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Carter Doctrine

U.S. STAKES CLAIMS FOR WAR

On the evening of January 23, at 9:00 pm, Jimmy Carter mounted the podium in the main hall of the capital building in Washington D.C. From there, he delivered his annual State of the Union Address to the members of both the Senate and the House of Representatives.

But by 9:30 what had become loudly clear was the fact that this was no typical annual presentation of routine foreign and domestic matters to a typical audience of intoxicated politicians and bourgeois diplomats. Quite the contrary.

"As we meet tonight," opened U.S. imperialism's principal politician, "it has never been more clear that the state of our union depends on the state of the world... The 1980's have been born in turmoil, strife and change. This is a time of challenge to our interests and our values..." Just whose interests and whose values are being challenged became obvious by the end of Carter's speech. This speech, taken together with Carter's Afghanistan speech a couple weeks earlier, marked a turning point. U.S. contention with the Soviets had been heading toward war for a number of years. But the fact that war is looming anytime in the next few years has now been put out openly for all.

Carter's message was, in essence, that the empire of the U.S. imperialists is in severe danger and that the masses of American people—the real audience Carter targeted—had better get ready to sacrifice and die in a holy defense of this empire.

In a speech described as the "toughest of his presidency," he signaled—as David Brinkley summed up—"a new belligerency" on the part of the U.S. ruling class, leaving little room for doubt that they are rolling out the big guns for an all-out showdown with their imperialist rivals in the Soviet Union.

In his own distorted way, Carter himself laid out how developments have been shaping the world and forcing big

changes in the objective position of U.S. imperialism—from one of undisputed top-dog imperialist power, to one who's king-of-the-mountain rule is being increasingly crowded in on. As he looked back, beginning with the creation of NATO after World War 2 in the '40s, the containment of "Soviet challenges in Korea and the Middle East" in the '50s, the blustering over the Berlin Wall and Cuban missile crises of the '60s etc., etc., his pious proclamations amounted to this: the U.S. has fought to build its worldwide empire and it will fight to keep it. Of course, times have changed, we are living in the '80s and the rise of the Soviet Union as a major imperialist power in the last two decades, which now beats at the gate of the U.S. imperialists' castle, has dictated that the U.S. must feverishly prepare for war—world war.

And naturally, this must be done under the banner of opposition to Soviet aggression—even Soviet "imperialism". The United States must, of course, be portrayed as the innocent party, simply out to protect the world from the Soviet menace.

Carter was making full use of the U.S.' current world position for propaganda value. True, the U.S. has sent armies all over the world, maintains troops and bases all over. But the U.S., being the current occupier, is just "there", while the Soviets, trying to get into the same position become "the aggressor." It got very blatant! Carter actually referred to expanding the U.S. "sphere of friendship" in the "Third World." Maybe it was "friendship bombs" the U.S. dropped on Vietnam!

Has the 10 year war of aggression waged by the U.S. imperialists against the people of Vietnam—a span of years conveniently omitted from Carter's recount of U.S. history—slipped the President's mind? Was the rabid flag-waving campaign launched a few months ago by the bourgeoisie of this country against the Iranian revolution a mere oversight in Jimmy Carter's



Wednesday night performance? Aggression? The U.S. imperialists are certainly qualified to discuss aggression!

Continued on page 17

"You've got to draw the line somewhere!"

Black Rebellion in Idabel

Idabel, Oklahoma—"Henry Lee... is dead." This was the message 13-year-old Vincent Johnson reported to his mother early last Sunday morning. By midnight on the same day, over 100 state troopers had been sent into Idabel, Oklahoma to cool down the anger of the Black population which had erupted in a righteous rebellion there. "There's been too many unsolved murders of Black people in this town," one man explained. Before the night was over,

the Black Hat Club, the scene of the murder of 15-year-old Henry Lee Johnson, had been burned to the ground, and a second Black man from a nearby town had also been murdered. One state trooper was also dead.

Hundreds of people had converged on the municipal building early Sunday afternoon after the word of Henry Lee's murder had spread. The people demanded that this murder not go by unsolved like so many others. But the

mayor, Rex Helmes, was about as anxious to find Henry's murderer as the cops were to investigate it. It's strange that a shooting could take place at the Black Hat Club and no cops would be called in, when frequently they arrived on the scene to boot out Blacks who tried to enter the whites-only private club located in the Black area of town. It was up to the family itself to even discover Henry's body! Conflicting reports trickled out of the police depart-

ment concerning the cause of Henry Lee's death. They couldn't determine for two days whether he had been beaten to death or shot. "He was beaten, shot and hung," one of the residents said. "That's why they lied."

The next day, while the armed state troopers, dressed up for war, held this small Oklahoma town of 11,000 under police occupation, hundreds of Blacks refused to be intimidated and held a meeting in the First Baptist Church. Having failed to contain the anger with troopers' guns, the mayor showed up to shoot some sugar-coated bullets at the

Continued on page 11

The revolutionary movement in El Salvador took a tremendous leap forward on January 22, as more than 250,000 people marched against the government in the streets of San Salvador. Led by the newly formed Popular Unity Coalition, a coalition of a number of organizations including the Popular Revolutionary Bloc (BPR), the marchers boldly defied the "state of siege" which the ruling junta government had declared the night before.

The U.S. puppet junta, desperate to maintain their rapidly slipping control over this Central American country, ordered the National Guard, army troops and police to open fire from the roofs of buildings as the demonstration approached the National Palace. Sources in El Salvador report at least 250 marchers dead and several hundred more wounded.

Armed defense teams within the marchers' ranks pulled revolvers and sub-machine guns from travel bags they were carrying and returned the fire, while groups of marchers quickly built barricades at key intersections. As we go to press, organized mass mobilizations are continuing, and exchanges of gunfire can be heard in various parts of the city.

The attack on the marchers followed a week in which more than 100 men, women and children were massacred in the northern village of Arcatao by National Guard and army troops supposedly looking for guerrilla hideouts. The San Salvador protest march, made up primarily of workers, peasants and students, also included a significant number of middle-level professionals and small businessmen, another in a series of indications that the middle classes and even elements of the national bourgeoisie are going over to support of the revolutionary forces, greatly increasing the political isolation of the junta and its imperialist backers. On January 16, the same day that former junta Education Minister Samayoa was announcing he would join the Popular Liberation Forces, the government arrested the mayor of San Cayetano Ixtepeque, accusing him also of being a guerrilla member.

And in what can only be seen as a call to soldiers to desert the ranks of the junta army, Catholic Archbishop Romero, in a nationally broadcast sermon on Jan. 20 read a letter from a group of rank-and-file soldiers complaining that their officers were forcing them to attack the people, and saying, "From now on, the armed forces will defend the poor and not the rich as has been done up until now."

For the past two weeks, the junta has desperately attempted to hold on to support from elements of the middle sectors through the use of the Christian Democratic Party. Composed of petty bourgeois and national bourgeois sectors closely linked to U.S. imperialism, the Christian Democrats joined the government when all the other "opposition" parties had deserted it (see *RW* No. 36). The hypocrisy of this party of opportunists is illustrated by party leader Jose Napoleon Duarte, who told

Bullets Fly in the Streets of El Salvador



(Left) Demonstrators pull out guns to defend against sniper attack by right-wing and government forces, Tues. Jan. 22. Over 20 people were killed and scores wounded in the battle that followed. Above: Wounded demonstrator is carried to safety by comrades.

a New York Times reporter on January 17, "... it is our historic duty to seek a solution that is not death and violence. ... My role is to attract people to this democratic solution."

But clearly the only violence Duarte is concerned about is violence directed against his class of parasites, and the only death he is worried about is the death of imperialist rule. In his *Times* interview, reprinted a day later in *Excelsior* of Mexico City and clearly calculated to give the Christian Democrats some international prestige to counteract their growing isolation within El Salvador, Duarte says, "The army has turned to us because we are the only instrument left through which it can reach the people. ... We have a country in a state of civil disobedience. ... economic chaos and social anarchy. We can't just cross our arms and wait for the civil war. We have to use every available instrument to avoid this." The Christian Democrats, long the largest political party in El Salvador, have been rapidly losing support, particularly since they joined the five man junta. There are reports that as much as half the membership has left the party in protest in the last two weeks.

The growing weakness of the Christian Democrats became so evident that the National Association of Private Enterprise (ANEP—an association of businessmen totally under the thumb of

U.S. and other imperialist interests) bought a paid ad in the January 11 *El Diario de Hoy*, moaning that Christian Democracy is no longer the effective tool that imperialism needs. "Christian Democracy's claim that it represents the majority of the Salvadoran people is totally unwarranted. It has become clear, through public declarations of leaders of other parties and leftist organizations, that Christian Democracy is not only incapable of influencing them, but is instead considered by such groups to be an adversary which must be destroyed."

But what really worries ANEP, the Christian Democratic leaders, and the other ruling-class parasites who run El Salvador and is causing increased infighting and splits among them, is that

the masses of Salvadoran people have grown to consider all of them and their U.S. imperialist masters to be the "adversary which must be destroyed."

At last report all roads in and out of San Salvador had been sealed off. The country's radio stations were broadcasting nothing but classical music. A reported 3,000 people per day were leaving the country, most of them members of El Salvador's ruling classes. And across the borders, troops from Guatemala and Honduras have been rapidly built up, ready to be sent in should U.S. rule require them. The revolutionary struggle of the Salvadoran people is definitely rocking the foundations of imperialist domination of that country in an unprecedented way. ■

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Shah TV Interview

Close Encounters with an Imperialist Kind



Iranians hold effigy of Shah outside embassy, Jan. 17th.

In an ABC-TV interview with David Frost last week, the Shah of Iran was given a nice present on the first anniversary of his exile—a chance to explain and excuse himself to the American public. Frost did his best to help, gently nudging the King of Kings verbally every time he seemed to be missing an opportunity to say something humanitarian. But nevertheless, the Shah ended up giving two good reasons for the demand that he be returned to face the wrath of the Iranian people—it is not only just, but also completely necessary politically.

As the show opens the Shah is doing the poor dumb despot routine. "I have many sleepless nights, just wondering what has happened, because I still don't understand what has happened." This poor creature must be suffering so on his private island in Panama. Then, pretending to be ferocious, Frost appears to pounce on this poor dazed creature.

Frost: (reads New York Times article which admits that the Shah killed more than a hundred thousand people during his regime.)

Shah: Who?

Frost: That's what the—

Shah: My regime?

Frost: Yes.

Shah: Hundred thousand people? Do they know what one thousand people means? Where? On what occasion?

Frost: Well, we couldn't substantiate one hundred thousand. But I wanted to know what your reaction was to it.

Shah: It's preposterous. I mean, ridiculous. I wouldn't even use the word disgusting. Lies. It's so ridiculous I just say they don't know how to count.

This is the lamest defense by a mass murderer since the Nazi bigshots on trial after World War 2 claimed the story of six million dead in concentration camps was a diabolical Jewish plot. So Frost has to step back a bit, and give him another chance.

Frost: How did the torture start? Not with an official order but with individuals would you say?... [The Shah answers that a few cops "so mad at the behavior of the fellow that he has just arrested" lost their tempers.] Frost continues: When did people first tell you that torture was going on in Iran? [This time the Shah picks up on the cue.]

Shah: As a matter of fact, we heard it mostly from the outside. In the inside they would never come to me, and say, "Well sir, we have tortured this fellow to make him talk." No. That was not my business. That was not my job. The reports I had to receive from these intelligence services were from very top reports for the high stakes of security of the state.

Frost: Do you, as King of Kings, who, in a sense, gets all the credit, and therefore all the blame, do you accept in your concept of kingship a sense of responsibility for these tortures, although you did not know about them?

Shah: Well, that must be then some kind of—either self-sacrifice, or some

kind of masochism, because how could I take responsibility if I did not know about it?

Frost: You don't have responsibility for everything that goes on in a country—

Shah: That's impossible.

Frost: When you're the King of Kings?

Shah: I was receiving the head of security, say, twice a week for twenty minutes, twenty-five minutes, and he will have a—his reports on important things to me, not just petty details like that. He would come and report, for instance, on Afghanistan, for instance, or deep penetration, or at least trying to penetrate deeply either student or mullahs, organizations outside, this and that. But he wouldn't come to me, and say that "Yesterday we have tortured this fellow, or that fellow."

Frost: But given the damage that it did to the image of your country, and given the fact that I don't know of any defense of it, and I don't think with respect that it turned out to be petty, or was petty. But I can see, if you're running the world—

Shah: Yes, yes, you are right in that sense, that the slightest thing that is not good is bad. But this isn't a perfect society.

From here, Frost and his majesty go on to chat amiably about how many people really were tortured, with Frost commenting impartially that "your figures are much lower" than the number of murdered and tortured under the Shah that is usually given in Iran today. But then, perhaps fearing that this defense might seem a little cold-blooded, Frost goes for the humanitarian touch.

Frost: But I think that obviously in all of these areas [murder and torture], one is too many.

Shah: Yes. Yes. For our code of principles, and approach to civilization, that is quite true.

Frost lays on the final brush stroke to this touching portrait of sensitivity and royal suffering towards the end of the interview.

Frost: Do you ever wish that you had stayed and died fighting in the streets?

Shah: Well, if I was not a king, surely I would have done that.

Frost: But because you were a king, you felt what? To protect your son, that you should leave, or—

Shah: That's one thing. The other is you've got a crown, a throne could not be based on a not too very solid foundation of blood. From the beginning always I was begging and pleading with my people, "Don't kill, don't kill, please don't kill." And that's when the Army started to teach their people how to aim at the lower parts of the body, and how to use rubber bullets, and those things..."

Here the picture is complete. Some details have had to be admitted to. Yes, there was torture—but the Shah didn't know about it. Yes, many were killed, but not that many. What we are presented with is a kindly, if confused (conveniently) old fellow—and if David Frost chooses to point out only that the "Ayatollah's figures" (an attempt at instant discredit) for the number of murdered are higher than the Shah's, and not to point out that the Shah's forces killed 10,000 people in a single demonstration on September 8, 1979 in Tehran, why then surely it must be because the pathos of the old man's situation misted his eyes a little.

But the very kind of excuses the Shah gives (and Frost lets him get away with) show very clearly the murderous outlook of this tyrant and his admirer. And although the whole interview focuses on the Shah as an individual and deals with the whole question of the Shah's problems, some things also come out about whose puppet the Shah was.

Frost: How many CIA people were there on the average in Iran?...

Shah: I can't say. I knew the head of the CIA, because we had contacts with these people, because of our mutual interests, intelligence exchanges. How many people he had under him, I never asked. We were trusting them so much...

Frost: What was the job of the CIA people in Iran?

Shah: Well, officially it was to gather intelligence.

Frost: Unofficially?

Shah: Unofficially, God knows. You should ask them.

Later, Frost's anchorman Hugh Downs asks about how the Shah "feels about the idea that he was put into power and sustained in power by American interests?" Frost immediately

leaps to discredit this "idea." "Sensitive, very, very sensitive to that, because it was one of the Khomeini cries, of course, at the end, and he always points out that when the CIA assisted his return to power in '53, that they only spent sixty thousand dollars, how many people could you bring out for sixty thousand dollars. Sensitive on that subject. Still proud, in an odd sort of way."

The Shah insists that the force behind his overthrow was two unnamed "American oil companies" who wanted to shut down Iran's production to jack up the world price of oil. Maybe this is the Shah's way of appealing for sympathy—he's been screwed by the oil giants just like the ordinary guy anywhere. But Frost and Downs openly imply that the Shah is quite nutty on this point. In fact, this is the sternest Frost ever comes to be during the entire course of the program. The Shah blew it, and that's that—this is Frost's (and U.S. imperialism's) summation.

The most revealing part comes during the interview's final moments. The Shah muses about how the February Revolution in Iran made him think, at the time, that it was the end "of me, of an era, of something." But then he recovers his courage. Frost asks him, even though he's been forced to flee the country, "You haven't at the moment abdicated (renounced his crown—RW) as yet, have you?"

Shah: Abdicate. That does not exist in our vocabulary.

Frost: It does not exist.

Shah: I mean, in the vocabulary of a king, it does not exist, unless it's very, very special circumstances.

Frost: So, you remain a king; you do not abdicate.

Shah: Not willingly. I might be replaced.

Frost: Does a king have to agree to abdicate?

Shah: Yes. For that, yes. Unless he's decapitated.

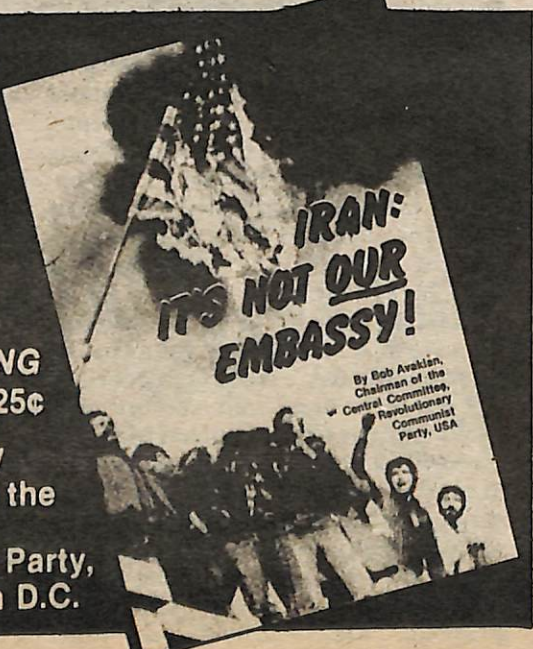
This is exactly the point. During the entire last year since the Shah was overthrown, while the U.S. imperialists could only dream of reinstalling their faithful lackey Shah, they've been maneuvering in a thousand ways to bring in another Shah-like creature—"to replace him." Of course the U.S. has also been maneuvering to win friends and influence people within Iran's new ruling circles, but the Shah's social base and political apparatus within Iran have been invaluable tools for the imperialists' plots. That's why the U.S. brought the Shah to New York in the first place—to serve as the signal to these forces to go for it. That's why the Shah so strongly insists that he will never abdicate—because he still dreams of a comeback, and he's had good reason to. After all, didn't the U.S. ruling class give him this whole high-power program devoted to doing the best it could to remove the stench of death associated with him by the American people?

For the Iranian people, the question of bringing the Shah to justice is not just a question of just punishment—although that would be reason enough. Even more, it is a question of the future of the Iranian revolution. Although this is not the only card the imperialists are playing with, if the Iranian people are to win their liberation, the Pahlavi dynasty and the force grouped around it must be completely uprooted and destroyed.

Pamphlet from the Revolutionary Worker

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



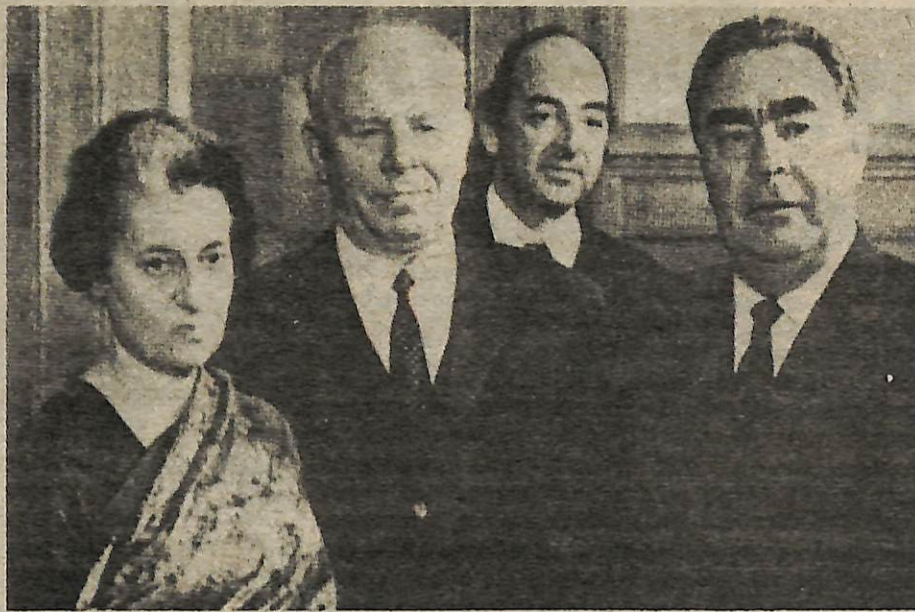
U.S. Puts Squeeze on Indira

On the heels of the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan and the decision by the United States and China to arm Pakistan, the return to power of Indira Gandhi and the recent elections in India raised new moans and groans at the State Dept. Prior to her fall in 1977, Gandhi's dictatorial regime in India, propped up by South Korean-style "emergency rule," had been very friendly with the Soviet Union. "Now we'll see a new Kabul/Delhi/Moscow axis, leading to God knows what kind of mischief and strife," an unknown Pakistani official was quoted as saying in the *New York Times*. "This is the time for the U.S. to come in here. This is where your interests lie."

The return of Gandhi and the Congress Party, which has ruled India during most of the 33 years since independence from Britain, will clearly lead to a still further intensification of the battle between the U.S. and the Soviet Union for control of South Asia. But at the same time as U.S. propaganda points to the "pro-Moscow" Gandhi regime as a further excuse to convert Pakistan into a U.S. military base of operations to "contain Soviet aggression," prods and feelers are going out to New Delhi to see if the reactionary witch herself might not be persuaded to "soften" her support for the Russians.

Indira Gandhi is the daughter of Jawaharlal Nehru, a high-caste Brahmin and the leader of the bourgeois government that took over after Britain granted formal independence to India in 1947. Under Nehru, India pursued a foreign policy of pro-Western "neutrality," and was built into a bulwark against revolution in Asia, especially a counterweight against China, against whom it waged a disastrous border war in 1962.

By the time Indira Gandhi took over the reins in 1967, the Soviet social-imperialists were starting to look for ways to extend their influence and challenge the United States more directly. Gandhi found a willing ally in the Soviets who in turn provided her with extensive military support. And the fruits of this partnership were particularly exemplified in the India-Pakistan war in 1971, whereby at the provocation of the Soviets, India dismembered Pakistan and created a phony state on its eastern border—Bangladesh. (The point of this was the surrounding of then revolutionary China by the Soviets or their proxies.) The Gandhi regime signed a 20-year friendship treaty with the Soviets in 1971 and since then, Soviet economic and military investment in India has greatly expanded.



(Left) Indira and friends in Aug. 1971. (Right) Poster from Indira's "Emergency measures," aimed at crushing massive unrest which swept India in the early '70s.

Internally, Gandhi maintained her rule in "the world's largest democracy," a stinking hole of mass starvation and disease and grinding poverty for hundreds of millions of poor peasants and workers, by a combination of dazzling corruption and caste privilege, with a thin layer of "socialist" rhetoric—because, in Mrs. Gandhi's words, "That's what goes down well with the masses." Gandhi's socialism sounds more like a horror show—for example, her sickening forced sterilization program, in which both men and women were dragged by the thousands into sterilization clinics against their will. Resistance to her rule led to the imposition of mass terror in the mid-70's under the guise of "emergency decrees."

Gandhi fell from office in the elections of 1977 and was put on trial for corruption and other crimes along with her son, Sanjay Gandhi. The government which followed her into power was headed by Morarji Desai, a fanatical anti-communist with close ties to the British and U.S. imperialists. This made the U.S. imperialists happy, of course, but the Janata Party, which was formed to oust the Gandhis, was an ineffective coalition of squabbling interests that was incapable of keeping the explosive situation in India under control. By 1979, extremely severe rioting was going on in many places, several liberation movements of national minorities were gaining strength, and the government was rocked by scandal—for example, the supposedly piously ascetic Desai gang had reaped enormous profits in payoffs from British aerospace companies for the purchase of Anglo-French Jaguar strike air-

craft for the Indian Air Force.

Gandhi's recent striking election victory could no more be seen as a "proof" of Indian democracy than her defeat three years ago. Now suddenly all the special courts set up to investigate and try her and her son have melted away; her margin was so large that the Janata Party doesn't even have enough seats to qualify as the official opposition.

Although Gandhi has had a close relationship to the Soviet Union and is still considered sympathetic to Moscow, the U.S. has some room to maneuver, and Gandhi herself has intentionally thrown out a confusing and contradictory series of "signals" since her resumption of power. Daniel Moynihan, former U.S. ambassador to India, recounts in his book, *A Dangerous Place*, "a long tradition of CIA payoffs to Congress Party officials," including Mrs. Gandhi, in the years before the Soviet honeymoon. Western observers hopefully note that the Soviets dropped Mrs. Gandhi cold following her election defeat, scrambling to preserve influence in the new government and writing her off as a political corpse. U.S. State Dept. officials express "satisfaction" that India abstained in the United Nations vote condemning the Soviet moves into Afghanistan. Interviewed by *Time* magazine following her victory, Gandhi said she "disapproved" of any foreign presence in Afghanistan; she also held the door open for possible purchases of arms from the U.S.

British Foreign Secretary Lord Carlington, international errand boy for the Western bloc, rushed to New Delhi last week with a message that "the So-

viet presence in Afghanistan represents the major danger to regional stability and world peace." Fidel Castro is on his way, as is the Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko. The U.S. imperialists haven't given up India for lost, and the Soviets are taking nothing for granted.

One major problem in U.S. relations with India is its conflicting relations with Pakistan. India is opposed to the new arms shipments to the self-proclaimed "best friend of the United States" in the "crescent of crisis." But there is some talk of a high-level meeting between Indian and Pakistani officials, and it is the U.S. hope that Gandhi will at least mute her protest at the new arms sale, perhaps as part of a larger deal with the U.S. One reason for the relatively small figure for projected aid to Pakistan at this time—a figure Pakistani dictator General Zia dismissed as "peanuts"—is State Dept. worries that India will be driven further into the Soviet sphere of influence.

As India is drawn deeper and deeper into the vortex of superpower war preparations, the Gandhi regime is perched atop a social system long ripe for collapse. Her hypocritical election slogans were "abolish poverty" and "law and order." Her first slogan is nothing but a cruel joke; Gandhi's theory of abolishing poverty is forced sterilization, bulldozing slum dwellings, and otherwise "abolishing" the poor themselves. And how long will the so-called "iron lady" be able to maintain a reactionary law and order, when the international imperialist structure she relies upon to prop up her rule itself dissolves into the flames of war? ■



Revolutionary May Day Hits the Line at Ford

Fellow Workers—Welcome to the 1980s!

A struggle between two futures erupted inside Ford's Pico Rivera assembly plant in southern California on January 22—three days before the plant is set to be shut permanently. The glass double doors into the plant swung open just after lunch for a contingent from the L.A. chapter of NUWO (National United Workers Organization) that included a Ford worker recently laid off and another fired for building May Day there last year. The contingent marched right into the assembly lines and shouted over a bullhorn, "Fellow workers! Welcome to the 1980s!"

Hoisting a bright red banner reading, "We Have A Job To Do! Take History Into Our Hands!", NUWO marched up and down the lines, with workers grabbing hundreds of the national May Day leaflets and passing them hand to hand to every corner of the building. In one stroke, the anger and aspirations of the workers, suppressed by endless responses to the shutdown of "that's life" from Ford, the UAW, various congressmen, Cesar Chavez and other

assorted reformists, sizzled to the surface. Workers from all over the plant left the assembly lines, whooping and hollering, as crowds followed the NUWO contingent wherever it went. Some workers began banging on the machines with wrenches, others began dancing in the aisles. Ford's carefully constructed plans of "business as usual" until the shutdown had been replaced by a festival of the oppressed!

Buzzers, whistles, and horns summoned a small army of Ford management and security guards to the scene. But none of the foremen looked too confident about being the first to actually catch a NUWO member. At one point, when it looked like some forty foremen had cornered the contingent in the chassis department, 200 workers quickly gathered at the site. Each time a foreman grabbed one of the former Ford workers, the crowd closed in and forced him to let go.

This eruption came on the heels of an intense struggle within the ranks of the workers at Ford over the past few weeks, a struggle that had stepped up at

the last union meeting. Some local hacks had burned a copy of the *RW*, and had gone so far as to try to blame the plant's closing on "the reds," trying to unite the more backward workers for a physical assault on NUWO members. At that time, a number of workers had stepped forward to defend NUWO and the newspaper.

It was this base that was strengthened in the battle inside the plant, as the road of revolt of May Day '80 was clearly posed against the whining, bootlicking, nonexistent solutions of the various opportunists. An older worker, who had obviously been influenced by these toads, grabbed some leaflets from the contingent and began to rip them up. A NUWO member stopped him in his tracks, saying, "You've slaved in here for 20 years, you're thrown out on the streets, your half-starved kids are being called on to die for these rich bastards...and you are going to defend them to the bitter end?" The older worker hesitated, then turned to pass the leaflets down the line.

After 45 minutes, Ford's goon squad

was able to push the NUWO contingent back out the plant doors into the waiting arms of the sheriff's department, who got busy taking "citizens' complaints" from various foremen against the NUWO members for trespassing. In a pitiful and racist attempt to drive a wedge between the workers, a Ford goon brought a battery charge against a Black NUWO member for "beating up a white man." A reporter for the *RW*, covering the story, was also arrested and his film confiscated by the sheriffs, who immediately turned it over to Ford management. Still, the sheriffs tried to act like they were impartial, especially since over 150 workers, fists raised, had left the plant and joined the proceedings in the parking lot. Meanwhile, the assembly line kept rolling, but all it could deliver were half-finished cars. For close to an hour, the slaves had mutinied—and the battle for Revolutionary May Day had just begun. ■

RW Distribution Report

Chaos on a Grand Scale!

Almost two months ago we put out the call to multiply the distribution of the *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper, our central weapon today for revolution. A call to "Create Public Opinion...Seize Power". (See *RW* No. 29) Specifically we called for circulation to go from 20,000 to 40,000 by the beginning of 1980. It is time to sum up our results.

To put it straight out, though there have been big gains, we have not yet achieved this goal. Last week 30,000 copies of the *Revolutionary Worker* were sold. This is a big step, but not enough. To immediately meet the goal we set out, the goal which the rapid pace of the struggles raging right now in this country and the world demands, we have to sum up where we have advanced and where we have failed.

Is it that there is no real objective basis to sell this many papers, to reach this many people with a revolutionary communist view and analysis? You've got to be kidding. But still there are some revolutionaries, even in our Party's ranks, who take this view. This is truly upside down. It's well past time for the revolutionary movement to settle—and to settle in practice, including the practice of selling this newspaper—the question of whether we are ahead of or behind the objective situation. Iran? Afghanistan? If the past few months in this country have not made it clear that we are behind the development of events, then what will?

The real question is how do we get ahead. And this newspaper, with its broad reach, combined with the political and organizational work in spreading it, is the key link we have to grasp in answering this question. It is central to the overall work of agitating and broadly preparing for revolution, and it is also the main weapon—though not the only one—in every specific struggle we launch, including the major battle around May Day 1980.

In the course of this past month's campaign the masses of people have time and again demonstrated all this. As the world has heated up, so have people's questions, and so has the need for the paper been fueled. Just to take one example, one area reported that some young guys, active in the '60s but now pretty laid-back, had written in during the heat of the Iran crisis. They said they had been in occasional contact with the Party through seeing the newspaper. With caveman reaction hitting the country, these guys had had enough. They wanted to know what to do. They took newspapers and the tape of Chairman Bob Avakian's May Day speech back to their small town and

went to work. Controversy swirled around the paper and people came into their small store to listen to and debate the Chairman's speech. Soon they were going out with the paper to a nearby factory with a long and bloody history of struggle. They wrote back, "Send us 30 papers this week; it may not sound like many, but it's more than ever hit here before." Through this campaign the paper has begun to be a significant social force. Many are recognizing it, distinguishing its line on events from other political forces. It's catching on. In one eastern city, sellers were putting out to people on the street that they themselves should take copies of the paper out into the projects. One youth said, "I can't do that."

"Why not?"

"Because somebody else is taking that paper around my building."

There were many other examples too of the people being ahead of the revolutionaries in demanding the newspaper. One woman had regularly sold a copy of the paper to someone she did political work with. No big deal. Then all of a sudden, in the midst of the Iran crisis, this person began insistently demanding the paper as soon as it came out. Turns out she had been arguing with her family and was counting on the *Revolutionary Worker* to arm her to carry out this struggle. After this incident, the Party comrade summed up something about the central role of the paper and that it's not just "paperwork" separate from the class struggle.

Struggling tooth and nail against this growing advanced understanding are the backward views. In some cases it has even gone so far as trying to talk people out of buying the paper—after all, if they bought it (and horror of horrors distributed it!) it might challenge your pre-conceived view about how backward everything is, how hopelessly far away from revolution. (In the case of "selling" to an older white woman it was "Are you sure you want to buy this?" "Yes." "You know, this is a communist paper." "I know, I can read it right here on the masthead, 'Voice of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA.' Here, let me have one." "Oh, okay.") Not too hard to see how *this* line might hold back paper sales—not to mention revolution.

In his opening remarks to the most recent Party Central Committee meeting Bob Avakian laid out the questions here:

"Do we really understand, for example—and just to take a somewhat arbitrary number—that whether or not a thousand networks of the *Revolu-*



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tionary Worker are actually developed might be decisive in determining whether or not we can make revolution in this country in the next decade—*might* be decisive, I don't say 'will be,' but will in any case be extremely important and might even be decisive.

"Is that the way we approach it, or is it more like, 'Well, here's a couple of people that like the paper so let's see if we can set up a network'? What do we say to people—and there are such people—who say, 'Listen, Goddammit,

I've wanted to make revolution for 45 years, and I can't wait another day?' Do we tell them, 'Look, if you're really serious about that you've got to take this paper out and not only sell it to 100 people every week, or 500 people, but you've also got to get at least 20 of those people to distribute it every week to at least 20 more?' Do we really see it that way, or is it, 'Hey, that's really great, here's somebody who agrees with us?'"

Continued on page 12

Trouble on the Mid-East Express

Chicago—The depot was filled with sailors waiting for the train that would carry them from the Great Lakes Naval Base to Chicago. Friday night leave—but for some it might be their last leave stateside. Later that night they would be shipped out. Destination: Indian Ocean. Mission: Standby combat duty in the Middle East.

There were others in the station who knew about the U.S. war moves—the Vietnam Veterans Against the War. Four VVAW members were there selling copies of the *Revolutionary Worker* and the VVAW paper *Turn the Guns Around*.

As VVAW spoke out about the growing threat of world war, the sailors were listening. The Mideast crisis—Iran, Afghanistan—these weren't just headlines on a paper to guys who were shipping out on warboats of the U.S. Navy.

The train pulled in, and the vets got on along with the sailors. A few civilians were already aboard. Some of the sailors who hadn't bought the paper

at the depot checked out what the vets were saying. Iran—many of them, or their buddies, were headed that way to "defend American honor" and "guarantee the safe return of the hostages," they were told. Yet here were guys taking the side of the Iranian people! One sailor got riled. "Don't you even care about the hostages? They're *Americans*. That could be *me* being held hostage." But before the vet could answer, another sailor shouted, "We ain't nothing but hostages to the Navy ourselves—count the guys in the brig." (Last summer several hundred men were jailed—some with extended terms—in a crackdown on base following two nights of rioting. See *RW*, June 29.)

That opened it up, and pretty soon the whole car was buzzing. The sailors wanted to talk—especially about the system heading towards war. They hadn't seen that in the cards when they signed up. The recruiting officers hadn't said a damn thing about fighting and dying... just good jobs, school,

technical training....

Now one sailor spoke out bitterly: "Right now I'm learning dentistry, but when this shit pops my classification will change me into a corpsman and I'll get my ass shot off dragging dead bodies around!"

Another sailor, his loyalty put to the test, said, "God dammit, I'll die for my country!"

"Not me," said one of his shipmates, "when the war breaks out, me and my .45 are going AWOL."

A vet stepped in to say, "Hey, there's nothing wrong with being willing to fight—or even die—but what are we fighting for? The rich bastards who run this country, the imperialists who sent us to kill people in Vietnam and put the murdering Shah in power—"

This was too much for one patriotic civilian on the train. The U.S. Navy was being *subverted* right before his eyes! A torrent of jingoistic ravings spewed from his mouth, all with the same broken-record message to the vets: if you don't like it here, then get the hell

out of the U.S.A.

The enraged civilian blew the bugle, but when he turned to Uncle Sam's navy he got the shock of his life. Mutiny! The ship was in trouble. Many of the sailors were siding with the vets, saying, "These guys are telling the truth—we *agree* with them."

Suddenly, the train came to a halt, miles from its scheduled stop. The conductor, more concerned about the class struggle that was rocking *his* boat than the events that are shaping the world, had called the cops. The police boarded the train and arrested two vets (along with Mr. Love-it-or-Leave-it who, much to his chagrin, was likewise hauled off). But the struggle didn't die down when the vets were taken off the train. The discussion continued to rage, with copies of newspapers being passed back and forth. And no doubt right now the same newspapers are being passed back and forth on board ship in the Indian Ocean....

Hostage Lawyers Hired to Defend . . . ?

Another fine example of just why the U.S. embassy in Tehran is called the "spy house" has recently come to light. In December, the State Department, through the "Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law," contacted four prestigious law firms to provide legal help for the hostages in case they were brought to trial in Iran.

The question of who the law firms were *really* supposed to be defending quickly came up. The lawyers thought that it was the hostages, but not surprisingly it soon became clear that the State Department was more concerned with defending what they've been out for all along in Iran—U.S. imperialist interests.

The U.S. government has denied these "hostage defense" lawyers access to all the embassy documents the students have. Instead the State Depart-

ment has allowed the lawyers to see only those documents which the students have already made public. The lawyers hit the ceiling since this amounts to denying them access to the main evidence that would be presented against their clients-to-be.

But the State Department doesn't care, they don't know exactly which spy documents the students have, so the U.S. doesn't want to hand over any more since that would expose more spying and plotting.

And to top this off, these lawyers have even been denied a complete list of their so-called clients, the hostages. This, too, is because the U.S. doesn't want more damning information exposed to even a crack of the light of day.

Investigation of most of these hostages would show their "duties" for the State Department and their ties with

the CIA and would show what they were really doing in Iran. Besides, even the U.S. State Department probably doesn't know exactly which phony passport some of these spies were using at the time to carry out their dirty work. And some U.S. spies are definitely still on the loose in Iran and the government might blow it and release their names, thinking they were hostages.

Three of the four firms initially involved have now backed out because of the conflict of interest between the motives of the State Dept. and the "best interests" of the hostages. The New York firm of Cravath, Swaine and Moore remains on the case, but its one lawyer working on it said, "It's a mess," saying they were working in the dark, and might possibly have to sue the State Dept. for secret documents needed for the defense under the

Freedom of Information Act.

What kind of defense is this? What about the official concern for these hostages their hearts have bled for so frequently? This little episode proves two things. One, the State Dept. doesn't give a damn about the hostages except as pawns to whip up a lot of flag-waving hysteria and further the aims of U.S. imperialism. Two, no way that any lawyers could defend U.S. imperialism, because the Iranian students are right—the embassy was a spy house and the U.S. is still plotting. ■

(The information in this article is from an article in New York Magazine's Year End Issue—"State Dept. Withholds Information from Hostage Defense," by Henry Post.)



"Burn the Shah Day" Jan. 16, 1980. Former "King of Kings" goes up in flames outside U.S. embassy in Tehran. This scene was repeated all across Iran.

Workers, Police Clash in Turkey

On December 22, fighting between leftist workers and police raged in the Turkish port city of Izmir. At the end of the day, 500 workers had been arrested and dozens more injured. The fighting followed on the heels of an army raid on a local factory, supposedly in search of an "illegal arms cache." The following day, more than 3000 revolutionary students demonstrated in support of the arrested workers, erecting walls of burning tires in the city streets to repel police charges. Izmir, which like Turkey's other major cities has been ruled by martial law for more than a year, is now under a virtual state of siege.

Only several weeks ago, during a nationwide strike called by the national teachers' union, at least six people were killed by Turkish security forces and 3500 teachers and students were arrested in clashes in Istanbul, Ankara and other cities.

Since the reactionary government of Suleyman Demirel took office last October, inflation has soared to more than 100% a year. Industry continues to stagnate, operating at less than half capacity. Last week, the Turkish lira was devalued for the fifth time in two years, further crushing the living stan-

dards of Turkey's laboring people. This news has been even more disturbing to the U.S. and other western imperialist powers, who are rushing to pump hundreds of millions of dollars in economic "aid" and more than \$1 billion worth of arms and military equipment into Turkey this year in order to keep this "weak link" in the chain of Middle Eastern countries they dominate from coming unhinged.

After a thinly veiled ultimatum delivered on New Year's Day by Turkey's top generals that called for stamping out "those who sing the Communist *Internationale* instead of our national anthem," the Demirel government has recently drawn up new "anti-terrorist" legislation that would give the armed forces even more sweeping powers. But the workers of Izmir who are now face to face with the glistening bayonets of the Turkish army know very well who bought these guns and who is dictating how they are used—the imperialist rulers of the USA who have been repeating with nauseating frequency that they are opposed to "any outside interference in the internal affairs of the Moslem countries of the Middle East." ■

Delegation Spreads Message From Iran Across Country

New York's garment district—hundreds of workers pushing heavily-laden garment carriers have their drudgery interrupted by a voice that calls on them to listen to and talk with Carol Downer, a member of the Send the Shah Back, Hands Off Iran Delegation. A small crowd gathers as sharp questions are raised and heated struggle ensues. Two bosses, in their Pierre Cardin suits come out and are freaked by the scene—their slaves debating the major questions of the day. The bosses' respond, reflecting their level of intelligence, with screams of profanity as they try to tear down the banner that reads: U.S. KEEP YOUR BLOODY HANDS OFF IRAN! THE SHAH MUST FACE THE WRATH OF THE IRANIAN PEOPLE! NO DEPORTATIONS—STOP THE ATTACKS ON IRANIANS! A fight breaks out with them and at that moment the police make their appearance. "You have to move." Someone from the crowd of 150 answers, "Oh yeah, Why?" Outnumbered and sensing a definite lack of affection from the crowd, the cops make a hurried exit to call for reinforcements which only serve to draw even more people into the struggle and draw the lines sharper—"How different the cops' response would be if flag-waving fools were out here." 200 workers are now gathered hotly debating the situation in Iran. Finally, emboldened by reinforcements and a paddy wagon, the cops insist that the group move. Carol and those who had come with her move to the next corner and, much to the chagrin of the police, the crowd moves right with them still debating and struggling.

This same kind of controversy has been repeated on campuses. Clark Kissinger, another member of the Delegation has spoken to a number of college audiences. At North Kentucky University (NKU), 200 students came to hear him speak in the "Free Speech Area," a patch of land about 20' by 20'. The administration tolerates the distribution of leaflets and forums on issues that are prohibited in any other part of campus. In addition to attempting to corral the struggle within this patch of "freedom," the administration, recently fired Nina Schiller, a professor at NKU and a Mao Tsetung Defendant, for conduct "unbecoming a professor"—wearing a "U.S. Hands Off Iran" button and leafletting.

In Greensboro, Clark spoke at the University of North Carolina Greensboro campus (UNCG) which the ruling class tries to paint as the reactionary bastion. Building for the program started with the local Ad Hoc Committee and snowballed as other organizations took it up among their members and friends. Professors recommended their students go.

Leaflets were taken to plants and neighborhoods. On campus people leafletting ran into students from other colleges in the area who took the leaflets to their own campuses to build for the program. 300 people showed up for the program and dozens joined the Ad Hoc Committee afterward. One student wrote to the school paper criticizing their biased coverage: "As Mr. Kissinger pointed out, the Iranian people drew a sharp distinction between the American government and the American people. I draw that distinction also and am able to listen objectively to the voice of another people who are angry and defiant against our government. If you put yourself in the place of the 60 year old Iranian farmer who 25 years ago was forced off his land so that Gulf, Exxon and Shell could get their greedily little pipes into that oil rich land, forcing thousands of people off their land, it is easy to understand why the U.S. is looked upon as an imperialist nation." The *Greensboro Daily News* did its best to cover up the broad character of the event, saying that only 50 Iranians turned out. The *Carolinian*, the UNCG paper, followed suit saying over 100 people were there and that 50 were Iranians. This was in sharp contrast to the coverage they gave to the pro-American demonstration which took place early in the fall, which received front page coverage and an inflated estimation of the turnout.

Try as they might, the ruling class is having problems covering up the significance of the Delegation. New Ad Hoc Committees are springing up across the country and in many cities where they already exist, more people have joined, inspired by what they've seen and heard. The National Ad Hoc Committee in L.A. has received many requests for speakers. Recently a group from Anchorage, Alaska who read about the delegation in the *RW*, called asking for a member of the delegation to speak there. ■

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1 Year Since Historic Demo, Vicious Attack



January 29, 1979 was one year ago this week. It's been a year since Teng Hsiaping came to crawl around before Jimmy Carter and enlist China in the U.S. war bloc. Teng, that chief engineer of the coup that overthrew working class rule in China after the death of Mao Tsetung, came here in a visit that was geared to put counter-revolution on parade. It was a visit to proclaim to all that the revolutionary banner, in particular the banner of Mao's revolutionary China, was down in the dust never to rise again.

But the trip ended up proving just the opposite, that the revolutionary banner had been picked up in the U.S. and worldwide as Teng crossed paths with revolutionaries at every turn.

January 29 is the anniversary of what has clearly become an historic demonstration in Washington D.C. Teng and Carter were exposed by 500 revolutionaries, and that was just too much for the bourgeoisie. The police attack they set loose was the beginning of a whole chain of government attacks focused on the Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party—a series of attacks that continues today. Right now, in appeals court, the government

is trying to bring back 241 years worth of charges against Bob Avakian, and the Secret Service continues its own political front of "investigation"/attack.

But in the year since January 29, in the face of this repression, the Party's role in the class struggle has grown greatly. The analysis made by the Party, and put before the world in that demonstration, has been shown more and more to be true—not only the analysis of Teng as a capitalist counter-revolutionary, but the whole analysis of the world situation headed toward war between the U.S. and the Soviets. Based on that analysis, the Party has done far more. Starting with a nationwide speaking tour by Bob Avakian, defense against this frame-up has gathered strength—enough, in fact, to force the government to retreat and dismiss the charges back in November even as they maneuvered to attack again. This year, too, the *Revolutionary Worker* was founded as a national newspaper and is in the process of becoming a major national political force. And finally, the call has been made for another, even more historic day of demonstration—a day that will put the revolutionary mark of the working class, in unity with the people of the whole world, on May 1, 1980.

Justice Douglas Dies—A Classic Case of Bourgeois Democracy

Justice William O. Douglas, the "incorrigible dissenter," the "rogue of American jurisprudence," and the most controversial Supreme Court Justice of this century, died on Saturday, Jan. 19 in Washington, D.C. He was 81 years old. Appointed to the Supreme Court in 1939 by Franklin D. Roosevelt, Douglas remained on the bench for over 36 years—longer than any other Justice in the history of the Court.

During his tenure Congress tried three times, each time unsuccessfully, to impeach him. He was labeled a "communist," an "atheist" and a "traitor." He was an early critic of Senator Joseph McCarthy, whose rabid red-baiting campaign opened the floodgates for the anti-communist hysteria of the '50s.

But Justice Douglas was far from being a communist. In a speech delivered at the University of Florida several years before McCarthyism came into full bloom, Douglas made his position quite clear: "Today we face a political program of Communism that has infinitely more finesse than the Nazis were able to perfect. . . It is time that liberals and conservatives alike understand what that program is. . . For if the Communists win their political campaigns, we, the democrats, are marked for extinction."

Internationally, Douglas was one of those "far-sighted" representatives of imperialism who early on recognized that, while force of arms was the fundamental bulwark of the American empire, care must be taken not to openly expose its aims and blatantly run roughshod over the aspirations of the masses. "When we prop up governments that are self-seeking, corrupt or fascist," he wrote in the 1940s, "we lose ground in the worldwide struggle against Communism. . . This course takes great steadfastness. It also requires the backing of a strong, alert and mobile military machine." His view differed little in substance from Jimmy Carter's recent "guns and human rights" State of the Union message.

Justice Douglas was a bourgeois democrat—a defender of the rule of the capitalist class over the working class and the masses of people—who had complete faith in the efficacy of the U.S. imperialist's democracy. It is this bourgeois democracy, actually a form of dictatorship of the imperialists and the most effective form at masking what the system is really all about, that Douglas dedicated his life to preserve. It was his view that the system could be made to work "properly" for everyone

"rich and poor alike." He saw that there was struggle between the working class and the capitalist class, but he thought it could be resolved amicably: "For democratic peoples the choice is not merely one of two absolutes. We can have revolution, if we so will it, by the peaceful route. And having had it, we can undo it four years later."

Douglas had reason to view the "American way of life" this way. Born in 1898 in Maine, Minnesota, he was the son of an itinerant Presbyterian minister. His father died when Douglas was six, and from then on, his biography reads like a rerun of the Horatio Alger Story: worked hard while he went to school; graduated from high school as valedictorian; won a scholarship to college; graduated Phi Beta Kappa; got accepted at Columbia Law School; became editor of the *Columbia Law Review*; graduated second in his class; got accepted into a Wall Street law firm and taught law at Columbia simultaneously; later became a law professor at Yale.

It isn't surprising that he concluded from his own experience that the "American Dream" can come true—that the system can work. About the time he was summing this up, the Great Depression hit. Douglas was forced to recognize that the system didn't work "perfectly." It was then

that he began his life-long effort to "improve" it.

From 1929 to 1932 Douglas worked with the Department of Commerce, studying bankruptcy with the aim of revising the law so as to better safeguard the capitalists' assets in times of economic crisis. This was his debut in the direct service of the bourgeoisie as a class. It wasn't long before he came to the attention of FDR.

In 1934 Roosevelt put Douglas to work for the newly-formed Securities and Exchange Commission. In 1936 he made him a member of the Commission and shortly thereafter he made him Chairman. It was in his capacity as member and Chairman of the SEC that Douglas was instrumental in the restructuring of the financial apparatus of U.S. monopoly capitalism in an effort to pull it from the abyss of the Depression. True to his outlook (which he later carried with him to the Supreme Court), Douglas saw the economic disaster of the day as being the result of "greedy practices" interfering with the proper functioning of the system. He described his work on the SEC as an attempt "to restore honesty and fair dealing to the financial markets." In fact it was his "loyalty oath" to the capitalist system.

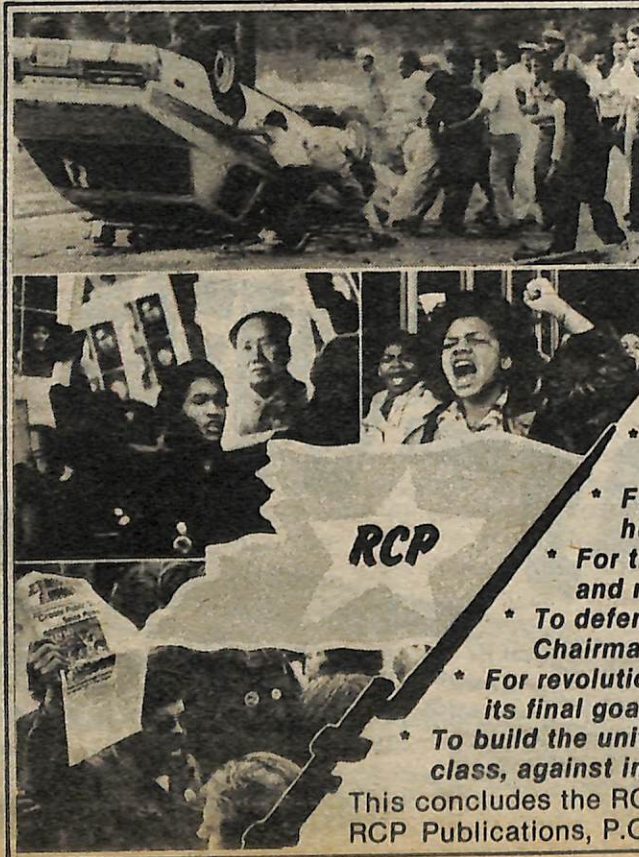
After his legal experience on Wall Street and five years with the SEC,

Douglas was ready for the Supreme Court. He brought with him a solemn respect for the system and a firm belief in its perfectability.

There was, of course, an important social role played by people like Douglas, particularly in the tumultuous and crisis-ridden years of the Great Depression. It was a role played by FDR himself; to save the system from itself, many said; in reality to save it from the disillusionment and anger of the masses. Roosevelt was propelled forward as the "savior", the man who was responsible for all the concessions which the struggles of the people had wrung from the capitalists. Douglas, and others like him on the bench, played a similar, but somewhat different role. Theirs was to curb the most reactionary efforts of the bourgeoisie to silence and quell the masses through open repression and blatant elimination of bourgeois democratic liberties. While Roosevelt proclaimed freedom from hunger for all Americans, Douglas emphasized the promise of freedom to speak, while Roosevelt proclaimed the right to work, Douglas promised freedom from racial discrimination.

Because of this, Douglas quickly earned the reputation of an arrogant dissident. He was criticized for his many dissenting opinion, and his critics came from the highest seats of political and financial power. Yet the nature of Douglas' dissent and the "farsightedness" of his defense of bourgeois democracy is shown in the fact that a large percentage of his dissenting

Continued on page 16



MILLION DOLLAR FUND DRIVE DAY JANUARY 29, 1980

Workers: Work one day for the future beyond wage slavery, take a day's pay and give it to the RCP. All Who Hate This System: Give as much as you can, there is nothing more important than this.

- * For the working class to fire its revolutionary blast on May Day 1980
- * For the *Revolutionary Worker* to get into the hands of hundreds of thousands
- * For the counteroffensive against the imperialists' more and more blatant war moves
- * To defend revolutionary leadership, especially RCP Chairman Bob Avakian
- * For revolutionary theory to guide the movement towards its final goal
- * To build the unity of our side, the international working class, against international capital

This concludes the RCP Million Dollar Fund Drive. RCP Publications, P.O. Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago,

—THE TIME IS NOW.

Chairman Assailed in Hawaii Press

The Revolutionary Communist Party has been getting quite a bit of publicity in the Hawaii newspapers lately. In the finest tradition of the foulest journalism, the past week has heard screams of RED MENACE howled from one end of Hawaii to the other. And motivating the fiction printed in the Hawaiian papers, we shall see, is a sinister plot.

The recent cries began with the sentencing of the Mayor Wright 7, supporters of the RCP arrested after a vicious assault by 40 cops at Mayor Wright Housing last year in Honolulu. Events in the court itself are worthy of mention. Judge Takao's repeated claims that there was no political motivation behind the prosecution of the 7 were made absurd, to say the least, by the court's own pre-sentencing report which stated: "The defendants are not criminal by nature, nor are they inclined to commit offenses against the law. However, it is recognized that with the form and substance of their present political beliefs, further conflict with authority may be expected." And if the court's point seemed muddled here, it was cleared up by the prosecution in their statement at the sentencing: "We think this system can survive, and even though it is under attack; these people refuse to accept the system that gives them a chance. . . . In most other countries they would have been executed." Despite the D.A.'s desire that this were the case today in the U.S., the 7 were not shot, but were fined between \$100 and \$200. However, what has become obvious is that this sentencing would be used to hunt bigger game, namely Bob Avakian—Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party.

Pronouncement of the real sentence began the next day as the press mounted an hysterical public opinion campaign aimed at portraying Bob Avakian and the RCP as a band of maniacal fanatics and bomb-throwing terrorists. For the first time in the whole coverage of the Mayor Wright 7 trial, throughout which the defendants time and time again attempted to break through the press blackout on the battle to stop the railroad of Bob Avakian, the Chairman's name was *finally* mentioned. The *Honolulu Advertiser* ran an article in which his name appeared right next to a

list of carefully worded (and carefully fabricated) misquotes from Mayor Wright defendants, in which they allegedly made threats against Judge Takao. This was an association too close to miss. In the other major Honolulu daily newspaper, a similar misquote appeared. And despite the fact that the reporter herself submitted a retraction which stated that there had been a misunderstanding and that "no threat was made to Judge Takao," the editors changed the wording of this retraction and kept the basic misquote intact.

This legion of lies was capped the following Tuesday. An entire spread in the *Star-Bulletin* focused around one large picture—that of Bob Avakian. The "editorial" accompanying the Chairman's picture was entitled "Revolutionary Communist." Using as its principal "source" a book called *The Alternative Media*, the "editorial" runs down a laughable conglomerate of "facts" about the RCP based on "Congressional investigations and unnamed FBI informants." (Of course, the highly dubious nature of "facts" gathered from FBI informants with names should immediately raise the readers' suspicions about "facts" collected from those without names!) The implication of their "facts" is that the RCP members are provocateurs and terrorists—who "take advantage of any unrest" and "exploit the problems of the poor." "According to FBI informants," we learn, "the biggest expenditure of the RCP was for weapons, ammunition and explosives. . . ." Of course, in case anyone happens to know the revolutionary work of the RCP in the area (and many do), the article is quick to mention that "this may not apply to the operations of the RCP in Hawaii. . . ."

Another article in the *Star-Bulletin's* spread on the red menace was titled "The Angry Alternative Press" and was indirectly aimed at the *RW*. Its message was less than subtle: "Having pre-empted all virtue, the alternative movement simply cannot tolerate opposition based on a claim of idealism, and must marshal all forces to obliterate anyone so rash as to insist that an alternative cause is unjust or unethical." And lest there be any confusion over the point of this, one may

cast his eyes to a cartoon depicting a secretary, running into her boss's office firing a machine gun back through the open door behind her as she exclaims, "Excuse me, Mr. Shilling, but there are some terrorists here to see you." The Tuesday "editorial" pages of the *Star-Bulletin* also included an article equating Lenin with Hitler as well as a couple of other blatant little items.

Anyone familiar with the facts of the continuing attacks on the Revolutionary Communist Party and particularly on Bob Avakian cannot fail to see the obvious connection between these attacks and the recent "news reporting" in Hawaii. (And it is certainly no coincidence that strikingly similar examples of the same thing have been popping up all around the country.)

Only two months ago, the Secret Service launched a secret war against Avakian—an "investigation" based on similar "reporting" in the *Los Angeles Times*. The intent here is crystal clear. First, it is to set up Comrade Avakian for further "investigations," prosecution, imprisonment and ultimately murder. Second, it is to portray the RCP and its Chairman as crazed anarchists not only isolated from the masses of people, but their *enemy*.

But all their hysterical ranting and raving—every "quote," every "fact" and every "source"—amounts only to a highly revealing display of how worried our rulers are that the masses of people are coming to understand *just exactly who* the enemy truly is. ■

Tribune Six Fined for Stand on Iran

Chicago. The prosecution had just rested its case. Noon recess was called and the jurors and spectators were filing out for lunch. The court reporter was dismissed. The bony judge with his half-spectacles, ancient bow tie and black robe then called a conference with the prosecutor and defense team in the back room, far out of earshot of the jury. "You know, this case reminds me of another case. It was back in the 1850's in western Illinois. Are you familiar with it?" He continued to relate the story of some Mormons who burned down a newspaper office. Two brothers were arrested. "And while they were in custody they were lynched." End of story. End of conference.

Why did this obscure case remind Judge Bove of this trial now before him of 6 reporters from the *Revolutionary Worker* bureau in Chicago who were charged with trespassing on *Chicago Tribune* property? Was it because both had to do with newspapers or was this a blatant attempt at intimidation and a statement of the court's intention to "get" the defendants and the RCP one way or another? Through the course of the trial it became only too obvious that it was the latter.

This trial concluded in a guilty verdict of all six defendants who were arrested last March in the *Tribune* newsroom after they had handed out copies of an editorial rebuttal to over 200 reporters. They demanded this rebuttal be printed. It blasted the deluge of lies and distortions against the Ira-

nian Revolution which had been pouring out of the *Tribune*, and condemned columnist Bob Wiedrich in particular for his slanderous statements against Iranian students in the U.S.

Reporters gathered around to find out what this was all about and many applauded loudly at the denunciation of Wiedrich. *Tribune* editors freaked out at this interruption of their propaganda machine and at the response of their "own" reporters. Security ran in, grabbed the defendants and thought up the charges later.

Had this trial taken place last March, soon after the arrests, it might have just been a case of the *Chicago Tribune* going after some trespass convictions to protect their propaganda machine from any more intrusions of the truth. But the world has been changing rapidly since that time, especially the developments of the revolution in Iran and the daily escalating advance toward world war. And the bourgeoisie has much more of a necessity to attack the revolutionary leadership that can lead the masses of people forward in these storms of the 80's which have already begun. This trial was part of this overall assault by the bourgeoisie on the RCP, spearheaded by the attack on Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants in Washington, D.C.

The prosecutor was quick to say "This case is not about Iran or communism—only whether or not trespass was committed." But while he hypocritically claimed this case was not

Continued on page 16



We Won't Work That Day—Will You?

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

1,000,000 Leaflets Nationwide

May Day '80: The Word is Out!

A young Black man spoke out this week at a meeting of a local Revolutionary May Day 1980 committee: "I wouldn't be in this situation if I had known about you guys before." Just days earlier he had enlisted in the Navy because it seemed like nothing was happening in the streets... until he bought a *Revolutionary Worker* and got a May Day 1980 leaflet. As he left the meeting, he took a stack of leaflets to give to his fellow enlistees, "I hope they bounce me right out for this."

As announced in the last issue of the *RW*, 1,000,000 May Day 1980 leaflets went out across the country this week. This opening salvo blasted out like a lightning rod in an already charged political atmosphere. Repeated time and again in many cities throughout the country were scenes such as the following. At a busy streetcorner, after thousands of leaflets were passed out, only a tiny handful could be found on the ground—the rest were being read, even studied very carefully. A merchant seaman stopped on the spot to help get the leaflet in more hands. An older Black man took 300 home to distribute in his neighborhood. A small storeowner tacked up the manifesto on his shop wall. Workers from major factories called the local committee to find out more about May Day and how to get involved. And of course, the reactionaries wrote intelligent responses like, "I love John Wayne and Red Skeleton" in letters to the National May Day 1980 Committee.

For many, the vision of May Day—International Workers Day, thousands marching in the streets of the U.S. with red flags flying—is compelling them to take a stand. On one picket line, a number of strikers who see that the working class has no interest in siding with the government against the Iranian people took scores of leaflets. They planned to try and win over their fellow workers who hate the company and are fighting it but are misled into thinking that they should also fight the people of Iran. At a junior college, the students began to vote right there by writing on the leaflet, "Yes, I will march" or "No, I will stay in school."

More see clearly the stakes of this year's May Day, not only for the U.S. working class but for the oppressed people around the world. As a steel worker put it at one committee meeting, "Look, we've got to understand, there



are revolutionary struggles around the world. If we don't do this, it's not just that we won't show a spirit of solidarity with them, but the U.S. working class will be used by the capitalists to defeat these revolutionary struggles." And as a former Black Panther said, "This battle is not really a battle for us here, but for our kids, not just our own kids—but kids all over the world for the future generations."

These 1,000,000 leaflets put May Day

on the agenda for 1980. Even when the ruling class sicced their cops on leafleters, even when the factory owners tried to intimidate the workers from taking leaflets, they couldn't stop the word of May Day 1980 from getting out. This is only the beginning. (Just think how many people are re-reading the leaflet as Carter announced the draft is being re-instated.) Class-conscious workers are beginning to wake up thousands more, challenging

them to come forward to take history into their hands.

Join the battle to shape the future, to build revolutionary May Day 1980. Contact your local May Day committee through the addresses listed on page 2 of this issue or contact the National May Day '80 Committee, 3136 East Davison, Detroit, MI 48212. (313) 893-8350.

D.C. Will Continue To Be Turned Upside Down!

The recent escalation in the case against Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, demands a response *in kind*. The brief 2 1/2 month period since Judge Pratt's dismissal of the 25 count indictment against Comrade Avakian and the 16 other Mao Tse-tung Defendants has seen a series of swift "routine" government maneuvers which prove that matters were far from settled when the charges were temporarily dropped in the District of Columbia Courthouse on November 14. "Routine" has been the bogus investigation of the Secret Service—as well as various events around the country initiated by the Secret Service and other government agencies intended to bolster this "investigation." "Routine" has been the speedy legal procedure—the immediate filing of appeal by the U.S. Attorneys, the motion to expedite the appeal by the same, the granting of this motion by the District of Columbia Court of Appeals and the indication by this court that a hearing to rule on the appeal would take place in early February.

With the rapid development of these events—as with the timing of them—the rulers of this country have again made crystal clear their intentions to deal the revolutionary movement a crippling blow. And especially now, with world war ever more visibly on the horizon, their need to rip away the revolutionary leadership of the working class and masses of people in this country is even clearer still.

Of course, the expediting of the legal railroad of Bob Avakian—as well as other attacks in other forms—must be, and is being, responded to in its own right. Defense of the Chairman of the Revolutionary Communist Party continues to play a key role in the work of revolutionary minded and progressive

minded people nationwide. In particular, the Committee to Free the Mao Tse-tung Defendants—with chapters in over 30 cities—has rallied increasing support, evidenced especially by the growing list of names on the Protest of the Appeal presently being circulated by the Committee.

May Day

And while this work must not only go on, but step up, it is important to recognize yet another element in this foul government plotting which has placed new demands—and new opportunities—before the revolutionary ranks. While the driving force of international and national events has sharpened the necessity of our rulers to go after Chairman Avakian *now*, there is still another particular reason why the stage of their legal apparatus has been set for the next few months. The next few months is a critical period in the struggle to bring about an event that the bourgeoisie is extremely anxious to see not take place. This event is Revolutionary May Day 1980—a day which will be unprecedented in U.S. history, a day in which a significant section of the working class will march mobilized with its allies under its own revolutionary banner. By focusing the attack on Bob Avakian now again in the legal arena, our rulers hope to expedite his railroad and at the same time derail the growing momentum for revolutionary May Day.

Well, we've got news for them. In the face of the latest escalation of the attack on Comrade Avakian and with the understanding that the enemy would like nothing more than to jail and even kill the Chairman while sabotaging and smashing one of the most important political events in this country in decades, our response is this: The Revolutionary Communist Party declares that along with a number of other major cities,

Washington D.C. itself will be the focus of a *major* revolutionary demonstration on May 1st. Stopping the Railroad of Bob Avakian will be made precisely *part* of May Day 1980.

Defense of revolutionary leadership has stood as one of four general slogans developed for May Day 1980 nationwide, and as a key focus it will be particularly significant in Washington, D.C. In the very city where the ruling class hopes to proceed unrestrained, a large advanced section of people from D.C.—multiplied from those who marched in the crowd last May Day in the same city or on November 19 to Stop the Railroad—will demonstrate and deliver a major political blow to the bourgeoisie.

Already, a very favorable basis exists in D.C. for the concentration of political work and activity as a result of a major campaign to Stop the Railroad initiated last October and November by the RCP. Thousands of people have come to openly side with the RCP in the defense of its leadership while literally hundreds of thousands are aware of the government's offensive. And now, soon, Revolutionary May Day agitation Brigades will hit D.C. Along with others from D.C. these squads will mobilize and activate the righteous hatred of the masses of people in this city—a hatred which smolders deep in the shadow of the imperialists' capital.

On May Day 1980, and for three months leading up to this day, Washington D.C. will be turned into a major political battleground. Especially in this city, where the enemy is headquartered, the working class will declare its determination to Keep Bob Avakian Free. On May Day 1980, beneath the shining monuments to bourgeois rule, hundreds will lock hands with thousands more across the country and millions more around the world.



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A Letter to The Call: Don't Miss the Mammoth Threat

Editor *The Call*:

After reading *Call* writer David Kline's recent article in the *Chicago Tribune* warning of the dangers of U.S. appeasement of the Soviet "juggernaut" we came across an article that merits the immediate attention of the CPML. The article in the January 22 *Chicago Sun-Times* titled "Tusk, tusk! Soviets have mammoth idea for a baby" is about Soviet plans to take cells from a 44,000-year-old frozen mammoth and mate them with cells from modern day elephants and then, using techniques similar to those employed in creating test-tube babies, implant them into a female elephant, which after 18 to 20 months will give birth to a mammoth. These sinister experiments definitely point to the dangerous evils that await those who dare violate the laws of God and nature by messing around with test-tube babies and the like that *The Call* (Aug. 7, 1978), along with the Pope and other noted humanitarians, have wisely warned of. One can just imagine the horrible sight of thousands of these crazed mammoth Frankensteins roaming the earth devouring everything in their path.

But even more importantly, these experiments raise serious questions about the possible military applications that the Soviets have in mind for these monstrosities. Almost amazingly, this vital question affecting world stability was completely overlooked in the Associated Press story (itself a reflection of just how widespread the outlook of appeasers like Carter is in this country).

It would seem quite obvious that these experiments are a dangerous

provocation that demand an immediate response in kind from the U.S., and not just any little "wrist slap," either. The deployment of woolly mammoths on a large scale in border areas of the Soviet Union could greatly alter the strategic balance of military forces in the world and provide the Soviet expansionists with the needed edge for their war plans, and smash the plans of the U.S. and Western European countries for lasting peace and friendship in the world. The almost miniscule allied elephant force

would be no match for these 12-foot-tall behemoths. It is also quite possible that herds of these creatures could literally crush the already inferior NATO tank divisions stationed in Europe.

In light of this alarming development, we would heartily suggest that the CPML take up this matter either directly with their friends in the U.S. government or through their connections in Beijing. Perhaps CPML Chairman Klonsky, who is currently visiting China, could take up the matter with Chinese military

men. This is obviously a time for decisive action before it is too late. The Soviet expansionists must be taught a lesson by the U.S. (the friendly superpower) and all those countries who desire peace and friendly cooperation in the world. Perhaps selective air strikes aimed at all Soviet elephant herds (including zoos) would be the appropriate response; since without elephants to implant the mammoth embryos in, the experiments cannot proceed. Of course this would have to be accompanied by similar actions against Soviet allies, India in particular, with its large elephant reserves.

We are sure you realize that it will be an uphill fight to convince the U.S. imperialists of the immediate necessity for such action due to the dangerous influence of the appeasers in the U.S. ruling circles—especially Carter, who has steadfastly refused to send U.S. troops into Afghanistan to counter the Soviets. It will be interesting to see just how patriotic he is when it comes to the real test—cutting off all peanut shipments to the USSR (which is the absolute minimum action that must be taken). Sure he was all for cutting grain shipments, but let's see what happens when *his* pocket is affected. Some of these imperialists are such fools aren't they. Where would they be without "communists" such as yourselves to look after their vital interests.

Signed,
A loyal American,
and CPML supporter

Sycophant Gets Syndicated

"Has World War III already begun?" This line appeared in the beginning of a star-spangled article on the events in Afghanistan printed in *The Call*, newspaper of the "Communist Party Marxist-Leninist." Had it, we wondered in the January 11 issue of the *RW*, been written especially for *Time* magazine by its author, David Kline? The answer came shortly as a couple weeks later we were leafing through the pages not of *The Call*, but of another publication and came across the headline: "Has World War III Begun?" Was it *Time*? Was it *Newsweek*? Not quite, or more accurately—not yet! It was the *Chicago Tribune*. Yes sir, there was Kline's article under his by-line, in slightly altered form, covered with the same foul-smelling aroma of social-chauvinism which only a week or so before had emanated from the pages of *The Call*.

It seems that Kline's piece cheering on the U.S. imperialists and singling out the Soviets as the villains responsible for developments toward world war did not go unnoticed by the ruling class. It achieved such high standards of bourgeois journalistic excellence that it was picked up by none other than the syndicated New York Times Special Features service, a prestigious subsidiary of the capitalists' number one propaganda mill, the *New York Times*.

Within the space of a few days, his article was feverishly distributed to the capitalist's news media nationwide and reprinted by *The San Francisco Chronicle*, *Louisville Times*, *The Atlanta Constitution* (front page) and *The Los Angeles Herald*, just to name a few.

The Times Special Features service has lifted Kline's article practically verbatim from the pages of *The Call*. But of course the CPML/David Kline did make some changes in the article with an eye to its republication in the bourgeois press. Whereas in the original

Call article there was at least a standard mention of U.S. imperialism, now any such references have been mysteriously penciled out! Thus the sentence "Moscow is in a state of competition with the U.S. imperialists for control of markets, resources and spheres of influence" becomes "Moscow is competing with *Washington* for control of markets..." etc. This little bit of prostrate bootlicking was absolutely necessary, no doubt. The U.S. imperialists are understandably hesitant to print articles, however favorable to *them*, in which they are labeled as, of all things, imperialists!

There are also other barely discernable, but nevertheless slick, changes made by Kline designed to subtly heighten our perception of the "Soviet menace." For example, the phrase "In only the last five years, the Soviets have garnered a string of pressure points..." has been amended to read "In the incredibly swift span of less than five years, the Soviets have gained a string of pressure points..." Clearly, in the incredibly swift span of the blink of an eye, Kline has sunk from CPML social-chauvinist hack to straight out yellow journalist for the bourgeoisie.

In Kline's syndicated version of the *Call* article, the CPML's scathing criticism of the U.S. rulers for being limp-wristed "appeasers" of Soviet aggression has been toned down a bit. Why needlessly bite the hand that feeds? However, Kline still cannot resist mildly chiding the U.S. for not being belligerent enough: "Washington's few countermeasures are not likely to prove an effective response." "This doesn't mean, of course, that Washington should re-embark on its own expansionism in Asia by, say, dispatching troops to the region," adds Kline quickly with the usual CPML-style disclaimer to cover their increasingly shrill war cries. "But," he continues, "actions

such as directly aiding the Afghan rebels, providing China with sophisticated arms for self-defense, and strictly embargoing *all* strategic-materials trade with the Russians could have been a stronger response!"

CPML Frustrated

There is little doubt about the frustration of the CPML with the attitude of the U.S. rulers. One gets an even better glimpse of this by looking over some of the more recent issues of *The Call*. "Can Carter's Moves Stop Soviet War Machine?" inquires a front page headline in the January 14 issue. While to our knowledge, this article has not yet been reprinted in any major newspaper—at least under Kline's by-line—we urge our readers to keep an eye out for it in the near future. Here we are reminded that the likes of Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and Defense Secretary Harold Brown typify "the policy of appeasing Soviet expansionism."

And, CPML whines, "continuing compromise and vacillation of the U.S. imperialists in response to Soviet expansionism was apparent in what Carter could have, but did not do, following the invasion!" While one would think that the task of communists in a country like the U.S. is to resolutely *oppose* any war preparations by their own government, it is clear that the CPML's only opposition is to the allegedly slow-moving response of the U.S. imperialists' military machine.

But the capper to the CPML's lick-spittle analysis is a rather thinly disguised call for increased U.S. military involvement in the Middle East and Asia. We are set up for this with strange statements like, "To be sure, Asian and other third world nations are certainly not in favor of the U.S. re-embarking on its own expansionism in Asia. Few would welcome the dispatch of U.S.

troops to the region, observers have pointed out."

Then, as we are scratching our heads trying to figure out just which few nations *would*, in fact, welcome the dispatch of U.S. troops to overrun and enslave their countries, CPML lowers the boom. "There is widespread recognition that America's foreign policy is also one of aggression and domination, just like the Kremlin's," we are comfortingly assured. "But at this juncture in world history, when the Soviet juggernaut is steamrolling across Asia and Africa, a *limited, restricted U.S. role* in helping nations stand up to Russian expansionism—as well as a halt to U.S. aid to Moscow—can be in the interests of the world's people." (Emphasis added—*RW*.)

These contortions, rivaling only those of Plastic Man, ramble on ad infinitum: "Naturally, any increased U.S. role in Asia carries with it serious dangers to the people of that region. *But* continued appeasement at this time is even more dangerous to world peace."

With "analysis" like this, it is no wonder that the bourgeoisie is considering running a regular column from *The Call*. In fact, when world war breaks out it would not be in the least surprising to see a front page article in the *New York Times* with David Kline's by-line exhorting the people of this country to march off and play a "limited and restricted role" in defending the fatherland. And while Kline remains a small fish in a big bourgeois ocean—competing with better known writers like William F. Buckley—neither his role, or the CPML's, is limited or restricted when it comes to unrestrained support for the U.S. imperialists in the coming showdown with their counterparts in the Soviet Union. ■

Tusk, tusk! Soviets have mammoth idea for a baby

MOSCOW (AP)—The Soviets hope to create their own test-tube baby and raise it to a 12-foot-tall mammoth of the type that became extinct thousands of years ago. Soviet scientists say they have begun a program to create the prehistoric mammoth using preserved cells from original creatures to conceive a similar animal in the laboratory. They say they plan to use techniques similar to those that created test-tube babies in the West.

"Under the right conditions, in 18 to 20 months, the world could see its first artificial baby mammoth," said Viktor Mikhailov, a Leningrad scientist involved in the project. Scientists have not yet decided where they will keep their mammoth if they succeed, but Mikhailov said Monday that "this will be the least of our problems."

As Mikhailov noted in an interview this month in the Soviet newspaper *Trud*, some frozen tissues in almost perfect condition, discovered by scientists in the frozen Soviet Far East, have been dated at up to 44,000 years old. The plan is to mate a preserved cell from a male mammoth and one from a modern-day female elephant in the laboratory and implant the result in the elephant, Mikhailov said. There is no indication whether a preserved sperm or an egg cell might be required for such a project, rather than just any live cell from a mammoth.

Chicago Sun-Times, Tuesday, January 22, 1980



Greensboro, N. Carolina

FEB. 2 ANTI KLAN MARCH

Next Saturday, February 2, a nationwide demonstration against the vicious Klan-Nazi-cop massacre of anti-Klan demonstrators will hit the streets of Greensboro, permit or no permit. The demonstration is sponsored by a broad coalition of over 45 groups from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the National Council of Churches, local chapters of the NAACP, the War Resisters League, American Friends Service Committee, to the whole "leftist" spectrum. The Revolutionary Communist Party is part of the coalition. The national Feb. 2 Mobilization Committee is united primarily to stand up against increased Nazi-Klan terror, although it represents a great number of conflicting ideas and programs. The slogans for the demonstration are: Unite, Stop Klan/Nazi Terror; Remember the Greensboro Massacre; Stop Klan/Corporate Attacks on Labor; We'll Never Go Back; Halt Police/Klan Complicity; and The USA and World Wide, Fight the Repressive Tide.

The ruling class has launched a campaign of intense intimidation locally against the march, which rivals the heavy barrage of harassment they fired at the Nov. 11 funeral march for those murdered in the massacre. At that time, the extreme measures used to keep people from attending the march kept thousands away who had wanted to come. Hundreds braved these threats and defiantly marched. While many of these people may have had serious questions about the Communist Workers Party (including the RCP, which has deep disagreements with the CWP on

most major political questions)—the question of right and wrong was clear, and contempt was reserved for the Klan, Nazis, and the highest authorities behind them. Since then, the capitalists' open backing of the fascist murderers, along with escalating repression of revolutionaries, has demanded a mass response. A major march was called for the 2nd, and the battle was on.

While the bloodstained picture of the fascist massacre was seared into people's minds through hours of national TV coverage, there has been a national press blackout of the efforts to organize people to stand up to these unleashed reactionaries. It would seem that a march sponsored by so many "prestigious" Black organizations would be welcomed readily by the

capitalists and even promoted to steer people's anger against this attack onto an acceptable course. But this does not fit into the ruling class's neat little plans to unleash the full force of their stormtroopers and squelch any response. Their game plan is in the making, and a major outpouring of sentiment against it, even under strictly reformist leader-

Continued on page 18

Gestapo-Style Raid in Greensboro

Greensboro, North Carolina—On Wednesday afternoon, Jan. 23, Greensboro police made a Gestapo-style raid on an RCP supporter's house while several friends were over. Marked and unmarked cars surrounded the house and cops pounded on the door. They flashed a paper they claimed was an arrest warrant for an RCP supporter but refused to let anyone read it. They had no search warrant. Against objections, they pushed their way into the house and searched every room for their "suspect"—a woman whom they said had committed misdemeanor trespass at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro last October. They then brought in two security cops from the university. These two campus cops roamed the house and were told by the city cops to scrutinize each woman there to see if they recognized anyone. An Iranian who was visiting at the time said that the whole thing was exactly like the SAVAK raids on his parents' house when the Shah's secret police stormed inside and arrested his brother.

After unsuccessfully seeking their

suspect in every cupboard in the house, the police sergeant directing the whole operation came over and said very politely, "I want to thank you for your cooperation with the police." He was told in no uncertain terms that in no way had they been permitted to enter the house, and his saying it was so wasn't going to make the search legal.

That evening police stopped a woman RCP member on the same pretext as the raid earlier. She was questioned and delayed for 20 minutes while police examined all her ID and debated whether to arrest her as the "suspect" they were looking for. The following morning two marked and one unmarked police cars lurked around the house at 6:45 a.m.

This "suspect search" has been a very convenient excuse for a systematic campaign of police harassment of the RCP and supporters in Greensboro.

The raid on the 23rd came only two days after the first court date for the appeal for nine RCP supporters who each face up to three years in prison for misdemeanor charges they received during the week before Bob Avakian spoke in Greensboro. Despite D.A. Mark Schlosser's claim that these are just or-

inary misdemeanors (one year for trespassing is ordinary?), the fact that the warrant for this "suspect" was even issued indicates that they intend to prosecute the appeals with the same viciousness as the original trial. While the ruling class is doing its level best to jail every RCP member and supporter in Greensboro, step up its police harassment and unleash its Klan and Nazis against revolutionaries, the Party both in Greensboro and nationally has expanded its revolutionary work among the masses.

Even in "red neck" Greensboro, where the bourgeoisie hopes their myth about a town full of night riders is true, more and more people are waking up to politics and asking questions. (The same campus cops who raided the house sat back in their seats in dismay as 300 people came to hear a supporter of the Iranian revolution speak on campus.) While they are preparing to unleash a fierce legal attack, this warrant is being used to raise the harassment of the RCP to a new level, to search houses, find out everyone who hangs out there, and try and provoke something—as they tried when they made their stormtrooper raid on Jan. 23.

KKK—Getting Away with Murder

Greensboro, North Carolina. On January 18, 14 KKK-Nazi stormtroopers were arraigned on their charges of riot and murder following the November 3 massacre of five anti-Klan demonstrators.

The killers were in backslapping good humor. Clean shaven Nazi leader Roland Wood, cold blooded as a snake, greeted his attorney with a grin. There was a friendly amiability between the judge, the D.A. and the murderers, along with an amiable crew of security cops outside the courtroom superficially frisking people who entered.

Altogether, it was a pretty good day for these killers. FBI investigators have conveniently been trying to prove that the CWP fired on the Klan first, and have even implied that CWP bullets killed their own members, paving a road for self-defense pleas.

And to top it off, D.A. Mike Schlosser opened up yet another route for dismissal by hiring an assistant from a law firm representing a Klan member. The KKK lawyers immediately charged the case was jeopardized.

So far, motions for dismissal have been filed on eleven different grounds,

with more to come.

The only gloom in the proceedings for the KKK and the Nazis was the fact that Jack Fowler, the only killer being held without bail (and the man seen by all as he unlocked the car trunk that held many of the guns used in the massacre), is still being held without bond. But his residence in jail won't last long, not with this mad dash towards acquittal or dismissal.

Superior Court Criminal Judge James M. Long of Yanceyville, North Carolina, who has been specially appointed to try this case, has a peculiarly interesting history. Back in the 1970s, he dismissed charges against members of the Winston-Salem Black Panther Party in a highly charged and extremely controversial case. Could it be that this judge with a reputation for being "fair" and "honest" and for upholding "the letter of the law" will be counted on to do the same with charges this time against the KKK and Nazis? Clearly the state is working for that outcome, and what a great choice of a judge this could be—how could anyone get away with calling him a racist!

"take care of things." But the meeting definitely did not go as the leaders had planned.

The state even went so far as to arrest one Walter Anthony DeShazo for the murder of Henry Lee Johnson in Arkansas on Monday. How they happened so miraculously to find the man has not been explained. Nor the fact that this murderer was so quickly found, while so many others have slipped through their fingers.

While this talk about "no more violence" has been coming out of the top mouths in Idabel, they've been shut tight on hearing the news that David Wilkenson, Klan veteran of the Greensboro massacre, announced Wednesday in Oklahoma City that he would come to Idabel on Thursday. Spray-painted "KKK"s are shooting up all over the area surrounding Idabel.

One of the Black residents, while thumbing through a *Revolutionary Worker* and a leaflet for May Day 1980, summed it all up this way: "Yes, there's been enough violence, but yet, there hasn't been enough." ■

Idabel

Continued from page 1

people attending the meeting. But he was booted down.

When one of the leaders of the meeting reminded the people that "violence is not the way to do things," a man taunted the mayor as he scurried from the church: "Yea. Let the mayor go. He ain't worth a damn anyway." A Black teacher got a similar response after he told the people that it was okay to act violently in Korea or Vietnam, but not in Idabel. Following his final appeal, "I've taught a third of you. You can be humans. You aren't animals," shouting burst forth and a woman stood up and yelled, "When's the last time you heard somebody crying about a Black man being hungry around here?" Another "leader" of the struggle, Reverend White (who told the *RW* he clearly does not support the people's rebellion of last Sunday), was joined by an NAACP organizer sent down specially from Washington to



Green Berets? No, Oklahoma Highway Patrol, armed to the teeth, called in to Idabel to try to put down the rebellion.

RW Distribution Report Chaos on a Grand Scale!

Continued from page 5

With this RW sales campaign these questions have become matters of open and sharp class struggle. The Party and many around it who see the tremendous role for the *Revolutionary Worker* have gone into battle to sell it. It is indeed a battle since to really carry it out means that in practice a big change is being made. It is a change in what it means to be a revolutionary activist, from, as Lenin put it, a trade union secretary to a "tribune of the people." To "be active" means getting this paper into people's hands, and basing much of your other political activity on the broad, revolutionary questions like this paper takes up.

Not only is a battle like this going up against today's spontaneity, it is going up against the reformist and condescending "conventional practices" that have typified the communist movement in this country and internationally for many years, with Mao Tsetung being the really notable exception.

A battle like this is bound to bring out resistance. Mao himself confronted this law of the class struggle on many occasions, though on a higher and more massive level than we are yet able to do today. The greater the advances the more stubbornly the backward would lash out. Here was Mao's response to such a battle, China's Great Leap Forward, "In June I talked about 10,700,000 tons (of steel—RW) Then we went ahead and did it... 10,700,000 tons and 90 million people going into battle. The chaos caused was on a grand scale and I take responsibility." And there was no doubt what he meant: it was just fine with him and he would fight for it. Mao knew that change, upheaval, rebellion, revolution was the real order in the world.

Some comrades keep waiting for things to get "back to normal" for the "chaos" of the *Revolutionary Worker* campaign to be over. And the pull of this force has meant that sales go up one week and down the next in many places. Normal, hell. The world is not "normal", these days; the class struggle is sharpening. Can our response be any different? The chaos of this battle is fine too, because what is being disrupted is a rut of routine that will never lead to revolution.

What is really at stake here behind the numbers, is a question of political line. Is revolutionary agitation and propaganda the central work of revolutionaries or is it not? Is a newspaper our main weapon today in preparing for revolution, is it something else or should we just be folding up our tent? Some say it's mere "paper work," but if you are really interested in revolution, not mere shrinking reforms, if you sense the real links between today's events and the revolutionary goal, then there is no more important weapon today than this newspaper. Around Cambodia, Afghanistan, the KKK, and discrimination, this is the weapon that can forge public opinion through fighting the lies of the bourgeoisie.

Picture tens and soon hundreds of thousands of people being reached all at once, every week and getting a common revolutionary view of the events of the day. This is a powerful force today and for the future. The great revolutionary Lenin saw things this way. In *What Is To Be Done?* he wrote "...there is no other way of training strong political organizations except through the medium of an all-Russian newspaper." (p. 198, FLP edition)

Creating this revolutionary public opinion among the people of this country must become like breathing in and breathing out for revolutionaries—cen-

tral to their work. This doesn't mean simply hawking the paper and stopping at this. The paper must be the glue that binds together into a consistent revolutionary view every sort of work—from deep propaganda work with smaller numbers of advanced people to organizational tasks and practice in every other arena of activity. Selling this many papers is like building up our lungs getting trained to the point that this pace is just standard and we are ready for the higher bursts of speed.

Of course this does not only mean bursts of speed around the newspaper, but also key battles like May Day that must be joined with the enemy. Here, too, the ongoing work of agitation will bear fruit as people's understanding, consciousness, is transformed into concrete blows against the enemy. How else are people going to be able to act in their own revolutionary class interests (not tails on some bourgeois dog) around something like Iran if not through the exposures in a newspaper like the *Revolutionary Worker*. With people today being dragged ever more into political life by the ruling class there is great necessity and great opportunity for this kind of work. This is a foolish time for sad and dismal pessimism about the possibilities for it.

Another wrong point of view that has interfered with our ability to meet our goal is a wrong understanding on the relation between the important task of building networks of distribution around the paper and selling it broadly. As important as these networks are, we cannot simply expand the influence of the paper by going to all those people we already know and convincing them to read and sell it.

The Revolutionary Communist Party and its supporters do not already personally know all, or even a majority, of the genuinely advanced people in this country. The paper itself, as well as other work, will bring them forward. In this campaign so far there has been a tendency to limit the question of "Who do we know who we can get to take copies of the paper." This is part of it, and in some cases produced some initial surge of sales. But it falls short and in fact is wrong as an overall approach. More the question is, where does the Party and the revolutionary line on key events have to be—where are they key outbreaks of struggle, the key factories and other political "base areas"? How do we get the paper there and into the hands of the people who will in turn come forward to take it up?

There is a significant section of people today who will come forward, if given the chance to do this. They must be armed with the paper and, step by step, with a growing political understanding of just how all this really is building for revolution. Some comrades have tended to think that *only* the most advanced, only those who have "been around" will take up and distribute this paper. This means that network building, and the networks themselves are far too narrow and broad sales suffer. Practice in this campaign has proved this view wrong hundreds of times over.

More than one comrade has reported breaking with the narrow view to ask somebody unexpected to distribute the paper. And very often the response is, "Oh yeah, sure I'll do that, I've been thinking about that myself for a while now."

Party members haven't been the only ones surprised by the wide numbers of people who will take the paper. One New York youth told some sellers that he wanted to take some papers around his neighborhood but his mother

wouldn't let him. The RW sellers went to talk to him later on about this, but he wasn't home. His mother was and she ended up taking three times the number of papers the youth had thought about for himself. Need we add, his mind was blown.

Others have reported finding "hidden networks", sometimes under their noses but unknown to them. A comrade thought for a while in his plant there was no one else who would distribute the paper and only one or two who would buy it. Then it turned out, unknown to him, that one of these workers had been showing his copy of the paper to the workers on second shift. All this came out when the comrade got introduced to one of these workers who immediately said, "Oh you're the one I can get this paper from. I've been looking all over town for it, in five different newsstands. I've read it cover to cover." In his plant, where there was heavy repression while reactionaries were allowed to run wild with their anti-Iran teeshirts, there was already the embryo of an underground distribution system, where the workers had been taking this single copy of the paper and passing it along to each other by dropping it off in different drawers around the place.

Communists and other sellers can play a role in nourishing this kind of thing or they can play a role in stopping it before it develops or choking it off, depending on if they take a correct line of concentrating on getting the paper out broadly into the hands of many.

Through this campaign, too, another point made by the Chairman of our Party in the same "Opening Remarks" has been coming true and posing new questions: "...we're going to be bringing forward the advanced more and more. And these people are gonna put us to the test—what about this and this, are you really serious? And so are the intermediate and the backward among the masses, in a different way—they're gonna jump in your shit all the time about every question going down. You're going to have to really read the *Revolutionary Worker*, you're gonna have to study *Revolution* and *The Communist*, you're gonna have to struggle ideologically and deal with questions coming up from all different sections of

the masses."

This is proving true. The thirst of people coming forward for good answers to hard questions is real. In many places there have been network meetings in which new people have really put more experienced ones to the test by taking the stand, "We've talked enough about the day to day questions, tell me more about these big political questions of the country, the world and revolution." New, specialized propagandists have begun to be trained and forums have been suggested on everything from World War to the Black peoples struggle to Trotskyism and why we say it is counter-revolutionary.

All this is fine, but our shortcomings have stood out too. There are more than a few for whom it is not newness but narrowness, sectarianism or a closed-off dogmatic-revisionist view that cuts off their interest and ability in answering others' questions. More than one comrade doing work among Latin people where the question of Cuba comes up constantly has failed to really study and restudy the Party's pamphlet which thoroughly explains how Cuba went from an anti-imperialist revolution to a pawn of Soviet social-imperialism. How can you answer the people's questions if this is your line? Others, when challenged by people about our line that a *newspaper* is the main weapon today in preparing for revolution just move on to another question and don't go home and study the Party's literature or *What Is To Be Done?* by Lenin so as to be able to answer this question of "why?". Here is a great and growing potential that can be unlocked or pissed away.

Pissing it away is out of the question. There is no way that the Party, the advanced class conscious forces coming forward, and all those who dig this paper will allow that to happen. Already this campaign has demonstrated both that there is the objective basis for these goals and that there are advanced forces who see this decisive task and want to see it through. These advanced must keep on coming forward and the rest come along and catch up. The 40,000 peak is the immediate task and then comes the struggle ahead that will mean spiralling up higher and higher in tempo with the fast moving world.

A key article from the *Revolutionary Worker*


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

New Pamphlet!



REVOLUTIONARY
WORKER

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

A Brief History of

THE FIRST SHOT

Lenin wrote, "The character of the war (whether it is reactionary or revolutionary) does not depend on who the attacker was or in whose country the 'enemy' is stationed, it depends on what class is waging the war and of what politics this war is a continuation..." Capitalists conduct capitalist wars for capitalist aims.

We are expected to swallow the story of Uncle Sam as the peaceful freedom-loving giant picked on by foreign aggressors. Never starts a war, always has the purest "human rights" motives. 200 years of history tell a different story...

Remember the Alamo! (All the Way to the "Halls of Montezuma"!)

1836, a small mission fort is surrounded by the Mexican Army. Inside are the defenders, a scuzzy band of professional mercenaries, smugglers and slave traders. Their cause is the independence of Texas, so the fine American institution of slavery can't be abolished by the central Mexican government. For years, American cotton planters have been staking out huge sections of northern Mexico. It has come to war. Within days, this sickening little band of slavemasters is defeated and dead.

A Massacre! An outrage! American blood has been spilled! War fever sweeps a shocked nation. Remember the Alamo!

The Mexican Army is routed. And Texas soon joins the Great American Republic that is stretching steadily westward.

But not only did the Mexicans fire the first shot, they did it twice!! April 24, 1846, the U.S. cavalry innocently crosses the Nueces River, obviously with God on their side. Their goal is to set up a fort on Mexican soil and annex all the land south of the Nueces, all the way to the Rio Grande. For months all is quiet. But finally the Mexicans attack killing or wounding 16. *An Outrage!* President Polk sends a special message to Congress. War already exists, he writes, "by the act of Mexico herself." "Mexico has...shed American blood on American soil." Well, it wasn't American soil yet, but it soon would be...

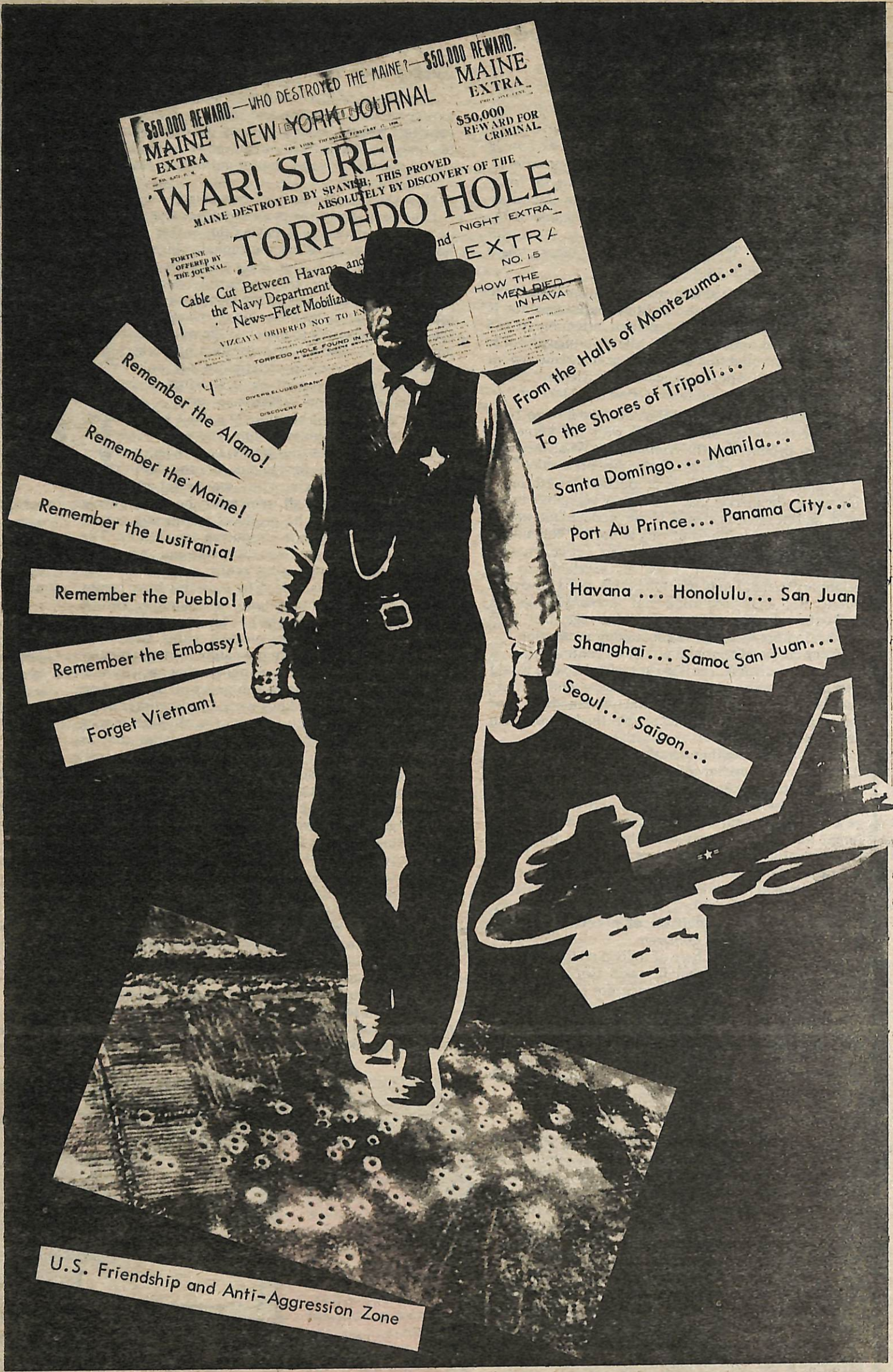
Mexico is invaded. This time the American generals "remember the Alamo" all the way to the "halls of Montezuma". Mexico City is occupied. This war is supposedly to teach Mexico a lesson. In the process the U.S. swallows a third of Mexico—California, New Mexico, Arizona, Nevada, and all of Texas south to the Rio Grande. The U.S. becomes a Pacific power. And all because the Mexicans "fired the first shot."

Next our story jumps to 1898 and the Spanish American War.

Remembering the Maine and The White Man's Burden!

U.S. Presidents have always been men of vision. In 1897, out-going President Cleveland tells his successor McKinley, "I am deeply sorrowed, Mr. President, to pass on to you a war with Spain. It will come within two years. Nothing can stop it." Such foresight! How could he know that the Spaniards were slyly plotting to fire the "first shot?"

Revolution was constantly breaking out in Cuba. Spanish rule was weaken-



U.S. Friendship and Anti-Agression Zone

ing throughout its empire. Cane cutters were storming plantations with machetes and torches. Every time one insurrection was suppressed in blood, another wave of rebellion broke out. Obviously Spain could no longer contain the chaos; there was opportunity for a rising young imperialist power.

In 1896, Cleveland wrote that U.S. recognition of Spanish sovereignty over Cuba could be "superceded by a higher obligation." Who doubts what that "higher obligation" was? "Protection of American property and lives", the same excuse that the U.S. was going to use in a hundred invasions that were to come in the next seventy years. More than \$50 million dollars of American capital were invested in railroads, mines, sugar and tobacco plantations there. Trade with Cuba had grown to nearly \$100 million.

War was carefully planned. Reporter Frederic Remington telegraphed his boss, the newspaper czar Hearst, "Everything is quiet. There is no trouble here. There will be no war." Hearst promptly replied, "Please remain. You furnish the pictures and I'll furnish the war."

A popular ditty was sung everywhere, giving the word "jingo" its modern meaning... "We don't want to fight, yet by jingo, if we do, We've got the ships, we've got the men, and got the money, too."

Pretty soon the imperialists not only had the jingoists, the ships, the men and the money—they also had their excuse.

February, 1898—the battleship Maine steams into Havana harbor on a friendly and innocent mission... protecting American lives and property from dangerous anti-American plots. The dastardly deed is done. The Maine Explodes. *An outrage! American blood spilled!* The fact that the Maine's faulty powder magazines had been repeatedly exploding was busily ignored by the objective American press. This was clearly a case of Spain "firing the first shot!"

Remember the Maine! On cue, orchestrated war fever breaks out... a groundswell. Ten quick weeks of heroism and the war was over. Spain could barely fight. Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines fall into America's lap, eager for self-rule. But imperialists grant freedom and independence to no one.

President McKinley reports how he decided what he should do about the Philippines. "And I am not ashamed to tell you gentlemen, that I went down on my knees and prayed to Almighty God... And one night late it came to me this way... There is nothing left to do but to take them all... uplift and civilize and Christianize them..." "Take Them!" A direct appointment from on high for Americans to take up the "White Man's Burden." The real "Spanish-American" conflict was not the ten-week war, it was the bloody three year jungle war it took to suppress the people of the islands. By 1902 over 600,000 people had been killed on the Philippines alone, supposedly because the U.S. was "remembering the Maine" and "uplifting and civilizing" the natives.

The "First Shot Controversy" of World War I and How Wilson Settled It

The twentieth century opened with empires encircling the world. Colonies were snatched up, and the latecomers got slim pickings. The Great Powers chose up sides. France, Russia and Bri-

The Science of Revolution (Part II)

This is the second in a series of articles on the science of revolution that are being published in the RW this month. These articles will summarize and give an introduction to the basic points of a new book now in preparation. To be published in the next few months, this book will contain, in concentrated form, the foundations of the science of revolution—Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, and the line of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA. As Lenin summed it up: "Without revolutionary theory, there can be no revolutionary movement."

"Having recognized that the economic system is the foundation on which the political superstructure is erected, Marx devoted his greatest attention to the study of this economic system. Marx's principal work, *Capital*, is devoted to a study of the economic system of modern, i.e. capitalist, society..." (Lenin, "Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism")

To study capitalism and thus analyze how to fight and overthrow it, Marx began with the kernel of capitalist production: the commodity. What then is a commodity? And what is commodity production?

Commodity production is production for exchange, for sale in the market place. If I grew vegetables in my yard, and ate them all myself, I have produced use-values, things that are useful—but this is not yet commodity production. If, however, I sell my vegetables to my neighbors so that I may buy something else, I have produced not only use-value but exchange-value as well—the value for which I can sell my vegetables. This production for exchange is commodity production.

Every commodity contains a basic contradiction. It must have use-value, for if it isn't useful no one would buy it. But it also has exchange-value—that is, it exchanges at definite rates with other commodities. For instance, two loaves of bread are worth about as much as a gallon of gas.

But how is this exchange-value determined? If commodities can be exchanged at definite rates they must have something in common. Is it their use-value? Obviously not—we cannot compare the usefulness of gasoline and bread, since they are qualitatively different and cannot be equated the one to the other. Marx pointed out that, "If then we leave out of consideration the use-value of commodities, they have only one common property left, that of being products of labour." (*Capital*, Vol. I, p. 38) It is the labor necessary for the production of a commodity that determines its value in exchange.

We are not speaking here of individual labor time: a baker who is so slow that he takes twice as long to make a loaf of bread as his competitor can hardly sell it for twice the price! It is the average socially necessary labor time—the labor time "required to produce an article under the normal conditions of production, and with the average degree of skill and intensity prevalent at the time" that determines the exchange value of a commodity. (*Capital*, Vol. I, p. 39)

Anarchy of Capitalist Production

The capitalist ruling class often likes to yell about "anarchists"—and tar revolutionaries with that brush. But in fact these capitalists and their system are the real anarchists. Commodity production gives rise to a situation in which no single commodity producer knows "whether his individual product will meet an actual demand, whether he will be able to make good his costs of production or even to sell his commodity at all. Anarchy reigns in socialized production." (Engels, *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*, emphasis added)

This anarchy of production is intensified with the growth of capitalism, which transforms everything into commodities, and thereby subjects the entire process of social production to the blind operation of the law of value. Production is not carried out according to a plan for the overall development of society, but rather commodities are blindly and frenetically thrown onto the market with but one criterion—the drive of the capitalist to accumulate ever more capital.

Capitalism transforms not only the products of labor but human labor-power itself into a commodity. Labor power—the ability to work—is bought and sold on the market as readily as gasoline or bread.

Marx analyzed this fundamental social relation of capitalism in *Wage-Labor and Capital*:

"Labor power is, therefore, a commodity which its possessor, the wage-worker, sells to capital. Why does he sell it? In order to live.

"But the exercise of labor power, labor, is the worker's own life activity, the manifestation of his own life. And this life activity he sells to another person in order to secure the necessary means of subsistence. Thus his life-activity is for him only a means to enable him to exist. He works in order to live. He does not even reckon labor as part of his life, it is rather a sacrifice of his life. It is a commodity which he has made over to another. Hence, also, the product of his activity is not the object of his activity. What he produces for himself is not the silk that he weaves, not the gold that he draws from the mines, not the palace that he builds. What he produces for himself is wages, and silk, gold, palace resolve themselves for him into a definite quantity of the means of subsistence, perhaps

into a cotton jacket, some copper coins and a lodging in the cellar..."

Surplus Value: The Secret of Capitalist Exploitation

The source of the capitalist's wealth does not lie mainly in slick wheeling and dealing. The source of capitalist wealth lies in exploiting the one commodity he finds on the market—labor power—which is "a source not only of value, but of more value than it has itself." (*Capital*)

How can there be such a commodity?

Labor is work. It creates all exchange value. The capitalist will maintain he is paying the worker for his labor. But he is not. What the capitalist buys from the worker is not labor, but labor-power, the ability to work. And like every other commodity, the value of labor power is determined by the labor time necessary to produce it; that is, by the value of the clothing, food, shelter, etc. necessary to maintain the worker and allow him or her to raise a new generation of workers. The value of labor-power is determined not only by the minimum requirements of physical existence, but also by social requirements (which may vary).

Once the capitalist has bought a day's labor-power, this labor-power belongs to him. The worker may produce enough value in four hours, or even less, to cover the cost of his wages for the day. But this doesn't stop the capitalist working "his" worker for a full eight hours or more! After all, remember, he is not paying the worker for what he produces but merely paying him enough to keep him producing for the day. The difference between the two is surplus value, which the capitalist appropriates as his profit.

Take a typical example. The capitalist buys means of production, machinery and raw materials (which Marx calls constant capital). This capital is merely transferred to the finished product, either all at once or bit by bit, depending on the nature of the particular element of production. Suppose that a clothing manufacturer's cost for cotton and wear and tear on machinery during one day's work by his worker has a labor-time value of twelve hours of work. Since money represents value, suppose one hour's labor time is represented by \$10. These means of production will then cost the capitalist \$120 for the day, which he, correctly, counts as part of the final price of his product.

The capitalist also hires a worker and pays him the value of his labor-power, the value of the day's necessities to maintain the worker and his family—say \$40, or the equivalent of 4 hours labor. This purchased labor-power Marx calls variable capital, because it adds more value to the final product than it has itself. The capitalist gets the worker to work for 8 hours, during which time the worker produces a number of pants. The capitalist will sell the pants for their value, which will be equal to the value of the means of production or constant capital (12 hours labor) plus the 8 hours labor added by the worker. The value of the pants is then 20 hours labor time or \$200. But the capitalist has only spent a total of \$160 on means of production and wages. He makes \$40 in surplus value on the deal.

CAPITALISM IS DIRTY SECRET

Nothing in this example violates the law of exchange of equal values. No one got beat for their money. It's just capitalism—fair and square. The labor power and materials were bought at their value and the pants were sold at their value—yet the capitalist still pockets a profit.

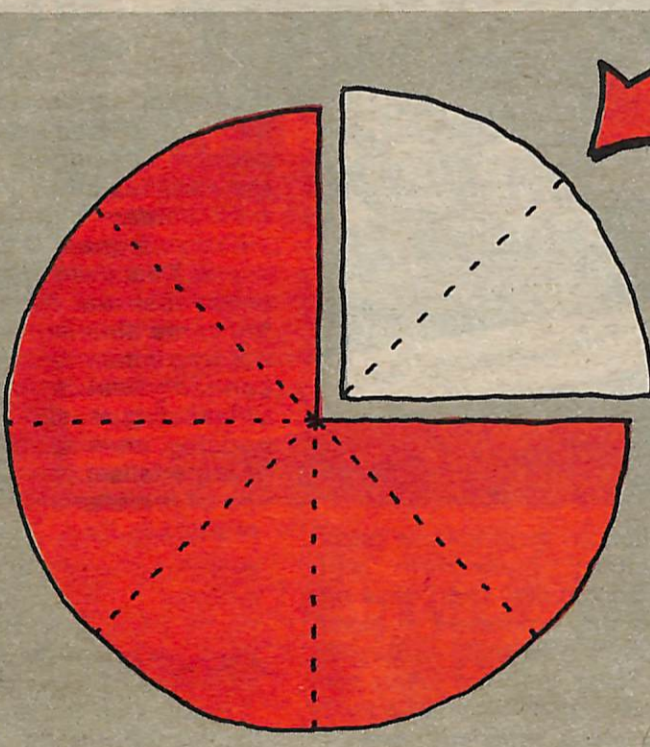
Why? Because he paid the laborer the equivalent of four hours labor, but worked him for eight. The capitalist takes the value produced in the four hours unpaid labor as his surplus value. And so the capitalist's wealth grows with each passing day, while the worker must trudge back to work each day just to earn his daily meal. Marx called this creation of surplus value "the secret"—the dirty little secret—of capitalist production.

Of course, some might think this is an exaggeration. Is it? Well, yes—this example is a gross under-estimation of the exploitation of workers in the U.S. today! Out of every eight hours at work, the average worker in the U.S. works just over 2 hours to cover the cost of his or her wages, with the rest of the time—almost six hours—going to produce surplus for the capitalists!

The Accumulation of Capital is Accumulation of Misery for the Working Class

Capital does not stand still—it develops. The analysis of its development is the analysis of the accumulation of capital.

The capitalist accumulates capital by adding part or all of his surplus to his original capital, and then reinvesting this larger sum to reap still larger amounts of surplus. This accumulation is not a matter of choice—it is a necessity for the capitalist, if he is to



The average American worker produces the value of his daily wage in just slightly more than 2 hours! The value of the remaining 6 hours is seized by the capitalist. This happens on a mass scale, with the value produced by workers laboring together socially becoming the capitalists' private property.

So—a 5-day work week would be divided like this:



and a year like this:



CAPITALISM'S LITTLE SECRET

survive as a capitalist. Were he to spend all his surplus on his own consumption, he would eventually be driven out of business in the competitive struggle with other capitalists who reinvest most of their surplus to expand their market, introduce more efficient machinery, etc. Competition, stemming from the anarchy of capitalism, enforces a strict law on all capitalists: *expand or die*.

The capitalist invests in new machinery to increase the productivity of labor. This reduces the value—the necessary labor time—of his product below the socially necessary average of his competitors. He can undersell his competitors while still selling well above the actual value of his own products and thus make extra surplus value. His competitors must adopt the new method or face extinction. When they do, the new method will determine socially necessary labor time, the exchange value will fall and the excess surplus value will be eliminated.

In this way, machinery comes to replace labor and the “organic composition of capital” rises (i.e. the proportion of *constant* to *variable* capital). Today we call it “automation”. It may result in an absolute decline in the number of workers, as in mining, longshore, etc., or just be reflected in the slower and more difficult employment of new workers (as reflected in the sky-high unemployment among minority youth).

This rise in the organic composition—which means increased organization in the individual workplace—intensifies the anarchy of production in society generally. That is, to maintain their *rate* of profit when the proportion of variable capital—i.e.

wages—is dropping, the capitalists must press production to the limit.

But this drive to constantly expand production (a feature deriving from the fact that capitalism unleashes the productivity of socialized labor) runs up against an equally essential feature of capitalism—production will only go forward if it's *profitable*. At the essence of capitalism is a contradiction between the new forces of production which it creates (primarily socialized labor) and the fact that the fruits of production are privately appropriated (in general nothing will be produced unless capitalists can make a profit from its production). In capitalist crises this contradiction becomes a reality in the most brutally absurd forms: people go hungry, not because there is not enough food, but because there is too much; the country goes to ruin not because of the poverty of production, but because the vast extent of the wealth produced cannot be realized as *capital*—it cannot be sold at a profit.

Under competitive capitalism crises had the effect of clearing away the less effective capitalists and accelerating the accumulation of capital. Even here, however, Marx pointed out, “And how does the bourgeoisie get over these crises? On the one hand by enforced destruction of a mass of productive forces; on the other by the conquest of new markets, and by the more thorough exploitation of the old ones. That is to say, by paving the way for more extensive and more destructive crises, and by diminishing the means whereby the crises are prevented.” (*Communist Manifesto*)

With the rise of imperialism, capitalism is more continuously in decay, its crises less frequent and periodic—but when they hit, they hit much harder. And the ways out that Marx pointed to—destruction of productive forces and the conquest of markets—take place in the context of a world already carved up among these imperialist gangsters. So war to re-divide the world becomes part of the regular functioning of international capitalism.

As the accumulation of capital accelerates, there are progressively larger concentrations of capital in the hands of individual—and fewer—capitalists. These greater concentrations of capital make possible and necessary the development of even larger production operations, more advanced machinery, etc. and the cycle starts over at a higher level. The process is accelerated by the centralization of already existing capitals, as thousands of smaller capitalists are crushed in the competitive struggle and taken over by bigger capitalists, and as scattered capitals are fused together into giant corporations. This process has been demonstrated on a vast scale in the U.S. where by 1968 the 200 largest manufacturing corporations held over 60% of all manufacturing assets.

Thus the development of capitalism: millions are set to work by the capitalists in huge factories around the world, producing a material wealth that the world never before even dreamed of. But at the same time capital, the control over these vast productive forces,

becomes concentrated in the hands of a very few modern super-parasites. The contradiction between social production and private accumulation sharpens—and around the turn of the century this contradiction took a leap into the highest and final stage of capitalism: imperialism.

Basic Features of Imperialism Analyzed by Lenin

Imperialism developed fully after the death of Marx. It fell to V. I. Lenin to analyze the advent of the era of imperialism, and its meaning for the international working-class struggle.

“Imperialism is capitalism in that stage of development in which the dominance of monopolies and finance capital has established itself; in which the export of capital has acquired pronounced importance; in which the division of the world among the international trusts has begun; in which the division of all territories of the globe among the biggest capitalist powers has been completed.” (*Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, FLP, p. 106)

The essential characteristic of imperialism is the dominance of monopoly, which inevitably results from the trends to concentration and centralization of capital explained earlier. Monopoly control is apparent today as a handful of corporations control every industry; GM, Ford and Chrysler in auto; Exxon, Mobil, Shell, BP, Texaco, Gulf, California Standard and Indiana Standard in oil; and on and on.

But imperialism is even more dominated by monopoly than a glance at the major corporations would imply. Lenin pointed out that banking capital too becomes monopolized and takes on a much more significant role under imperialism:

“...the concentration of capital and the growth of bank turnover are radically changing the significance of the banks. Scattered capitalists are transformed into a single collective capitalist. When carrying the current accounts of a few capitalists, a bank, as it were, transacts a purely technical and exclusively auxiliary operation. When, however, this operation grows to enormous dimensions we find that a handful of monopolists subordinate to their will all the operations, both commercial and industrial, of the whole of capitalist society; for they obtain the opportunity—by means of their banking connections, their current accounts and other financial operations—first, to *ascertain exactly* the financial position of the various capitalists, then to *control* them, to influence them by restricting or enlarging, facilitating or hindering credits, and finally *entirely determine* their fate, determine their income, deprive them of capital, or permit them to increase their capital rapidly and to enormous dimensions.”

The upshot of all this is the gradual merging of the dominant industrial and banking capitals into *finance capital*—a relative handful of huge blocs of capital that have their tentacles in every industry and reach out to every corner of the world: what Lenin dubbed the financial oligarchy. This is parasitism—on a grand and bloated scale.

In the U.S., for instance as of 1968, 18 financial groups controlled capital assets worth \$678.4 billion. Taking the Rockefeller family, for example, we find a family fortune of over \$20 billion, control of the world's biggest corporations, Exxon, Chase Manhattan Bank (one of the biggest banks), another half dozen giant banks and insurance companies and some 30 of the top 200 industrial enterprises in the U.S.

Imperialism means a much higher degree of socialization of the productive forces than under pre-monopoly capitalism. Production is now extremely centralized, the raw materials and markets of the entire world are surveyed and taken into account, and production is coordinated not only in a single plant but for whole sections of the globe. But this hardly means that socialism is developing!

“Production becomes social, but appropriation remains private. The social means of production remain the private property of a few. The general framework of formally recognized free competition remains, but

Continued on page 16

As capitalism develops into imperialism, competition spreads beyond the confines of countries' borders and intensifies on a grand world scale. This gives rise to imperialist war. But at the same time imperialist war intensifies the contradictions in society, unleashing rebellion and uprising, making the age of imperialism also the age of proletarian revolution.



Capitalism

Continued from page 15

the yoke of a few monopolists on the rest of the population becomes a hundred times heavier, more burdensome and intolerable."

The contradiction between socialization and anarchy becomes even more, not less, intense. Now this contradiction—in both its aspects—is raised to a world scale. For example, production is shut down in one place, pulled by the constant chase for higher profit, to more profitable investment some place else. Monopoly doesn't eliminate competition—it transforms it to a higher level, not only between monopoly and non-monopoly capitalists, but even more significant in the battle of the huge blocs of finance capital against each other over markets, raw materials, prices, spheres of investments, etc.

Export of Capital

Typical of the old capitalism, when free competition had undivided sway, was the export of *goods*. Typical of the latest stage of capitalism, when monopolies rule, is the export of *capital*. With the development of imperialism, a huge surplus of capital arises in the imperialist countries—surplus in the sense that due to monopoly control and carving up of domestic markets it can no longer be profitably invested in the home country. Meanwhile, opportunities for highly profitable investment in the economically backward areas draw capital like magnet.

"In these backward countries," wrote Lenin, "profits are unusually high, for capital is scarce, the price of land is relatively low, wages are low, raw materials are cheap. The possibility of exporting capital is created by the fact that a number of backward countries have already been drawn into world capitalist intercourse; main railways have either been or are being built there, the elementary conditions for industrial development have been created, etc. The necessity for exporting capital arises from the fact that in a few countries capitalism has become 'overripe' and... cannot find a field for 'profitable' investment."

With the export of capital occupying an increasingly important place in the imperialist economy, the various blocs of finance capital divide up the world, with each creating, defending and expanding worldwide empires. This division of course is ten times more cutthroat than the shifting alliances and wars that the crime families engage in when they negotiate to divide up the spoils, because much more is at stake.

Parallel to and flowing from this division, is the division of the world itself among the great imperialist powers. Each imperialist government gears up to defend the international interests of the bourgeoisies that

control them in the first place.

First imperialism divides the world between oppressor and oppressed nations—that is, between imperialist powers and the economically backward countries that they exploit and dominate. The imperialists take over and distort the economies of these countries, wrecking native industry and agriculture, subordinating them to the needs of the empire, robbing raw materials and resources, and grinding the masses with brutal impoverishment—incredible unemployment on the one hand, vicious super-exploitation on the other. In 1973 the United States had, in direct investments alone, almost \$28 billion in the oppressed nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America with a rate of return almost six times as high as on the average domestic investments.

The imperialists also fight to divide the world among each other, as various imperialist powers try to expand their spheres of domination at the expense of their rivals. Their tremendous productive resources become the basis not for advancing humanity, but for world war.

The contradictions of capitalism now become played out on a world scale. The imperialist powers mass huge military machines to attempt to crush the resistance and rebellion among the oppressed nations and to contend with each other over who will get what share of the world's plunder and booty.

War and Revolution

The division of the world among the imperialist powers cannot and does not remain static. Some powers run up against obstacles, or for one reason or another decay more rapidly; others develop in strength, their economies developing in leaps and bounds in comparison to a more decayed rival. At a certain point the division of the world no longer even approximately corresponds to the relative strength of the various powers.

But the redivision of the world cannot be neatly and peacefully arbitrated—too much is at stake. That is why there have already been two world wars in this century and why a third one now looms. It is these spirals from war to war that set the context for the development of the economies and crises in the various capitalist countries. These imperialist wars to redivide the world re-organize capital by changing the balance of forces internationally. Coming hand in bloody hand with economic crisis, these imperialist wars show up the criminal absurdity and the death-bound nature of capitalism. As Lenin put it, "It is the great significance of all crises that they make manifest what has been hidden, they cast aside all that is relative, superficial and veal the real mainsprings of the *class struggle*." ("Lesson of the Crises," Vol. 24, p. 213)

For the U.S. today to peacefully agree to give up huge chunks of turf to its Soviet rival is absurd—its economic bloc is already disintegrating and they are forced to go

for an even more favorable redivision of the world as the only way to resolve it. And as for the Soviet Union—where capitalist rule was restored in 1956 and where there is an imperialist ruling class that is a highly centralized one and is based on state (capitalist) control of most of the resources—while not conforming in every way to the general "model" of imperialism, they too are driven by the contradictions of capitalism and can only hope for a resolution through war and redivision.

The Era of Proletarian Revolution

Because imperialism intensifies the contradictions of capitalism on a world scale, it is the era of proletarian revolution.

The world economy is socialized to an incredible degree, but this very socialization takes place within a decayed, parasitical shell, and the wealth of the entire world now flows into the coffers of a literal handful of giant leeches. In the main imperialist countries this means huge sections of the economy given over to finance, credit, speculation, etc. A vast government bureaucracy and military machinery is built—and built on the bones of the world's people. This plunder also, in the short run, allows the capitalists to buy off a minority of the working class with the crumbs from their pirate's feast and helps them to prevent the rise of a class-conscious workers' movement. Nevertheless its main effect is to grind down the masses of workers (especially as they find themselves increasingly prepared for their role as cannon fodder in imperialist war). In addition, this plunder gives rise to storms of revolutionary struggle in the oppressed nations of the world.

Especially as imperialism lurches toward war, the acuteness of its contradictions stand out. Stalin wrote that

"The significance of the imperialist war... lies among other things in the fact that it gathered all these contradictions into a single knot and threw them onto the scales, thereby accelerating and facilitating the revolutionary battles of the proletariat." (*Foundations of Leninism*)

Such revolutionary battles will punctuate the entire epoch of imperialism, intensifying with each spiral of division, redivision, war and revolution; until the proletariat and its allies have finally wiped out exploitation once and for all, and driven the vicious beast of imperialist oppression out of the world and into the pages of history.

Some recommended readings on political economy:

Marx, Wage Labor and Capital
Lenin, Imperialism, especially chapters 7-10

Other suggested readings:

Marx, Capital, Vol. 1
Political Economy (Banner Press)

Douglas

Continued from page 7

opinions on the Court, far more than any other justice, eventually became law. His more bitter detractors were thorough-going reactionaries up-front. This, as much as anything else, served to create and perpetuate the myth that Douglas had fundamental differences with the bourgeoisie—that he was a genuine rebel and defender of the downtrodden.

Douglas combined his idealistic view of "classless" democracy with his genteel and "rational" anti-communism (in opposition to the McCarthyite hysteria), and the pernicious combination influenced the thinking and actions of a broad number of people—from petty bourgeois liberals and radicals (especially during the great upheavals of the '60s) to progressive sections of the working class and the masses of people as a whole.

He made a number of decisions and expressed many opinions that genuinely irked some of the bourgeoisie and benefitted the masses to a very limited degree. He spoke out in defense of the victims of McCarthyism; he issued a temporary stay of execution for Julius and Ethel Rosenberg (two alleged communist "spies" framed up and eventually executed for supposedly passing atomic bomb "secrets" to the Soviet Union); he voted to set convicted prisoners free because they had been denied access to a lawyer before being grilled by the police; he opposed cases of censorship of the press (one notable example was his opposition to government attempts to prevent the publication and sale of the Pentagon Papers, which were a major exposure of the U.S.'s criminal role in Vietnam); he voted against loyalty oaths, etc.

There were times when the bourgeoisie

as a whole was forced by the struggles of the masses of people to grant certain concessions in the realm of bourgeois "justice" and "equality"—for example, during the Black liberation struggle of the '60s—and the appearance was that Douglas and those like him had been "vindicated," that the system *could* be made to work.

Justice Douglas never hesitated to pat himself on the back on such occasions and crow about how he had been "right about the American democratic system." And the ruling class as a whole benefitted from his crowings, to the extent that it swayed public opinion and reinforced the ideology of reformism among the people.

A "radical" such as Douglas having such a position in the highest echelons of political power lent "legitimacy" to the barren notion that bourgeois democracy can be truly representative of the interests of all the people. But Douglas' reputation as a maverick and a dissenter did not change the fact that, as a Supreme Court Justice, he was himself a *representative* of the ruling class at the highest levels of government. Most fundamentally those whose "liberty" he protected were the greatest murderers and enslavers of the people that history has ever produced, members of a very elite *minority* whose "rights" he held sacrosanct: the capitalist class.

The ruling class always knew whose side Justice Douglas was on. As Chief Justice Warren Burger said at Douglas' funeral, "There was a time when some who differed with him on issues mistakenly described him as an atheist and even questioned his belief in the American system. This shows how terribly wrong perceptions can be." Douglas was never at odds with the ruling class on the one issue that really counts—their "right" to rule society. ■

Tribune Six

Continued from page 8

political, the prosecutor himself very consciously took the approach of countering the defendants with a two-pronged attack, both on the legal and political fronts. To those jurors who might sympathize with the actions of the defendants, he appealed to them to convict on "the evidence," phony evidence that is, since no warning to leave had ever been given.

The political prosecution which became more and more evident appealed to patriotic and anti-communist prejudices, with witnesses all coached to present the same picture of the six defendants as wild-eyed crazies. The prosecutor fired off, "You knew that nobody wanted you at the *Tribune* didn't you?" "You didn't care whether they wanted you or not, you were determined to go there and cram your leaflets down their throats anyway, weren't you?"

But when one of the defendants, acting as her own attorney, took the stand, the prosecutor's distorted view of communists began getting turned around as she testified to the reality of what happened in the newsroom that day. This picture of interested reporters taking leaflets, discussing the situation in Iran and applauding at one point, threatened to blow the prosecutor's whole case of teeth-gritting communists acting blindly and without support.

The judge stopped her midway through her testimony. All jurors were ordered out of the courtroom. Without warning, the judge slapped contempt charges on all six defendants, five for the supposed crime of wearing T-shirts emblazoned with "Victory to the Iranian Revolution," and one for wearing "Stop the Railroad of Bob Avakian." This was his ace in the hole that could

always be pulled out in case the jury didn't come through with the convictions.

In the closing statement of the trial the prosecutor worked himself into a patriotic sweat, pacing up and down and appealing to the more backward jurors. "These people are paranoid, they hate all authority," he claimed of the RCP supporters, but the *Tribune* employees are "good working people, just like you and me. This is a good place to live. Use our American laws, our American government, to throw the book at these people."

The effect of this speech, in the context of the patriotic hysteria being whipped up around the "Iran crisis"; was to rally the backward jurors to go for the maximum sentence. Apparently there was struggle over this on the jury, who could be overheard in hot debate, including shouting back and forth. After two hours they requested transcripts of the testimony of the two security guards, which the defense had pointed to as contradictory. Predictably, the judge denied this request, which could possibly have swung the jury in favor of the six defendants. Not long after this the guilty verdict with the maximum sentence of a \$500 fine came in.

Satisfied with the outcome of the trial, the judge dropped the contempt charges—not out of good-heartedness on his part, but because the state had gotten the convictions they wanted against the RCP. ■



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U.S. Stakes Claims for War

Continued from page 1

Of course, Iran was mentioned in Carter's speech, but in an entirely different context—the Soviet menace. This was capped by a U.S. gangster-style "protection offer" that the U.S. government will continue its efforts to convince the Iranian government that Iran's real enemy lies "to the north." And this set the stage in Carter's speech for the real heart of the matter—the Carter Doctrine.

This was the key point of the whole speech: now's the time to defend our empire "by any means necessary." Let's get one thing straight, he said in his declaration, "Let our position be absolutely clear. An attempt by any outside force to gain control of the Persian Gulf region (or any other area the U.S. considers vital, we might add—*RW*) will be regarded as an assault on the vital interests of the United States of America and such an assault will be repelled by any means necessary including military force." In other words, "Soviet Union and anyone else keep your hands off our Persian Gulf, our oil, our world for that matter! What's ours is ours and what we need for our "vital interests" we will take."

In case anyone didn't get the point, Carter proceeded to make a survey of U.S. military "friendship" bases around the world and the latest additions to U.S. nuclear armaments in Europe, calling for increased military spending and a strengthened "national

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Periodicals

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- Revolutionary Work in a Non-Revolutionary Situation.** Report from the 2nd Plenary Session of the 1st Central Committee of the RCP. 1976. 69pp. \$1.00.
- Communist Revolution: The Road to the Future, The Goal We Will Win.** Speech by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the CC of the RCP, USA at the founding convention of the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade. 1978. 38pp. \$0.50
- Important Struggles in Building the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA.** By Bill Klingel and Joanne Psihoutas. 1978. 55pp. \$1.00.
- Our Class Will Free Itself and All Mankind.** Speech by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the RCP on the celebration of the founding of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA in October 1975. 1976. 30pp. \$0.75.
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- Communism and Revolution vs. Revisionism and Reformism in the Struggle to Build the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade.** 1978. 36pp. \$0.50.
- The Loss in China and the Revolutionary Legacy of Mao Tsetung,** speech by Bob Avakian at the Mao Tsetung Memorial Meetings. 1978. 151pp. \$2.00.
- Revolution and Counter-revolution, The Revisionist Coup in China and the Struggle in the Revolutionary Communist Party USA.** 1978. 501pp. \$4.95.
- Mao Tsetung's Immortal Contributions,** by Bob Avakian. 1978. 344pp. \$4.95.

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will"—a straight-out war call.

Naturally, "meeting the Soviet challenge will take national will. . . economic sacrifice, and military capabilities," as he put it. Especially it will take millions of bodies to be thrown into the battle and sacrifice, sacrifice, sacrifice for the greater good and glory of U.S. imperialism whose drunken and decrepit spokesmen littered the halls of Congress listening to Crusader Jimmy make this call for cannon fodder. "You and I will act as necessary to protect the nation's security," Carter announced before he declared the "reestablishment of the draft (technically only "draft registration" as NBC anxiously pointed out no less than *four* times in their post-speech sum-up) and the real content of this call for sacrifice began to become very clear to millions. "Uncle Sam wants you"—all of you and women included—oh yes he does!

Thank you Jimmy Carter! You laid it out there pretty straight: Step right up we are getting ready to duke it out with the Russians and if you don't like it, too damn bad! O.K., we won't forget what you've said—many of us saw it coming already. As you say the 1980s will be a decade of great turmoil and struggle. The question that is being put on the agenda is—if we must shed our blood to rid the world of your kind once and for all. The outcome of the decade may not be quite what you or your Soviet counterparts have in mind.

Greensboro

Continued from page 11

ship, is not wanted.

In the face of this, some organizations (especially of the Black bourgeoisie) have capitulated, even against the anger of their members, refusing to endorse the march. Others have been forced to stand more firmly with the struggle. This is partly due to the contradictions that these Black bourgeois forces themselves face with the capitalists, since national oppression has thwarted their development, and partly due to the fear they have of the people, especially Black people, surging beyond "their" leadership, as the high tide of the Black liberation movement did in the late 1960s.

Some of the groups and individuals involved in the committee, who almost croak at the thought of uniting with revolutionaries and communists, are nevertheless being forced to unite because the capitalists' blatant moves of promoting and protecting the Klan and Nazis prevent them from being able to stay on the sidelines. A few groups, like Operation PUSH and the top leadership of SCLC, are using this march as a way to reestablish themselves as "leaders" of the movement against the oppression of Black people, purposefully waiting to support it until they could gain political control.

Other groups are trying to manipulate the committee behind the scenes for their own purposes, too, including the so-called Communist Workers Party and the almost never-called Communist Party Marxist-Leninist (working only through the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF) and the CPUSA working through the Southern Organizing Committee (SOC). In many key political struggles, these groups led the struggle to unite the committee behind the most backward view. These opportunists have made a big deal about making the demand for a Congressional hearing to investigate the massacre a main demand for the march. Such an investigation would serve little purpose (after all, what is there to investigate?) and only promote the idea that the government is some sort of neutral party in this matter and can set things straight. While reformist organizations are expected to be reformist, so-called revolutionaries who are reformists in disguise deserve nothing but contempt. To struggle, like they have for this pitiful demand under the guise of "using the government to ex-

pose the government," is much more insidious than simply not being able to see what is right before your eyes. It is downright treacherous promotion of dangerous illusions about the real nature of the very class responsible for the Greensboro massacre.

Add to this the fact that these groups are happily promoting each other, favorably quoting each other in their newspapers, etc., and the picture gets ridiculous. Has it only been three months since these forces were sharply at odds with each other? At that time, the CPML blamed the CWP equally with the Klan for the massacre, vehemently opposed the funeral march, and whispered that the Klan could hardly have picked a better target.

As for the CWP, they wouldn't even let people march at the funeral march with an armband saying "Never Forgive or Forget the Greensboro Massacre—Damn the Klan and the Capitalist Hand Behind Them!" And they are now groveling and scraping behind the lowest level of unity of the committee, printing the committee leaflet on the front page of their newspaper with no analysis or comment. These antics are bad enough, but they are coupled with stacking meetings and other underhanded and manipulative methods of operating within the Feb. 2 Coalition. Such activity even feeds an already strong suspicion of working with communists and revolutionaries on the part of the Black middle class forces. Indeed that tendency is so strong that the only "independent" line on the demonstration that a sponsoring organization can put out is in their own regularly published publication. No leaflets, press conferences, meetings or anything else is allowed.

Through all these twists and turns and sharp struggles, there has still been enough unity built and enough support from the people to have this demonstration. And as each day gets closer and as each advance is won, the ruling class gets more dead-set on stopping this march and further encouraging their KKK-Nazi dogs.

To stop such a large protest, local authorities have been working overtime to create an atmosphere in Greensboro of uncertainty over whether or not the demonstration will come off, and fear over what will happen if it does. As of this writing, the city is still maneuvering to avoid granting a parade permit, and Town Manager Osborne has said he ex-

pects the Klan to show up at the demonstration. The same repressive tactics that were used to try to scare people away from the funeral march are being intensified and refined.

People in Greensboro still have vivid memories of the armed might of the state that was displayed during the funeral march—the helicopter whirling overhead (one of which was bought especially for the march), the national guard tanks rolling along near the center of town, and the guardsmen armed with loaded machine guns who lined the route of the march facing towards the demonstrators. After the massacre, Osborne proposed a new parade ordinance which would force demonstrators to pay for the cost of police protection if the city manager thought it would be necessary to have more than 45 officers "protect" the march. This tactic would have put the victims of the massacre in the position of paying the salaries of the very cops who set them up. (This is startlingly similar to the Shah's policy of forcing Iranian families to pay for the bullets used to kill their loved ones).

The city's main move has been to deny the February 2 demonstration a parade permit on the grounds that there is going to be a large concert at the Greensboro Coliseum on the night of Feb. 2, making it impossible to use the Coliseum for the endpoint rally. According to the city authorities, it would also be impossible for the city to provide "sufficient security" for both events.

Even more disgusting and insidious is the hypocritical attempt to divert attention from the Feb. 2 protest march to a city-endorsed commemoration of the lunchcounter sit-ins in 1960, which helped to start the Civil Rights Movement. The men who were arrested at Woolworths lunchcounter 20 years ago will be "special breakfast guests at the same store, compliments of the management." The bourgeoisie in Greensboro is celebrating its own role in the Civil Rights Movement!

That 1960 sit-in at Woolworths was one of the sparks that lit a fire in millions and set off tremendous struggle in this country against the oppression of Black people, kicking off the civil rights movement. Coming from that movement and going up against the inability to reform away the system of oppression, there soon developed a revolutionary Black liberation movement, and leaders like Malcolm X and

the Black Panther Party, targeted the system as the source of the oppression of Blacks and called for overthrowing it. Many of the forces in the Feb. 2 Mobilization Committee have dreams of resurrecting the early civil rights movement, a dream that has long since been smashed on the hard rock of reality.

Although the Feb. 2 Mobilization Committee leaflet calls on people to "lay claim to the 1980's" this is coupled with slogans like, "We will never go back!"—a line that misses the boat and leaves people stranded on the shore. The 1980s are not the 1960s, with Black people in this country facing not just increased national oppression but truly earthshaking events including world war—with revolution a real possibility. How many of these people will be satisfied with a struggle aimed only at being able to sit at a lunch counter, when real freedom is on the horizon?

With the line of many in the committee that the "rising racist tide" of the 1980s is the main threat to the country, the real source of racism is let off the hook. Racism isn't a mysterious disease that affects the brain cells of white people—it's part and parcel of the capitalists' rule that has historically oppressed Black people as a people, right to this day and keeps them subjugated in the lowest levels of the working class in order to reap huge superprofits from their labor. Their racist ideology is promoted in order to preserve this set-up of national oppression and keep Black and white people from uniting with each other in their common interests, to defeat these capitalists along with the racist ideas that they spew out.

So the stakes are up. The Klan-Nazi massacre with obvious complicity by the cops and the highest authorities behind them was a crystal clear message of the bourgeoisie's intentions regarding the great turmoil ahead. Many in the Feb. 2 Mobilization Committee may be somewhat fuzzy on this issue, but the call for the Feb. 2 demonstration is beginning to touch some of the many, many thousands of people in this country who want to take a stand against what's going down, and go straight up against the increasing repression and outright threats. People are beginning to openly debate about whether or not to come to Greensboro. The Feb. 2 march could be a powerful political statement to the capitalists and a roadblock in the way of their flat-out whitewash of the Greensboro massacre.

First Shot

Continued from page 13

tain on one side, and Germany, Austria-Hungary and the Ottoman Empire on the other. The coming war to redivide the world was to be fought for God and honor, for democracy and justice, and naturally self-defense. Every single country claimed that they were shot at first. This made things very confusing for those fools who believed what they were told.

Austria claimed that Serbia shot first, since an Austrian duke was assassinated by a Serbian revolutionary. So Austria seized Serbia.

Russia didn't agree. The Tsar announced that the Austrian invasion was the real "first shot." And so Russia jumped into the war.

Germany declared that Russia "fired first" by intervening in Austria's little war. So Germany invades Belgium to get to France. (This only makes sense to those with an imperialist sense of logic.)

And finally Britain spoke up. All the previous "first shots" paled before the "rape of Belgium neutrality." And so Britain, the famous rapist of colonies all over the world, enters the conflict.

The Great Powers of Europe hurled armies of millions at each other, killing, dying, and of course, grabbing what land they could.

But in America, there was an uneasy confusion over who had *really* fired the "first shot," and which of these blood-thirsty imperialists was *really* the barbarian. As any American patriot can tell you, it is only the American President who has the right to officially determine when and where the "first shot" is fired.

Finally, Wilson cleared the air. He

announced that World War I had been fought for one and half years, *without a first shot being fired*. The real bona fide certified first shot happened on May 7, 1915 when an English ship carrying ammunition was sunk by Germans. *An Outrage! American blood was spilled!* Obviously the filthy Huns had been the villains all along. This was not a war for colonies, this was not a war for plunder. Oh no! This was a war to "Remember the Lusitania!" And to make the world safe for Democracy. And with that, the U.S. moved from the lucrative business of neutral war trade to the even more lucrative business of conquest.

Germany's Tired of Being Pushed Around

1939... Hitler himself was certainly able to learn from his more experienced U.S. and British rivals. The German people were constantly told that Germany was taunted and insulted at all sides, pushed and bullied by everyone in Europe.

Before the Czech invasion, German papers informed the world that Germans in Czechoslovakia were brutalized by Czech brutes. There was even an invented story about a pregnant German woman struck down by the Czech beasts. *A Bloodbath! We've been pushed around too long!* And Czechoslovakia is invaded and dismembered.

Poor Germany. Nobody leaves her alone. Only one year later the German papers are again full of reports of aggression. This time it is Poland who fires the "first shot." The Nazi Foreign Office announces, "In defense against Polish attacks, German troops moved into action against Poland today. This action is not to be described as war, but merely as engagements which have been

brought about by Polish attacks." In the well planned Blitzkrieg that follows, smoldering Poland is conquered by the German imperialist war machine.

World War II was certainly not the last time that Uncle Sam was supposedly dragged into wars when others "fired the first shot" and spilled sacred American Blood. In fact, the U.S. assumed so much of the Imperial "White Man's Burden" that it started to call itself the world's policeman. It seemed as if America's "vital interests" constantly happened to run straight through everyone else's backyard. Every time it was necessary to push back a rival, or squeeze a little more sweat out of an "ally," the tired old lie of the "first shot" came out again.

"Bring Back the Coonskin!"—LBJ

1964... the U.S. was in a terrible pickle in South Vietnam. The war was being lost. For fourteen years, the U.S. had poured "advisors" and munitions into this country. They just couldn't get these people to fight for the corrupt, reactionary puppet regime in Saigon. The political situation got worse. And it was clear that the U.S. needed an excuse for massive intervention.

Since one did not appear, it was invented....

August 4, 1964... two North Vietnamese PT-boats brazenly buzz the American destroyer Maddox. By some reports, a torpedo was launched in the vague direction of the American ship. Obviously a clear case of the "first shot."

In a wave of war fever and congressional "decisiveness," the U.S. goes to war. Within 12 hours, massive air raids called "OPERATION ROLLING THUNDER" pound the mainland of Indochina. Within months, the first

units of a 500,000-man invasion force wade onto Vietnamese beaches. Officially, it was a war for the defense of Democracy. Like all jingoist fabrications, this was a flimsy, ridiculous, implausible lie. In reality, it was an imperialist war in defense of imperialism.

Today there are those who slyly ask, "Has Russia fired the first shots of World War 3?" They ignore or hide "what class is waging the war and of what politics this war is a continuation...." Two slave masters are lumbering toward a new showdown of imperialists. Whichever side they support, the modern jingoists serve that class.

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