and their subjective feelings might be, they have to recognize and face up to the consequences of what such a position actually amounts to. Because what it amounts to is saying that the violence that the masses of people have to go through out here every day in their millions, here and around the world, the degradation and the violent

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# Iran

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after the U.S. raiding team was forced to take off before the five helicopters on the ground could be destroyed (with all their valuable information inside them), the site was bombed by Iranian planes—an attempt to destroy the evidence if there ever was one!

This should come as no surprise, given the fact that the whole Iranian army, air force and naval officer corps was trained, organized and armed by the U.S. military for more than 25 years. With the exception of the top generals who were executed in the months following the February 1979 insurrection, much of the U.S.-trained officer corps is still intact and is the central rallying point for the forces of reaction in Iran today.

Further evidence of U.S. covert actions directed at heightening the crisis atmosphere within the country are the "mysterious explosions" that have killed a number of people in Tehran and other cities in the days since the U.S. raid failed. These explosions are a "mystery" only to the imperialists' hired prizefighters in the U.S. media, for whom it is inconceivable that the U.S. could engage in "terrorism."

Last week's seizure of the Iranian embassy in London by a group of six "Arab nationalists" also has all the marks of CIA intrigue hatched in league with Iraq, which has moved towards the U.S. orbit in recent years. If these Arabs were not put up to the job directly by U.S. or Iraqi intelligence, they certainly walked into a well-sprung trap where their protests over the continuing oppression of the Arab minority in Iran objectively served counter-revolutionary purposes. This short-lived affair gave the imperialists new fuel to attack the seizure of the U.S. embassy in Iran, as well as the opportunity to see the British equivalent of Col. Beckwith's crewcut mercenaries go into action.

Through all this reactionary plotting and attempts to "destabilize" Iran, the

U.S. imperialists are attempting to unleash reactionary forces who have been arguing all along that the hostage crisis must be settled in order to build new economic and military ties with the U.S., and that the main obstacle to this—Iran's revolutionary Left—must be decisively crushed. This thinking is clearly represented by Admiral Madani, who is making a move to become the new Prime Minister, as well as Defense Minister Chamran, who has led the government's attacks on the Kurdish people and has recently suggested that the holding of an international court to condemn U.S. support for the Shah's regime could lead to "freeing the hostages, whose detention is not an end in itself."

An important part of the U.S.'s intriguing and covert operations within the complex political situation in Iran today is for them to play on and try to manipulate real contradictions among the Iranian masses—particularly trying to set politically backward religious Moslems against Iran's communist and other revolutionary forces. U.S. agents are without a doubt working overtime inside the Islamic Republic Party, whose reactionary leaders—such as Ayatollah Beheshti—are themselves trying to divert the Iranian people's demands to uproot the U.S. "fifth column" in the country into a witchhunt against the Left, who they are demagogically accusing of working with U.S. agents to overthrow the Islamic government.

### Sharpening Struggle Inside Iran

These covert U.S. actions, as well as its direct economic and military aggression, are having an impact on the sharpening class struggle within Iran. According to several reports, the overall turnout at the various May Day demonstrations in Tehran was significantly reduced due to the threat of bomb attacks and the politically tense atmosphere.

At the government's officially sponsored May Day demonstration of 50,000 in front of the occupied U.S. embassy, a planned march to Ayatollah Khomeini's residence in north Tehran

was cancelled when three bombs were found along the march route. At this rally itself, Khomeini sent a message calling on the Iranian people to make May Day the "day for burying the superpowers' dominance," and thousands of demonstrators chanted, "America, America... the army of 20 million is prepared to fight."

However, at the same time, leaders of the Islamic Republic Party involved in this anti-imperialist demonstration, virulently attacked both the U.S. government and "American leftists," holding them responsible for the recent wave of explosions. Acting on this were the Hesbollahi—hardcore thugs closely linked to the Islamic Republic Party—who attacked the May Day marches of the Mojehadeen, the Fedayeen, and the revolutionary May Day march reported in last week's *RW*, organized by the Union of Iranian Communists and Peykar, as well as many workers' councils in Tehran and the surrounding area.

In spite of these attacks, the May Day demonstrations in Iran were nevertheless a real blow to the U.S. imperialists as well as an indication of intense turmoil inside Iran and a sign of even sharper struggle to come between the pro-imperialist and reactionary forces on the one side and the revolutionary forces on the other who are determined to advance through to the complete uprooting of imperialism and feudalism in Iran. In this light, it is especially significant that thousands of class-conscious revolutionary workers came to the fore around May Day, moving to take their rightful place at the head of the Iranian revolution.

According to recent reports, this struggle is also breaking out with even sharper fury in the western province of Kurdistan, where large areas have been liberated from control by the central government and local landlords by Kurdish revolutionary forces. In the last week, fighting on a scale far more intense than last summer's battles has erupted throughout Kurdistan. The first clashes took place several weeks ago, when Iranian army units that were supposedly being sent to the Iraqi border area in western Kurdistan

detoured into the main Kurdish cities, provoking fighting with the revolutionary forces based there. After a brief round of fighting, the Iranian military launched surprise bombing raids on Sanandaj, Saqqez, Bukan and other cities—killing at least several hundred people and wounding more than 2000 in Sanandaj alone. In Sanandaj, ambulances and doctors were machine-gunned by government forces after the raids.

Full-scale fighting is now reported to be breaking out all over Kurdistan, the outcome of which will decisively influence the political situation in Iran in the period ahead, including the prospects for the U.S. imperialists to refasten their grip on the country as a whole.

The struggle in Iran is rapidly approaching a climax, a critical juncture that is full of significance for the working class and oppressed peoples of the whole world. The imperialists in Washington must be going mad with frustration, for the Iranian people whom they so much detest have thrown a major monkey wrench into their attempts to consolidate their grips on this oil-rich area of the world and pull together their war bloc for a final showdown with the USSR. In this way, the Iranian revolution has provided a real material aid as well as inspiration for the world's peoples. And this is why the two roads which now so starkly present themselves to the Iranian people—the road of betraying the revolution and of capitulation to imperialism, and the road of pushing on with the revolution to liberation and socialism—are so full of consequences for the whole world. That is why it is so crucially important for the working class and revolutionary forces in this country to stand with the Iranian revolution and battle the U.S. imperialists tooth and nail as they prepare to strike again in their frenzy. □

Correction: The photos which appeared on the front page of the May 1st Red Flag edition of the *Revolutionary Worker* and page 6 of the Spanish section of the May 5th edition of the *RW* should have been credited to Jay Dahl.

## ARM YOURSELF WITH REVOLUTIONARY THEORY SHOP AT THE BOOKSTORES OF THE RCP

### Revolutionary literature, theory, novels, periodicals, posters and records.

- Washington, D.C.:** Revolution Books, 2438 18th St. NW, 20009, 202-265-1969.
- New York City:** Revolution Books, 16 E. 18th St., 10003, 212-243-8638.
- Cambridge:** Revolution Books, 233 Mass. Ave., 02139, 617-492-9016.
- Detroit:** Revolution Books, 5744 Woodward Ave., 48202, 313-872-2286.
- Chicago:** Revolution Books, 1727 S. Michigan, 60616, 312-922-6580.
- Los Angeles:** Liberation Books, 2706 W. 7th St., 90057, 213-384-3856.
- Berkeley:** Revolution Books, 1952 University Ave., 94704, 415-841-8314.
- San Francisco:** Everybody's Bookstore, 17 Brenham Place, 94108, 415-781-4989.
- Seattle:** Revolution Books, 1828 Broadway, 98122, 206-323-9222.
- Honolulu:** Revolution Books, 923 N. King St., 96817, 808-845-2733.



"Revolution... demands not only a commitment to fight, but a commitment to fight **consciously**, with your head up—to learn and apply the **science** of revolution..."  
from **Science of Revolution**, RCP Publications, June 1980

# Avakian

suppression and the violence in their lives every day—all that is acceptable to you. That when people go out here and are shot down in cold blood, that is acceptable to you. I read about a dude two weeks ago who had a bible—what they always tell us to rely on and to take up, and that'll make life safe, that'll protect us—a dude came up to the police in an argument with a bible in his hand, and they shot him down anyway! And you're saying that what goes on every day out here to thousands of people every year—that's acceptable to you. You're saying that when a mother's child is bitten by a rat in the middle of the night, and its face is ripped open, that *that's* acceptable to you—that violence is OK with you; that when hundreds, thousands, even millions of babies' stomachs are churning inside, erupting and bleeding for lack of decent food and medical care—which is not anything if it's not violence—that *that* is acceptable to you, *that* violence is acceptable to you. You're saying that when people, 20,000 a year, die on the job, having their lives snuffed out by the capitalists' grinding machinery of exploitation, *that's* acceptable to you; and the couple of million more who are maimed or injured on the job, the miners who are buried alive for the profit of the capitalists—all *that* is acceptable to you; the millions of people around the world who die from so-called natural causes that really are caused by the imperialist system which keeps them poor and keeps them oppressed—those millions of people dying from that—all *that's* acceptable to you, even though it wouldn't be any different if the imperialists just took them all, lined them up and just ran a machine gun down the line and shot every one of them dead. It wouldn't be any fundamentally different—but all *that* is acceptable to you. Vietnam is acceptable to you. Korea is acceptable to you. World War 3 and nuclear weapons are acceptable to you. But it is not acceptable to you when the oppressed and the exploited finally say they've had enough of this, they can see a way out of it, they rise up, take up the position of the Revolutionary Communist Party, get united, overcome their differences, rise up, prepared and educated, and consciously strike, millions strong, to strike down their oppressors—that all of a sudden, at *that* point, violence becomes unacceptable to you.

Now that's all you're saying. You are saying in effect—and you've got to face up to it—that you support the violence perpetuated against the masses of people, even among themselves as the frustration and anger erupts, in addition to all the violence that comes down from the system on the people every day in one form or another. You support all *that*. You support the violence that keeps the people oppressed and degraded; you support counterrevolutionary violence, but you cannot support the people rising up and using violent means, which is the only possible means, to rid themselves of this oppression and exploitation, and to rid society of a system that feeds off and must perpetuate this exploitation and oppression, degrada-

tion and destruction, on a larger and larger scale. You support counterrevolutionary violence, but you cannot accept revolutionary violence.

And people gotta recognize that nothing less than that is what they're saying, whatever their intentions.

And then some people say, "Well, maybe you got a point. But listen. Violence is degrading. Whoever uses it will be lowered down to the level of the very people you are opposing. If you use violence against them, you'll become just as bad as they are. Violence is degrading."

Bullshit. The violence that is committed out here among the oppressed *against each other*, killing each other over nothing, with their anger exploding inward, against others or against themselves—that is degrading, that is part of what this system grinds people through every day. But for the oppressed to begin to see beyond that, to rise up, take matters into their hands and begin to strike back against their oppressors—that is not degrading, it is uplifting! You go tell the people of Iran, who went into the streets for weeks and months, who were shot down time and again unarmed by the Shah's army, while the murdering hypocrites who rule this country said not a word and covered it up in the press every day—and on one weekend, in one city, the capital city, 10,000 people were shot to death by the Shah's army and you didn't hear a word; it was covered up, it was buried by the hypocritical murdering dogs who rule this country who were behind it and supplying the guns to do it; you tell the people in Iran that after weeks and months of that, when finally they got to the point where they wouldn't take any more, and they took up arms and began to strike back against that counterrevolutionary violence—and yes, their revolution is not completed, it needs to go forward over the opposition and rolling under its wheels, a mighty force of millions, all those who stand in its way, including the Ayatollah Khomeini—but nevertheless, it did take a great step by rising up and striking down one of the most monstrous despots on the string of U.S. imperialism anywhere in the world, the hated Shah; you tell the Iranian people that when they finally rose up, then they were degraded—and they'll laugh and tell you they were anything but degraded, they were uplifted by that process.

You even go in this country and you tell the Chicano people in Houston last year, 1978, who after yet another Chicano was thrown in the bayou and murdered by the police, and who finally rose up, thousands, 3,000 strong, and chased the police out of the area, drove them back for two days, burned police cars, struck back against their oppressors—you go tell them that they were degraded by that, and they will laugh at you, and tell you no, you don't understand, we were uplifted.

We made a poster of this, 'cause our Party doesn't stand on the sidelines criticizing, or try to pimp and hustle off the people's struggles and get a soft position, and we don't whine and moan and apologize, we stand with it in the midst of it and we point the way forward, not just to rebellion for a day but to make revolution that carries all the way through—we put out a poster. And this poster showed the brilliant light of the police cars burning against the skyline in Houston,

Texas—in fact, the most beautiful scenic picture of Texas that's been put out in a long time. There it was on this poster. And we went out among the people in the neighborhood and said, "Listen, you've got to support this rebellion. And you've gotta stand with these three revolutionary leaders, the Moody Park 3, who have been singled out by the government, facing 25 years for supposedly inciting to riot because they stood with that rebellion." We went to one young dude, I'll never forget it, and we put a picture of it in our newspaper—he took the poster and he held it up with a great big smile, pointing right to the middle of it. And he wasn't saying, "Oh, I was so degraded. I wish somehow I could have avoided it." He was saying, "Yeah, I was right here, it was tremendous. It was the best day in my life. I and the other people out there got more justice in those two days than we ever got in a lifetime, and for once, so did the pigs get a taste of real justice."

See, this is what you got to understand. It is not degrading, it is uplifting, to begin to get that taste of freedom, that taste that people got in the 1960s and the taste that they still long for today even more. I remember my wife telling me about a heavy scene. She was watching television, in 1965, when Watts erupted, shook the whole country, panicked the rulers of this country. And here was this silly newsman—I guess they gotta do this for a living—he goes out, approaches this 15 or 16-year-old Black girl and says, "Listen. What's going on here and why are people doing this?" She just looked at him with a look that said "any goddam fool knows that," and instead of answering him she asked him another question. She said, "Let me ask you, do people everywhere know what we're doing here?" And he said "Oh, yes," and she said, "Good!"

You see, that's the stand of our Party, because she had the taste of freedom in her mouth, if only for a day. People in Detroit were not degraded. They were uplifted when they ran the pigs out, took the guns away from the National Guard, fought back against the 82nd Airborne for four days—they weren't degraded, they were uplifted. But not far enough, and not thoroughly enough. Because the purpose is not simply, and what we need is not simply to strike back against the oppressor, not simply to take a few of them down, not simply to get some revenge, but much more than that to rise up all the way, carry through and make revolution, and, yes, finally advance society to the point where we can bury all these weapons of destruction, bury them because there's no longer anyone in society who has any interest in looting, robbing, plundering and ripping off people, and therefore no longer any need to kill people in the pursuit of that, and we can bury them except for a few we put in the museum and take to future generations and say, "This is all part of what we had to live under and why we rose up to overthrow it, and why you must continue to struggle to see that we're never dragged back to it." □

To be continued



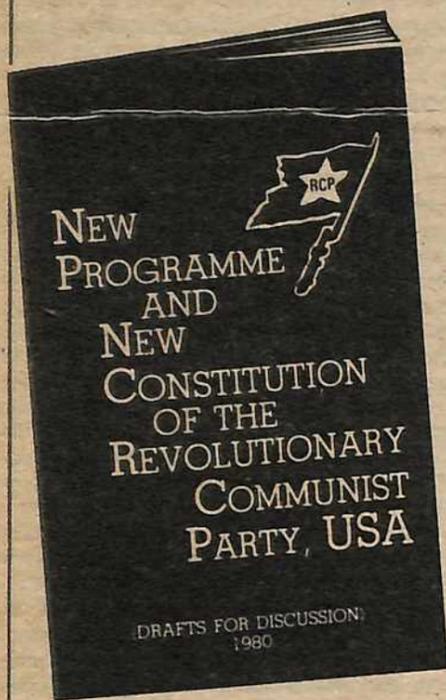
The streets of downtown Amsterdam were torn up April 30 as thousands of Dutch youth ripped up the pavements to heave the pieces at police during protests against the coronation of Holland's new Queen Beatrix, a widely disliked, snooty and openly reactionary bitch who is married to a former Nazi. The demonstrators carried red flags and threw orange paint bombs at official cars—orange being the royal color—to symbolize their opposition to the monarchy. The fighting was spearheaded by squatters (who have illegally taken over abandoned buildings) and others protesting the lack of housing. There are over 55,000 people on the waiting list for places to live in Amsterdam alone and the government has recently announced the cancellation of plans for more public housing. In 20 cities and towns across the country, empty buildings were taken over and the Dutch flag torn down as part of this day of protest. The police were under such an all out assault that they reportedly had to enlist the aid of Dutch United Nations soldiers and a motorcycle gang and even so were unable to keep the protestors from getting within 200 yards of the Queen's palace. Over 100 police were reported injured—the new Queen spent her first day visiting her wounded.



# Get Down with the Line of Bob Avakian and the RCP

*"If we want to get free we're going to have to struggle to learn and apply this theory."*

—Chairman Bob Avakian—



## New Draft Programme and New Draft Constitution of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

In a situation which is developing as rapidly as today's, the actions taken by the advanced section of the proletariat are of decisive importance. They will in no small part determine how far along we are and whether we are able to break through all the way when the conditions fully ripen and the opportunity for revolution is there to seize. These moments, particularly in a country such as this, are rare in history and their outcome has a profound influence on history for years, even decades, to come. Those who do understand what is going on and choose not to act are contributing to the prolonging of this destructive and decadent rule of imperialism. This program is a declaration of war, and at the same time a call to action and a battle plan for destroying the old and creating the new. It must be taken up.

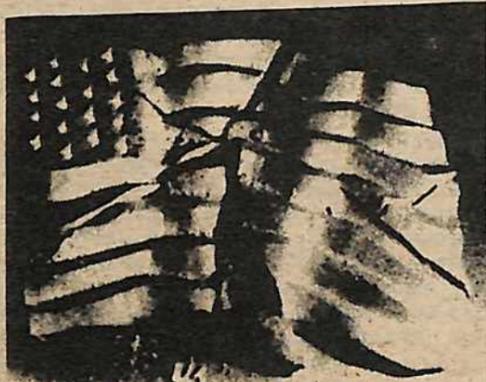
Today the words of Mao Tsetung ring out with full force:

"Seize the Day, Seize the Hour."

## AMERICA IN DECLINE IMPERIALISM'S GREATEST CRISIS

Written under the leadership of the RCP Central Committee and its Chairman, Bob Avakian.

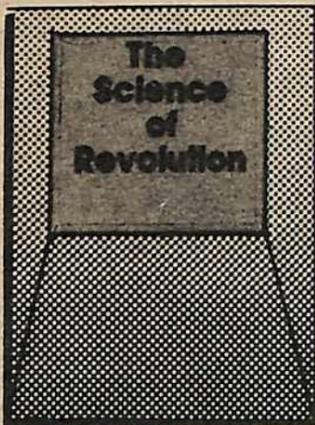
For years revolutionary-minded people have recognized the need for a comprehensive and scientific analysis of the political economy of U.S. imperialism and its bloc. What is the significance of the current crisis? How deep does it go? Do the monopoly capitalists have a "way out" other than war against their Soviet rivals? Why has the U.S. working class been so backward? What is the effect of the crisis on the conditions and mood of the masses? This book is a pathbreaking application of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of the U.S. and its bloc. It is a book for the 1980's, providing a scientific foundation for seeing the real possibility of a revolutionary situation developing in the U.S. in the next decade. (Available Summer 1980 from Banner Press.)



## THE SCIENCE OF REVOLUTION

Fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought and the Line of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA. Book by Victor Wild.

Making revolution is no wild dream or crazy notion. It's a science, developed through summing up centuries of struggle between slaves and slavemasters, peasants and landlords, workers and capitalists. And if you want to make revolution, you have to understand that science. In a single volume this book presents a lively and fresh explanation of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought in the areas of philosophy, political economy, the nature of imperialism, the state, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the proletarian party. And it shows their application in the U.S. and the world today, explaining the line of the Revolutionary Communist Party, the strategy for revolution in the U.S. and the prospects for revolution. (Available soon from RCP Publications.)



## IRAN: IT'S NOT OUR EMBASSY.

By Bob Avakian 25c  
The U.S. embassy in Iran belongs to the imperialist rulers of this country. In this Nov. 1979 speech, Bob Avakian tells why people in the U.S. have got to stand with the Iranian revolution and spit in the face of the reactionary red-white-and-blue crap.



## BREAK THE CHAINS—Unleash the Fury of Women as a Mighty Force for Revolution

\$1.00  
Women in the U.S. are tied to the home and to child-rearing by the divisions in society and an ideology of male supremacy promoted by the capitalists. This pamphlet presents a sweeping revolutionary view of society and speaks to the crucial importance of breaking the material and ideological chains holding women back from joining the battle to topple capitalism. Also contains a solidarity statement from the League of Fighting Women of Iran.



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