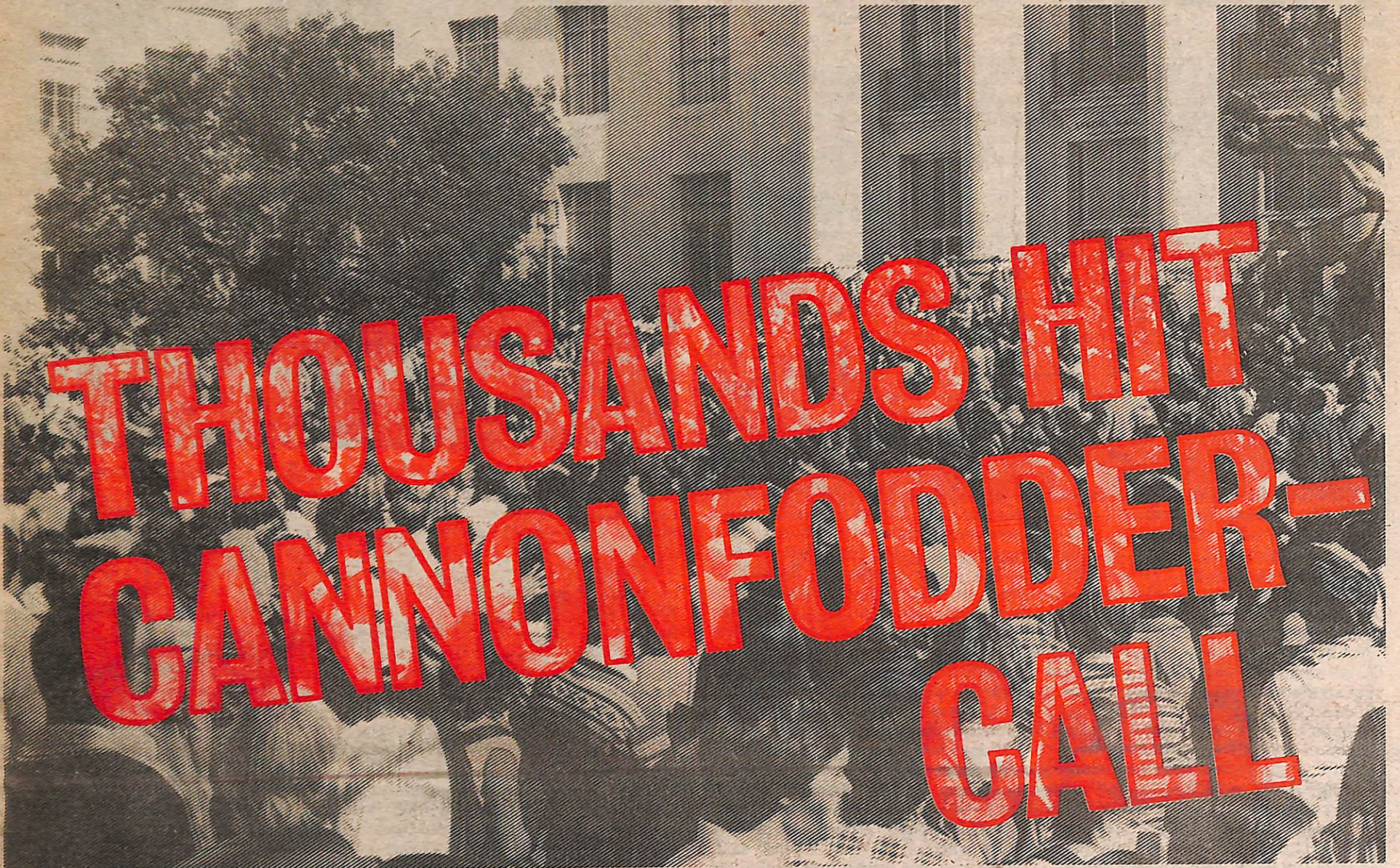




REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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

Vol. 1 No. 39 ISSN 0193-3485 February 1, 1980 Sección en Español 25¢



Part of a crowd of 4,000 that gathered at University of California at Berkeley for anti-draft protest, Jan. 25, 1980.

"STUDENTS MARCH IN STEP BEHIND CARTER DRAFT CALL" the *New York Post* crowed jubilantly following Carter's bloodthirsty State of the Union address. The article consisted of interviews with a few slack-jawed jocks at Columbia University and the son of a congressman.

One week later the headlines of the *New York Daily News* read "FISTS FLY AT COLUMBIA ANTI-DRAFT MELEE!" and "COLUMBIA AGAIN ON WARPATH." The campus was hit by an anti-draft demonstration of 800, the largest outpouring since the powerful anti-war riots that rocked the campus in the late 1960's and part of a whole series of anti-draft actions nationwide on campuses and elsewhere that have been sparked by Jimmy Carter's announcement of the reinstatement of draft registration. The University plaza rang with shouts of "Hell No, We Won't Go!" and every once in awhile somebody would yell, "Hey the 1980's are just beginning. Look out!"

Where were the thousands who the bourgeoisie had hoped would willingly step forward to declare their support for these latest war moves, those who would be marching like lockstep zombies behind the red-white-and-blue that the press had been so smugly scribbling about? They were not long in coming. A dozen or so crewcut frat rats waddled across the plaza, carrying a huge American flag, yelling "God Bless America!" and "Go Draft! Go War!" The media buzzed around them like flies on a corpse. They climbed the steps of the sun dial and held their red-white-and-blue toilet paper triumphantly atop the statue of Alma Mater. Cameras whirred, interviewers descended, film crews scrambled. Jocks drooled with reactionary glee, and began croaking "My country 'tis of thee."

Then suddenly the scene ripped open. Led by the Vietnam Veterans Against

the War, angry students ripped the filthy flag to ribbons and set fire to another, puncturing the fascist balloon and spoiling a lot of great film footage for the press. The handful of chumps quit singing and cowered in silence.

The day after Carter's announcement anti-draft rallies of the size of the one at Columbia and even larger began happening across the country. 700 rallied at Stanford, burning a giant blow-up of a draft card and 1,000 rallied at the

University of Oregon in Eugene. On Friday well over 2,000 demonstrated at Berkeley. This was by no means the scene that the bourgeoisie wanted (though they undoubtedly expected some protest). As well as demonstrations on some of the bigger campuses like the University of Wisconsin and the University of Minnesota, there were sizable rallies at smaller schools like the University of West Virginia where 200 people marched from the campus to the

downtown area of Morgantown. The march and rally shook up the whole town including a group of reactionaries who showed up to intimidate the marchers but ended up leaving instead, dragging their tails behind them. The town hadn't seen an anti-government demonstration of this size in over a decade.

In Washington, D.C. on Monday January 28th, 250 people demonstrated

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Iran Election: A Bourgeois Thing

Grasping at every straw they come across, the U.S. imperialists have seized upon the election of Abolhassan Bani-Sadr as president of Iran to create the impression that much headway is being made in securing the release of the hostages and that a friend of the U.S. is now at the wheel. They are desperately hoping for a solution to the mess they are into in Iran, as they struggle to tighten up their act in the face of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. "At least we have a government to talk to now," they say, "maybe the Iranian people will somehow stop hating the U.S., drop their demand for the return of the Shah and listen to Bani-Sadr," who they project as a "voice of reason" amidst all the turmoil and chaos of the Iranian revolution.

Bani-Sadr gained the distinction of being fired from the post of Foreign Minister in early November due to the outrage of the students at the embassy when he tried to negotiate the release of the hostages with UN Secretary General Waldheim. A member of the

Revolutionary Council, he defeated by a 9-1 margin former admiral Madani, the reactionary ex-head of the Shah's navy who was exposed by the students occupying the embassy as declaring in a secret letter his hatred for Khomeini and offering to pull off a coup if the U.S. would back him.

The whole dignified and "orderly procedure" of the recent presidential elections is a marked contrast to the turmoil and mass upsurge of the past year. But the difference is not just in the form of political activity but also in the content of it. The whole idea of forming a standard bourgeois republic represents the wishes, no matter how far fetched, of the capitalist elements in Iran which Bani-Sadr represents, to create a new form of government that best suits their interests.

For these bourgeois forces, the revolution has already served its purpose. The circle of favorite capitalists that surrounded the Shah is largely gone, leaving a relatively clear field, except for the masses of people at any

rate. What those who Bani-Sadr represents would like more than anything is for everyone to settle down, elect a parliament, and go along with their program, limiting political activity to going to the polls every few years to see which bourgeois is going to take the reins of government.

But for the masses of people in Iran such a bourgeois republic would be a giant step backwards. In the last sixteen or so months, millions upon millions of Iranians have taken their future into their own hands, rising up in armed struggle and defeating the Shah's U.S. backed forces and surging forward to defend their gains and continue the revolution to completely rid their country of the stench of the imperialists and their lackeys. Millions of Iranians, filled with hatred for imperialism, have turned Iran upside down. Now these people are being begged to stop their struggle halfway and welcome a new class of exploiters, who in the name of

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Maximum Sentence In Peltier Trial

Los Angeles, January 22, Federal Courthouse. Maximum sentences of seven years in prison for escape and possession of a weapon were handed down to Native American freedom fighters Leonard Peltier and Bobby Gene Garcia. These terms will be added onto the consecutive life sentences they are already serving. Five days earlier, the Federal Bureau of Prisons, in a duplicate sentencing for the same escape, ordered both men sent to the Control Unit in the penitentiary at Marion, Illinois for an indeterminate period. The Control Unit is the sensory deprivation, "behavior modification," torture chamber of the federal prison system.

The government concluded this political trial in the same manner it had conducted it from the beginning—packing the courtroom with federal marshals, harassing and excluding many supporters, trying to isolate Peltier as a "criminal." Judge Lydick tried to silence any mention by Peltier's attorney of government attacks on Indian people or of what precipitated the escape—the government's attempted murder of Peltier in prison.

Practically snorting for blood, the U.S. attorneys asked for the maximum penalty. The reason: "This will act as an example...a deterrent to thousands...across the country." But Peltier and Garcia (Roque Dueñas, who was a co-defendant, is still in jail awaiting a new trial on February 20) were giving a far more powerful example to those same millions that the government is so desperate to "deter."

As he faced the court, Bobby Gene Garcia said, "It is not easy to accept your sterile word called 'justice,' when my heart, my spirit is the same with Emiliano Zapata and Chief Crazy Horse... My only crime is to possess the irrepressible free will to keep resisting the government and their design to repress and destroy the Indian native and our way of life." Hearing this, the U.S. prosecutor spat out that Garcia's statement only showed "he is dedicated to oppose the government in all its activities"—his real "crime."

The government was furious. They

hadn't brought their capitalist masters all of the scalps they had planned for in this trial. Not only were Peltier, Garcia and Dueñas acquitted of the heaviest charges (conspiracy and assault on a guard), but their trial was a glaring exposure of the FBI's murdering political attacks. Trying to make light of their political losses, the prosecutor slandered Leonard Peltier as "nothing more than a criminal hiding behind the Indian community." At that, the lying words were drowned out with the laughter of the supporters, Indian and non-Indian, who were in the courtroom. Eyes popping, the prosecutor wheeled around and returned to her seat.

Before reading the sentence, Judge Lydick asked Peltier if he had any statement to make. Peltier began: "As a leader of Indian people, I stand before this court a proud man, who feels no guilt, because I have done nothing to be guilty of...a proud man to be a member of the American Indian Movement, a warriors' society who decided imprisonment, even death, would be better than to see our people on their knees, and to let the genocide be continued against our people and nation... The extermination practices used in the past has been by diseased blankets infested by smallpox, and by machine guns. Today your methods are more sophisticated—culture and land genocide—and the forced sterilization of our Indian women... Because of these fascist attempts at genocide of Indian people, the traditional Indian people and the American Indian Movement decided to rise up and resist. Because of our brave attempt... many of us have been assassinated... and for those of us the government could not murder, conspiracies to imprison us began..."

Judge Lydick began to squirm in his plush leather throne, as the truth shone too bright for this chamber of dark deeds. "How long will this take?" he squealed. Peltier replied, "You will know when I finish." Lydick said, "Then you can submit it in writing for the record." Peltier replied, "This is what was done throughout this trial and in Fargo (where they were originally



convicted). You are denying me the right to speak." Then, in a contemptuous gesture and a vain effort to hide his fear, Judge Lydick swiveled around, closed his eyes, and let out a snore.

Continuing, Peltier told the history of beatings and murder on the Pine Ridge Reservation; of federal agents looking for him, which forced him to flee to Canada in hopes of ending the repression; of the lies and deceptions the U.S. government used to extradite him; of the intimidation and murder of witnesses in the original trial and the Fargo railroad. "The violence and mass murder of Indian nations... are no different from the holocaust committed against the Jews by Adolf Hitler, the mass murder and torture of the Iranian people by the Shah, the mass murder and torture of the Nicaraguan Indians by General Somoza... from what the United States government has done and is continuing to do today against my

people... If these crimes of genocide had not been committed against Indian nations, I would not be standing before this court today... In closing, I reaffirm my commitment to my people who are struggling... We will continue to expose the U.S. government's acts of terrorism and genocide against all people. We will continue to protect our land, resources, human rights, and our future generations by all means possible."

At the end of the sentencing, the marshals moved to put the two Native American freedom fighters back in chains. But Leonard Peltier and Bobby Garcia turned to face their supporters, who immediately rose to their feet. Peltier and Garcia smiled and raised their clenched fists in the air. As the marshals took them away, the courtroom had become a sea of clenched fists.

Appeal News

As we go to press the appeals court in Washington D.C. has still not made a ruling on a defense motion to delay the deadline for the defense's legal brief to be turned in to the court. Needing more time to prepare a reply to the government's new, openly political brief, the defense asked for an extension past the January 29 deadline set by the court. The case is now being postponed day by day until the court rules. Further reports will be coming in the *Revolutionary Worker*.

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Kennedy Speech

The Hawk in Dove's Feathers

"...I make no apologies for raising questions about the Carter Doctrine. The exercise of dissent is the essence of democracy. Whether we are citizens or candidates, we not only have the right, but the obligation to deal with issues that may shape—or shatter—our future."

So stated Teddy Kennedy in his January 28 speech at Georgetown University in Washington D.C., the much fanfared "rebuttal" promised by Teddy the day following Carter's State of the Union Address. This was Teddy's "best speech ever" according to one news writer. "...A scathing attack on President Carter's policies..." noted the *Chicago Tribune*. His voice was "dripping scorn and sarcasm for the first time in speaking of the President," chimed in the *New York Times*.

Teddy himself led this chorus. He would not be deterred by the 2 to 1 Iowa defeat. He would not be beaten back by his current status of underdog even in the Northeast—traditional Kennedy territory. And lest any starry-eyed campaign worker despair the future of this champion of the oppressed, he would put their mind at ease. He stared straight-faced into his Georgetown audience, clenched the podium with his hands, and with wife Joan steadfast at his side, the man for the 80's declared, "I have only just begun to fight!"

To this we can only inquire: fight what? Certainly not the rapid preparations for world war which Carter had made so obvious five days earlier. Dissent, the essence of democracy! In fact, in examining Teddy's 45 minutes of "dripping sarcasm" and "scathing attack," the only evidence of "dissent" toward the Carter Doctrine could well

have come from the corner of Ronald Reagan! It's getting hard to tell which bourgeois politician is the biggest warmonger in this election.

Naturally Teddy spoke to the domestic issues. He promised to close tax loopholes, he promised to tame the monopolies, he promised to curtail inflation, balance the budget, rebuild the cities, win equal rights for women, eliminate racial discrimination, enact a national health care plan, and generally "not permit the dream of social progress to be shattered by those whose promises have failed." But times have changed since brother Jack's "New Frontier," and consequently, when you pare down the two-bit demagoguery in Teddy's speech, what he actually promises to deliver on the domestic front is wage freezes and gas rationing.

The heart of Kennedy's speech, however, was his reply to the Carter Doctrine. And that he launched his "scathing attack" in the area of foreign policy indicates that the only "new frontier" the bourgeoisie has in mind for the masses of people in the 80's will be in the trenches.

Probably the most publicized aspect of Kennedy's speech was his declared opposition to Carter's draft registration plan. Aware of the widespread opposition to the draft in the U.S., Kennedy tried to come off as the champion of the anti-draft movement. "We should not be moving toward the brink of sending another generation of the young to die for the failures of the old in foreign policy," he says. But with friends like Teddy, the anti-draft movement certainly needs no enemies. After complaining about the length of time it would take to train draftees (they would

be "a very slow deployment force"), Kennedy gets to the heart of the matter. "If registration and the draft were essential in a real emergency, there would be no dissent from me or most Americans. But I oppose registration when it only means reams of computer printouts that would be a paper curtain against Soviet troops." Of course, a blood-and-missile curtain is a different story. Even his opposition to "haste on nuclear weapons like the MX missile" was based on the premise that "needless weapons drain the resources to pay for needed ones."

On Afghanistan, Teddy accused Carter of "exaggeration and hyperbole" in calling the Soviet invasion "the greatest threat to peace since World War II." He says, "This is not the first abuse of Soviet power, nor will it be the last. And it must not become the end of the world." Teddy called for continuing "arms control" and "human rights, including the most basic of all human rights—the right to survive and live in peace, free from the fear of nuclear war."

But as he laid all threats to peace on Jimmy Carter's sabre rattling, he took the opportunity to do a little sabre rattling of his own. He complained that Afghanistan was "cast behind the iron curtain, not in 1980, but in 1978, with hardly a word of regret from the Carter administration," and he followed this by accusing Carter of a weak-kneed stand toward the Soviets' troops in Cuba six months ago. "Last fall, the president said that Soviet troops were unacceptable. But soon he changed his mind. He charged up the hill, and then he charged back down." And in case anyone missed the point that what's

needed here is the kind of guts displayed by brother Jack back in 1961, Teddy invoked the memory of another well known peace love: "Theodore Roosevelt once warned—'Don't bluster, don't flourish your revolver unless you intend to shoot... The false draw in Cuba may have invited the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.'"

"...I make no apologies for raising questions about the Carter Doctrine..." Indeed, why should he apologize? The ruling class certainly has no regrets that such a spokesman for their interests is alive in the field. And all the better for them if Teddy can wield the highly cultivated Kennedy image as leaders of the oppressed. But as his own "dissent rebuttal" to Jimmy Carter shows, the only place Teddy plans to lead the oppressed is onto the front lines of the imperialist slaughter of World War 3.

Stripping off the "tough, but reasonable" fluff what's revealed in Kennedy's speech is his opinion of yet a better way for the U.S. imperialists to combat their Soviet social-imperialist rivals. Seeking to tighten the western war bloc, he said, "We cannot impose policies on NATO and Japan. But together we can seek a common policy." And in regard to the Persian Gulf, this dubious peace candidate noted, "American naval and air forces should be strengthened in the area. We must recognize, however, that such forces alone cannot secure control of a great land mass. But an enlarged presence, including carefully selected military facilities, could have a deterrent effect on the calculations of the Kremlin." ■

The Spy Press

It was a hot Brazilian night back in 1974, the late model black sedan pulled off to the side of the beach highway a few miles outside of Rio de Janeiro. After a few seconds, the back door opened up and a muffled thud cracked the silence. Next morning Ed Christofferson, a writer for the travel section of the *New York Times*, was found with a broken neck on Copacabana Beach. His obituary was short and sweet.

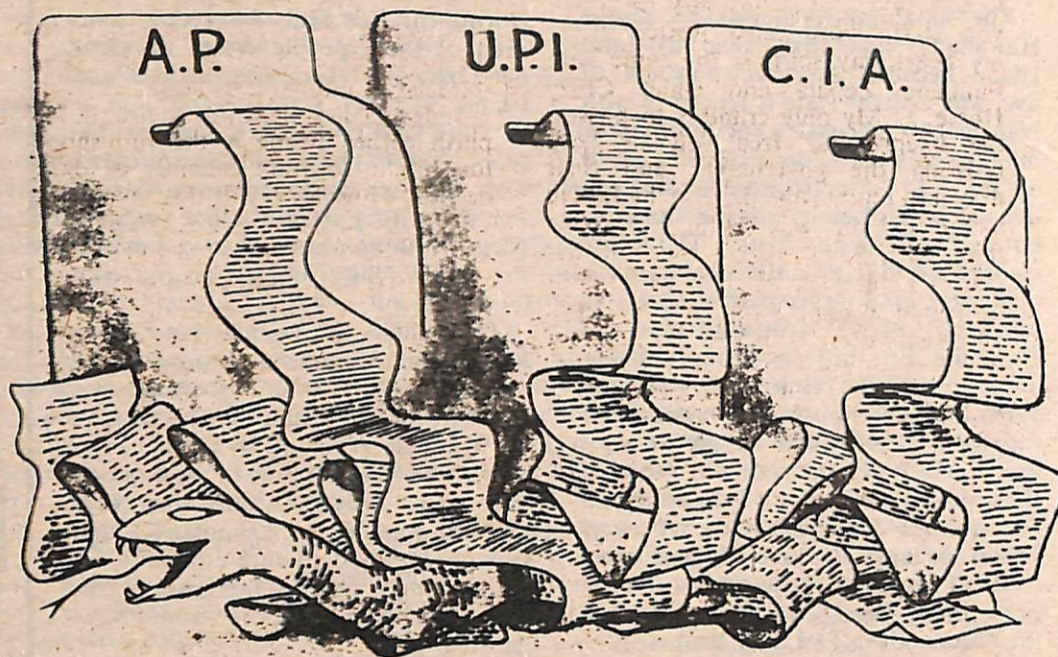
Why was he killed? Wasn't he only a newspaper man—and not a very significant one at that? Not exactly. A brief investigation revealed that Christofferson was more interested in writing about the political and military affairs of whatever country he was visiting than he was in writing about quaint markets and sunny beaches. Hard working journalist Ed Christofferson was under contract to the Central Intelligence Agency. Of course the story was quickly hushed up and forgotten, but this real life scene stood as only a small indication of a closely guarded secret relationship between the Central Intelligence Agency and the news media.

This love affair dates back to the earliest days of the CIA. Most of the war correspondents in World War 2 doubled as agents in the Office of Strategic Services, the war time predecessor of the CIA. Allen Dulles, the first director of the CIA, called on the press immediately after World War 2 "to commit all of their resources to the struggle against global communism." The U.S. had an immense global empire to protect, an international string of puppets to prop up, and revolutionary struggles and storms to subvert and smash. In carrying out this task, the CIA found a willing and valuable partner in the American media—most notably among its high management officials, but also among staffers in the field (like the lowly UPI correspondent Richard Helms who ended up as director of the CIA).

According to the CIA, it wasn't too long after World War 2 that the CIA and the press had put together one of the largest and most productive and effective spying apparatuses in history. By the mid-1950s this massive set up was affectionately referred to as

"Wisner's Wurlitzer" after Frank Wisner, director of the CIA's relations with the media. Wisner boasted that with the simple push of a button he could produce whatever he wanted, whenever and wherever he wanted to. By the 1970s the CIA's press connection had grown so extensive that in addition to the American media, including newspapers, periodicals, publishing houses, TV and radio stations, the CIA had also acquired a massive network of foreign based newspapers, news services and journalists. In 1977 it was estimated that the CIA had intimate connections with at least 50 newspapers and employed at least 400 American and 800 foreign journalists, camera men, editors, publishers, stringers, free lancers and non-journalist staff workers. The December 1979-January 1980 issue of *Covert Action Information Bulletin* estimates that the CIA currently allots \$265,000,000 to its work with the media, more than the combined budgets of UPI, AP, and Reuters, and it employs more in its "news department" than any one of these major news agencies.

The problem isn't that the CIA has somehow infiltrated and corrupted the media, but rather that both the CIA and the media serve the same imperialist ruling class. Many reporters and columnists—advocates of "objective" news reporting—are listed by the CIA as known assets, which means that they can be counted on to see things eye to eye with the CIA. Joseph Alsop, a major syndicated columnist, who along with his brother Stewart, a former *Newsweek* columnist, had a long and meaningful career with the CIA, stated, "I'm proud they asked me. I'm proud to have done it. The notion that the newspaper man doesn't have a duty to his country is perfect balls." With this as the starting point, it's a matter of policy to the CIA to review tons of unpublished photographs and thousands of pages of notes from "objective reporters and photographers" around the world. The CIA's working list of working journalists contains people like C.L. Sulzberger of the *New York Times* (who once added his name and printed a verbatim copy of the CIA



background report sent to him by the agency). Another is Hal Hendricks, a Pulitzer Prize winner who achieved notoriety when he went on to become a high official of ITT. The CIA and the media also take precautions to make sure that the reporters going abroad are well trained in objective reporting by holding pre-briefing sessions to enlighten the reporters as to what and who they should be looking for. And when the trip is over, the same reporters turn over all their "objective" facts to CIA analysts in regularly scheduled debriefing sessions.

But while many media people have voluntarily offered their services to the CIA, the root of this cooperative relationship isn't to be found in the gung-ho attitude of a bunch of maverick reporters. It's a systematic, consciously worked out plan, a plan cemented at the very top levels of all of the major news organizations. Karl Bernstein, in an article for the October 20, 1977 issue of *Rolling Stone*, used CIA documents and sources to piece together a very revealing picture of how this relationship is worked out in the enterprises considered to be the most valuable to the CIA: the *New York Times*, Time Inc., *Newsweek*, and CBS.

The *New York Times*, long promoted as the most authoritative and objective source of "all the news that's fit to print" in the country, is also considered by the CIA to be its most valuable asset.

This stems both from the fact the *New York Times* has the largest foreign news bureau of any organization and more importantly because of the long standing and deep ties between the CIA and the publishers of the *Times*, the Sulzberger family. In the period between 1950 and 1966 the *New York Times* provided cover jobs for many agents. But more significantly, Arthur Hays Sulzberger developed and propagated the systematic policy that encouraged his employees to assist the CIA wherever possible.

CBS is considered the CIA's most valuable broadcasting asset. Under the guidance of William Paley, CBS provided cover jobs for a number of agents including one who became a well known foreign correspondent. CBS also developed the policy that allowed the CIA complete access to all of its news film. CBS executives also allowed the CIA to monitor all reports that were sent in to its Washington, D.C. and New York bureaus. Paley wanted to accommodate the CIA so much that under his direction it became tradition for correspondents to periodically join CIA officials for dinner and debriefing. Although Paley gave the nod to all this, he didn't particularly want to dirty his hands arranging the details, so he assigned Sig Mikelson, the president of CBS news from 1954-1961, to be his personal emissary to the CIA.

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Youngstown Steel Workers

Invade Company

Youngstown, Ohio. The security guard sneered through the locked glass door. "Nobody's coming in—forget it!" Yeah, right!

Five shoes kicked through the glass at once. Metal bars were bent and the door flung open. Captain America of the U.S. Steel Security force was out of sight before the glass hit the ground and hundreds of angry steel workers surged into the U.S. Steel company headquarters—McDonald Works—Youngstown, Ohio.

Up past the stunned receptionist, past the engineer's office, up the stairs and into the inner recesses of the executive suite—into their "executive recreation room," with their miniature golf course, ping pong tables and exercise

bicycles. Out the window with this crap, four stories down—crash! Workers tearing down the paintings that mocked the working class—paintings that showed the "history of U.S. Steel in Youngstown"—happy slaves pouring steel. Out the window with this—crash!

Hundreds outside picketing. Hundreds inside sitting down—occupying the master's quarters. Taking over!

This eruption of anger comes two months after U.S. Steel and J&L Steel announced a new wave of mill shutdowns in Youngstown. This of course on top of the shutdown of Youngstown Sheet and Tube two years ago.

Youngstown has become downright famous for these outrages. On NBC's fantasyland TV program about steel workers, "Skag," they have some Pittsburgh steel workers saying, "Man, if we strike we're gonna end up like Youngstown—a ghost town!"

All this has brought into focus burning questions for tens of thousands of workers in Youngstown. What's the cause of these monstrous events? And—what can be done about it?

As always whenever our rulers put over these vicious attacks they also unleash a motley collection of pimps, prophets and answer men to cloud over

the real nature of what's going on, deflect people's burning anger and cover their own ass.

In Youngstown they've come up with new and not so new wrinkles. "Bad management—bad investment policy," say some of the union leaders. "High wages—greedy workers," say some of the media. "Foreign imports—dirty foreigners," say the companies.

As for solutions, many are offered, one more twisted and misleading than the next. But more and more the chorus of community leaders, religious figures, government bureaucrats, politicians and union hacks are raising the common cry—"Let the workers buy the mill."

It was this line that was mainly being pushed at a mass meeting to discuss the mill shutdown that was held Monday, January 28 at the Local 1330 union hall. Over 700 workers were in atten-

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Native Hawaiians Battle Land Grab

At dawn on January 23, roadblocks cut off the bridge to Sand Island, a small, man-made island in Honolulu Harbor. Seventy-five armed state and city police moved in. Bulldozers proceeded to crush houses, cars, anything in sight. Nineteen residents of the island and supporters linked arms to stop the demolition. All were arrested.

"That's how you treat Hawaiians," said Abe Ahmad, spokesman for the more than 100 inhabitants who had for years lived in tin and plywood shacks on the beach of Sand Island. "Put them in jail, knock down their homes and kill their culture... We're at the end of the line. If we don't do anything, we feel our lives have been wasted."

The inhabitants, almost all native Hawaiians, had first come to Sand Island because they had nowhere to live. Most of the state is fenced in with high priced real estate, plantations or military bases, and none of them could afford the overcrowded, rundown housing in Honolulu which commands outrageously high rents. The state claimed it had to evict the inhabitants to make way for a public park to serve the working class communities of Honolulu. But the Coast Guard was not evicted, nor the clutter of wrecking yards and warehouses which dominate the island. It seems that the government was not so much interested in "serving the public needs" as it was in attacking the struggle of the people of Sand Island, because this struggle had come to stand for the struggle against the oppression of the Hawaiian people and the historic rip-off of their land.

"We are not squatters, we are Hawaiians," reads the sign on the road leading to the island. Just how is it that the Hawaiians, the original inhabitants of all these islands, have to fight like this for a barren shantytown on an abandoned beach?

The roots of this go back to the early days of U.S. colonialism in Hawaii. The colonialists changed the entire system of land ownership. The Hawaiian King developed a loyalty to the U.S. and declared the "Great Mahele," a plan for the private distribution of land which had been communally farmed for generations. Most people had no idea how to claim their parcels, because they couldn't read and had no concept of private ownership of land. Many of those who did claim their land were cheated out of it in the courts, or lost it to the water monopolies and the money lenders.

The American capitalists ended up controlling most of the land. Then in 1893, to consolidate their control and to spread the U.S. sphere of influence in the Pacific, sugar planters, backed by 162 marines and Navy gunboats, overthrew the Hawaiian queen and annexed the islands to the U.S.

To consolidate their colonial rule, the U.S. had to suppress the resistance of the Hawaiian people and this they did through violence, systematic discrimination and the destruction of the Hawaiian culture. It is this legacy that today keeps the Hawaiian people at

the bottom of the working class, filling the lowest paid, menial jobs, the unemployment lines and the jails.

The Hawaiian people have a burning hatred for the U.S. government and its military. Especially after World War 2, land prices in Hawaii skyrocketed. Ownership became even more concentrated, until today only 76 big landowners control 96% of the land. On Oahu, the military alone holds 25%. Valley after valley was developed into suburbs for the wealthy and middle class. Thousands of Hawaiians, as well as other people, were forced into the already crowded slums of Honolulu until they too were evicted to make way for business and industrial districts. During the '60s and '70s several hundred of these people ended up eking out a bare survival on beaches like Sand Island.

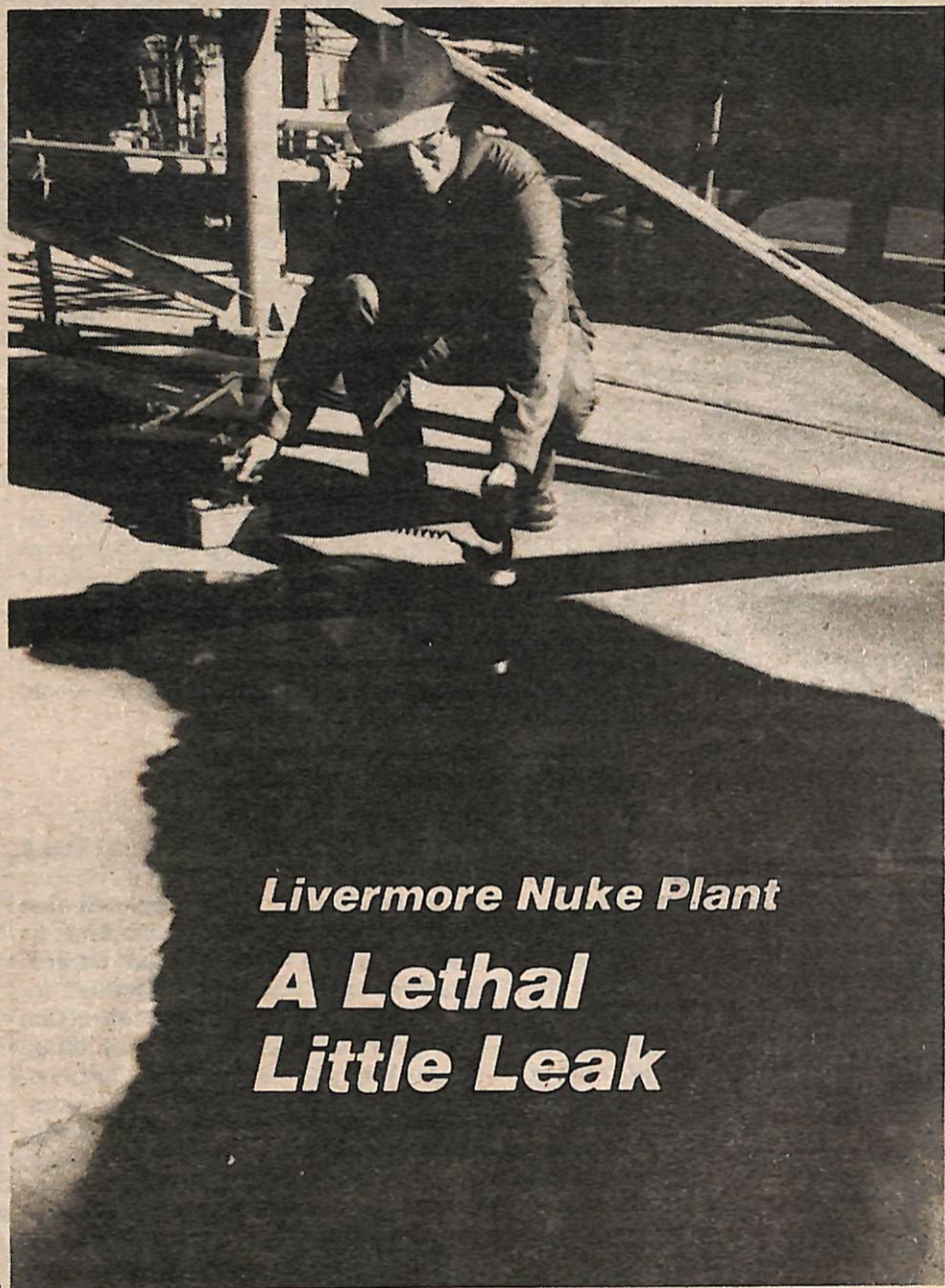
"This has been going on for 200 years," one of the Sand Island residents said, "and has got to stop somewhere." For them, they drew the line on Sand Island, with no place left to go but into the ocean, "like refugees in our own land."

Thousands of people have been brought into motion around these struggles against evictions, demanding access to beaches, etc. The occupation of Waihole-Waikane to prevent eviction won broad support in the working class. The struggle against the Navy practice bombing of Kahoolawe Island brought hundreds, youth especially, into opposition against the government, and even won support from Navy enlisted men.

A month ago, when the state began to bulldoze some houses, caravans of supporters arrived from the Hawaiian communities of Waianae and Waimanalo. After this, the state set up a constant roadblock for over a month, with dirt barricades around the beach to prevent supporters from moving in to join the struggle.

The government followed up the evictions with a 24-hour guard to patrol the site and arrest anyone who sets foot on it. And state officials run around the rest of the island chasing people on the basis that it's illegal to stay in one place for more than four hours.

But in the face of this, a core of Hawaiians have refused to buckle under. They remain on the island, continuing to return to their beach and rebuild their homes. They stay not only because they have nowhere else to go, but now also because of a deeper hatred and anger for a system which would do this to the native people. As a young fighter put it, "We have a future we're fighting for. A lot of other people out there are watching us... people who maybe have been pushed around so long they just got used to it, and move along when they're told to. But if we remain strong, it will mean a lot to them." As long as they continue to oppress Hawaiians and drive them off the land, all their bulldozers and armed police and 24-hour guards can't keep this kind of struggle from spreading. ■



Livermore Nuke Plant A Lethal Little Leak

January 24th, Livermore, California. On Thursday an earthquake measuring 5.5 on the Richter scale jolted the northern California area. The quake was a grim reminder of the long expected "big one" that according to geologists will hit California sometime this decade, and cause millions of dollars of damage.

The quake was centered thirteen miles from the University of California Lawrence Livermore Lab (formerly known as the Lawrence Radiation Lab), where among other things 500 pounds of plutonium is kept and most nuclear weapons that the U.S. use are developed. Considerable damage was done to the lab.

Anti-nuke activists have long pointed out the dangers of an earthquake caused radiation leak at the site, which is 1/4 mile away from an earthquake fault, so lab spokesmen were quick to point out that the earthquake did no significant damage, and presented no danger to the community. Why then were the 7,100 employees immediately evacuated? Why were experts immediately parachuted on to the premises after the quake hit? Why did they wait a week to announce that the damage figures were not \$3 million but actually \$10 million? It just might have had something to do with the leak that a 300,000 gallon tank of radioactive tritium had sprung and was pouring out at the rate of a quart per minute. But lab officials said this was ridiculous, since as they put it, "We could let it all drain out and still not come close to

breaking any health and safety regulations. We simply do not think it was very important."

Other damage at the Livermore facility included large cracks in the fifth floor of a nuclear research building, gas line ruptures and a number of one inch bolts that were sheared off a structure holding up a four story laser used in thermonuclear research. The incredible fact of the matter is this—the Lawrence Livermore facility couldn't even meet the earthquake standards set for public schools, and yet it's sitting right on top of a fault, in an active area, and houses some of the most deadly poison known to man.

This type of obvious cover-up is standard operating procedure for the nuclear power industry and the Nuclear Regulatory Commission which recently announced that the Three Mile Island reactor came only 30 to 60 minutes from a meltdown during last spring's "event" which threatened the lives of hundreds of thousands. It has also recently come to light that the Diablo Canyon Nuclear plant in San Luis Obispo, CA., which is built on an active earthquake fault, has been declared safe for a jolt of 7 on the Richter scale. Originally, the story from the plant owners' hired lackeys was that it could withstand a quake of strength 6, until it was discovered that a quake on the order of 6.5 was due in the area soon. Apparently time and a few properly placed bucks has strengthened the structure ten-fold. ■

Iran Day Action 1500 Hit Berkeley Streets

Saturday, January 26, 1500 people united in Berkeley's famous Sproul Plaza to proudly declare their disunity with the rulers of this country. "Send the Shah Back! U.S. Out—No Military Intervention! Stop All Attacks on Iranians in the U.S.!" The Iran Day Committee dragged Carter's "never has America been so united" through the mud.

Broad and diverse forces participated. More than 50 groups and individuals sponsored it, including Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW); the Oakland Feminist Women's Health Center; Fred Hanks, a Black member of VVAW and a member of Send the Shah Back/Hands Off Delegation to Iran; Dennis Banks of the American Indian Movement; Casa Nicaragua; the New American Movement; the Iranian Students Association; the Revolutionary Communist Party; Peace and Freedom Party; the Solidarity Bloc of the Struggles of the Salvadoran People (BPR). It reflected the international character of people's struggle against U.S. imperialism. In the march itself there were contingents of medical workers, artists, the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade, the Disabled Liberation Front, the National United Workers Organization, the National Lawyers Guild, and a Stanford group, People Struggling Against U.S. Imperialism, to name just a few.



Berkeley was definitely at it again! Not since the days of the Vietnam War has such a demonstration hit the streets, and people were charged up by it. The politics of the rally were razor-sharp, the tone was deadly serious. There were veterans of the student movement of the 60's, but added to this was a good section of Blacks and Latinos from the ghettos and barrios of the Bay Area. The march, about 750 strong, was led by a contingent from the VVAW. A woman on the street was interviewed. She said, "I'm from England. There, Berkeley has a reputation. Back home people in the '70's were feeling apathetic, but when they hear this has begun, I think it will give them great encouragement." A van with Oregon plates pulled up near the rear of the march, a guy jumped out waving a *RW*

he had just bought and yelled, "I love Berkeley! I've only been here an hour, and look at this! I love this city!" As the march moved down University Avenue, traffic came to a halt, people leaned on their horns, shouted support out the windows. Literature was selling fast as people came out of the stores to line the sidewalk. The march turned left on San Pablo Avenue and headed into the Black community. Three young men came running out from a barbecue joint, shouting and smiling with their fists in the air. The Channel 7 News said that "at times today, Berkeley looked like the streets of Tehran." While this was somewhat of an overstatement, it was clear that they caught the basic drift—something special was going on. The mindless patriotic barrage around Iran was getting met—head on. The rul-

ing class might try to dismiss it as "just Berkeley"; but then again they have to think twice because Berkeley raises up the image of the beginning of some powerful things. Huge stacks of leaflets were distributed, thousands of posters went up. And not just on campus, but in the ghetto of West Berkeley, where still more Black people met the march at its finish and joined in with the crowd. In the shops and factories of the Bay Area, the word was out also. Fred Hanks was out with the NUWO members morning, noon and night, struggling with workers at plant gates, union halls and bars. When the swing shift got out at the Oakland Post Office early Friday morning, 20 workers stood outside, talking

Continued on page 17



On the march in Berkeley, Jan. 26th. Center: Paper flag, pack of matches and a straight pin sold as RCP fundraiser. Burn the flag, then pin it proudly on your chest!

Reprinted courtesy of Vietnam Veterans Against the War

IF YOU WANT MORE OUT OF LIFE THAN LIVING...



I WANT YOU FOR U.S. ARMY

Join the Army. Don't miss the chance to get your guts blown out for the Bank of America, Standard Oil and the rest of our capitalist class. You are desperately needed to napalm babies, rape, murder and otherwise maintain our bloody empire. Thrill as your buddy dies in your arms and experience the unique satisfaction of blowing the face off the guy just like yourself on the other side. Be the first on your block to sign up for World War III. (If you don't we'll draft your ass anyway.) Be on the front lines as

we battle the Russians. Carry out the will of God as millions of people are incinerated into atomic dust. No Russian capitalist is going to profit off the territory that we American capitalists stole fair and square.

Apply Now— We can't do it (there are only a few thousand of us and we are busy with our secretaries and the cute young men on our staffs). We'll hide in our bomb shelters so we can continue ripping the survivors off later.

JOIN THE PEOPLE WHO'VE JOINED THE ARMY

Eyewitness Account of Teng Demo

"They were bold as hell"

The following is an excerpted testimonial given by a Black revolutionary at a fund-raiser for the RCP's million dollar fund drive, in Washington, DC, on the first anniversary of the demonstration to give Teng Hsiao-ping a Fitting Welcome.

Welcome to this historic occasion. I'd like to start by saying I recognized a need for a big change in this system a long time ago, having grown up in the South in tremendous oppression and repression. Sitting on the back of the bus, going through the back door, getting off the sidewalk and all kinds of things...

In the '60s, I was... involved in seizing the university and suspending classes and lots of things. Just constantly looking for some way to change this system... I read a lot of revolutionary books... but then I didn't have any idea about deeper, more thorough-going things, about the science of revolution, about how there really is a science that exists that can really change the way people live in this dungeon. And I didn't know very much about this science until something happened to me that I'll never forget in my life.

On Jan. 29 last year, I was coming down the street and I was probably reading a revolutionary book at the time, I'm sure, because I took every moment on the bus, at the bus stop, on the toilet, anytime to read to gain revolutionary consciousness. So on Jan. 29, I was riding down Columbia Road right over here, about 3 or 4 blocks over. I've been in D.C. off and on for 10 years, maybe 12... so I've been all over the city. And on that day, I saw, I don't know if many of the people who were in the demonstration know this, but on that day, I saw the biggest traffic jam I've ever seen in all those years, really... I mean every street in this fucking community was jammed up in rush hour, in the middle of rush hour. And this bus I was riding on, coming this way on Columbia Road, was just at a standstill for a long time, I couldn't imagine what was happening.

And the bus inched along, I mean this was a long traffic jam, and the bus inched along and inched along. And then we got almost up here on Colum-

bia Road, and I saw the biggest display—I mean I saw a lot of demonstrations in this country because I marched in a lot of them. I marched, I was in the March on Washington in 1963, I've marched in African Liberation Day, everytime that they've had it, I've been in demonstrations in Paris...

The first thing that I saw was a whole long line of policemen that had on riot regalia. They had sticks this long, every one of them, they had masks across their faces, they had breast protectors, they had everything they needed to ward off anything, they had everything. Besides them, there was almost one policeman on foot with a stick and a gun and everything else for every one of these demonstrators. Besides that there were a whole long line of policemen on motorcycles, there was one policeman on a motorcycle, I swear, for almost every demonstrator. Besides that there was a motorcade of policemen bumper-to-god-damn-bumper all the way down Columbia Road. I mean I saw this, I was sitting right there, I saw the whole god damn thing. A motorcade of police cars on top of that, bumper to bumper. Then there was a policebus coming down Columbia Road, alright?

So I'm sitting up there on the bus, after I saw this incredible display of police power, which I knew very much about because I'd been in the joint before too, and I've been abused in all kinds of ways by this system. I looked over on the side and I saw a whole lot of people, I mean people of all races and colors, Spanish, Black, white... Hey, I was one of the little Red Book wavers back in the '60s, because I saw that that stuff was real that Mao was putting out there. So when I was looking out of the bus, I saw people coming down the street with blazing posters, a whole lot of posters with Mao Tsetung. I knew Mao was a thorough-going Marxist-Leninist revolutionary. These people had a lot of posters of the "Gang of Four"...

I was just on the bus saying "Oh, God Damn! Let me off this bus!" And the man wouldn't open the door, it was like just when I could get near the window and hear what they were saying, all those people out there in the street, there were way more policemen than

there were of them but they were BOLD as hell. And they were just shouting it right up in their god damn faces, "Mao Tsetung did not fail! Revolution will prevail!" And I was eating that up.

When I finally did get out of the bus, it was like a child running behind the parade, I ran about a mile to catch up,

all the way down the street, and since then I've been trying to unite with the Revolutionary Communist Party because I feel that they can take the struggle all the way through to final victory. And in closing I want to say ONWARD TO REVOLUTIONARY MAY DAY!

"Time to Battle the Free Enterprise Freaks"

This letter was recently received by the May Day Committee in Birmingham, Alabama.

Dear Friends,

Even though I had known for some time that organizations like yours were in existence I had been unable to contact any of them. Today I came across a copy of a flier put out by the May Day Committee in Birmingham. It appears I have found others in the struggle against capitalism with whom I can agree in total.

As a youngster growing up in the South I was continuously taught the right-wing point of view at home and at school. During my tour in Vietnam I started to realize something was inherently wrong in a national system that forced young men to give their lives involuntarily in a war to keep the thieves of American business making more money. Why, I asked, were all the draftees from the lower end of the socio-economic ladder? Where were the sons of politicians, industrialists, etc.? Why are the vocal evangelists of capitalism never willing to send their sons to "defend" this noble system?

After I returned home from Nam and started to go to college I began to read Marx, Engels, Debs and others. Only then did I realize that the working class was being ruled and exploited to the Nth degree by the so-called "free enterprise" system.

For the past 11 years I have worked for XXX and have discovered first hand what it is like to be hated by management for espousing a philosophy that does not agree with their capitalistic exploitation of the worker. I find it to be incredible that so many workers have been duped for so long by unions and politicians by the offering of a few bones occasionally. I agree with you that it is time to take the battle to the free enterprise freaks.

Please send me any information you have concerning staging May Day rallies and demonstrations.



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.

GREENSBORO COURT RUSHES TO NAIL BOB AVAKIAN DEFENDANTS

Greensboro, North Carolina—The appeal of the misdemeanor convictions of 9 "Bob Avakian Defendants" here has moved from a slow-speed frame-up to an express railroad, as authorities here rush to do their part in the nationwide attack on the RCP. The nine were arrested in two separate incidents for publicizing the October 14 speech of Chairman Avakian in this city. The defense is appealing two earlier groups of convictions—one last December 4 when a judge handed down *one year* sentences for leafletting a college and a trial a week later where 18 to 24 months were handed down for misdemeanor "inciting" charges in the Hampton Homes housing project.

Less than a week after the judge had agreed not to schedule the appeal trial until February, one of the defendants received a subpoena to be in court on January 28. Thinking this was a routine matter of mixed up paper work, he went to court alone to make sure things got straightened out.

But this was no mix-up. District Attorney Mike Schlosser himself was there with three assistant district attorneys pushing for the trial to begin that day, without an attorney for the defendant and without the other defendants present. The judge ordered the defense attorneys to appear in court the next day, using the excuse that he needed to make sure the defendants had lawyers. He

then stated that it was not necessary for the defendants to appear.

But the following day, the whole story had changed again. Suddenly *all* the defendants were supposed to appear, even though the majority live in Texas or Florida. While the defense attorney and the judge were arguing over this point, Schlosser began calling out the names of the defendants and preparing to issue arrest warrants and making preparations to seize the more than \$5,000 ransom used to bail people out of jail.

The judge finally "relented," ordering people to appear in court on the following Thursday, the 31st, to prove that they have lawyers—pure harassment given the hundreds of miles and expense of doing this when the trials are not even scheduled to start until February 25. And it's possible that bail will either be raised or revoked or that they will decide to go ahead and start the trial. All this followed a week of harassment of the RCP—a raid and constant surveillance on an RCP supporter's house in the name of serving an arrest warrant on a supporter for misdemeanor disruption of a class last October.

These arrests were originally made to stop the speech of Bob Avakian from happening in Greensboro and they still want to stop Bob Avakian and the RCP. With their rush to railroad, they

seem in a hurry to complete these trials, in time to help the government in its continuing case against Bob Avakian in Washington, D.C. They hope that the job they do in this case will help them create the atmosphere they want around the Bob Avakian case. They are determined to have the original trial stand along with the heavy sentences, because they paint a picture of mindless violence from revolutionaries. With lying police testimony that the defendants shrieked "Kill the pigs!", the prosecutor's questions, "Aren't you very loyal to Bob Avakian?" (with the implied question "Wouldn't you do anything he said?"), it's clear that they are not only out to cripple the Party in Greensboro, and add to the atmosphere of political intimidation they have created there, but also to get ammunition against the

Chairman and the Party nationally.

The outrageous actions of the state in this case have helped bring some broad support. The ACLU has taken a stand in the housing project case and has had two of their attorneys appointed as public defenders for the case. The National Lawyers Guild has written a resolution of support in both cases, called the sentences "outrageously harsh" and called for dismissal.

Recognizing the close connection with the Bob Avakian case, a number of the Committees to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants have been sending telegrams to the judge in this case demanding the charges be dropped. Such messages can be sent to:

Superior Court Judge William Wood
Governmental Plaza
Greensboro, N.C. 27402 ■

Letter from a Co-Conspirator

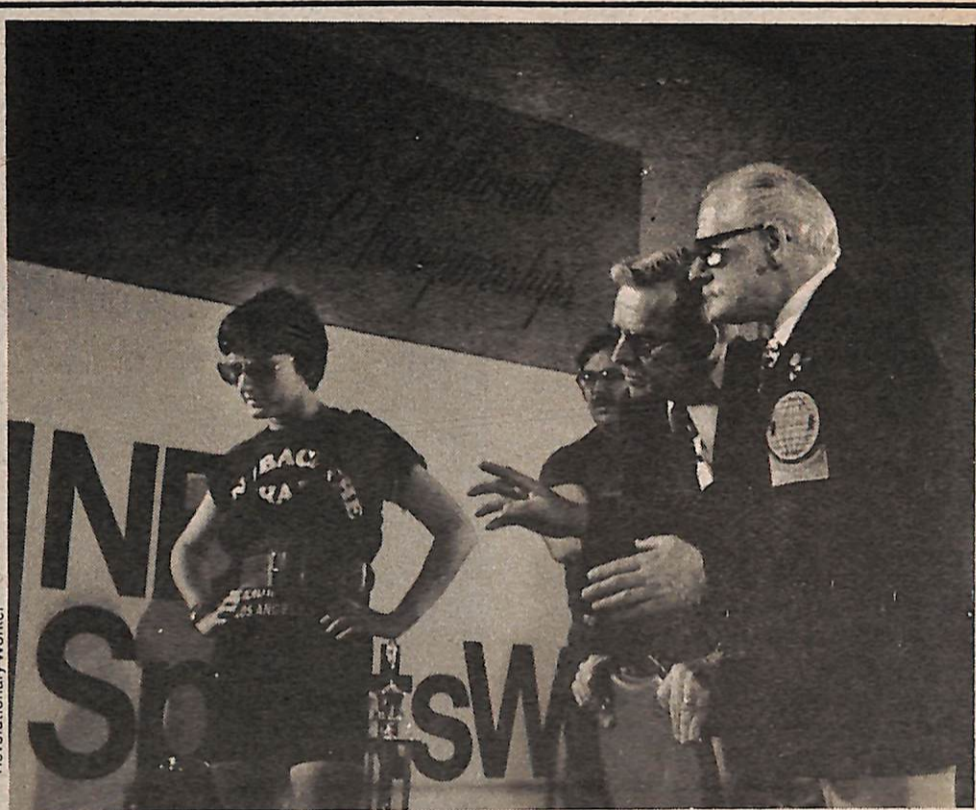
The following letter is from a reader in Cleveland who recently began distributing the RW:

I was shopping one day and saw something I will never forget—a boy not more than thirteen or fourteen who had taken a can of meat was stopped by two managers and a security guard. The boy dropped the can, and shaking with fright pulled out a pocket knife, pleading with the managers to let him leave. But they were out for blood and blocked the door. Five minutes later the pigs came and took the boy in the back room where they beat him mercilessly. Blood dripping through the boy's bandages covered his face as the cops paraded him through the store.

I couldn't stand it anymore. I wanted to strike back at the real criminals in uniform, but instead said to the people, "Look at what the m.f. system does. It makes the kid hungry. Then when he goes to take something to eat, a can of meat which the store will never miss, he gets beat up and thrown in jail. What for? His crime is being hungry and poor." The pigs said, shut your mouth or you'll be next and get the hell out of here now.

I couldn't stop them from taking the boy to jail but I did put a nail in the bastards' coffin. I remembered having some RWs in the car which I quickly sold letting the people know that revolution is the only way out of this hell hole.

They were buying papers, asking questions and saying there ought to be more people out doing this. I said here, become one.



Los Angeles, January 26. Two women from the Feminist Women's Health Center had entered the 1980 Women's National Powerlifting competition. Both showed up at the contest wearing T-shirts reading, "Send Back the Shah." Above, freaked out officials confront Becky Chalker, who recently returned from Iran as a member of the Send the Shah Back/Hands Off Iran Delegation. The officials first attempted disqualification on the basis that the women's T-shirts bore no insignia representing any particular athletic club. In response, the women scribbled the word "club" after the words "Send the Shah Back" on their T-shirts. At that point, the officials threatened Becky with arrest for "making a political statement." Becky replied, "Sports, like everything else are now very political, especially when you see the actions of the U.S. leading us down the path of another world war."

ILA Dock Tyrant: New "Foe" of Aggression

With great hullabaloo, the president of the East Coast International Longshoremen's Association (ILA), 79 year-old racketeer Teddy Gleason, indignantly announced that, due to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, longshoremen would refuse to handle any further shipments to the Soviet Union. This "act of defiance" was widely publicized as a dramatic indication that the "working man" was just all pumped up with patriotic fervor and couldn't wait to go to war with the Russians.

What a joke. In a labor movement studded with hacks, stoolies and traitors, the leadership of the ILA has still managed to distinguish itself for over 50 years for its blatant sucking up to the shipping companies, its collusion with gangsters, its rule of terror over its own membership and its nauseating national chauvinism.

Back in the 1930s, when west coast longshoremen under the leadership of communists were waging bitter struggles against the tyrannical slave system of the docks, the then ILA president Joe Ryan went on an hysterical red baiting crusade, colluded with the com-

panies to crush the movement, fingering organizers, and joined in the general cry of the capitalists that the San Francisco general strike of 1934 must be crushed at all costs. Meanwhile, the ILA was refusing to load cargo for the Soviet Union, which was then a socialist country and a powerful inspiration to millions in the United States.

Gleason got his start on the east coast docks in 1915. The AFL-CIO biography of him recounts that "his energy and ambition brought him to the attention of management which subsequently offered him a spot as pier supervisor.

He remained a company stooge officially until 1934, when he held a meeting with Colonel Coates, head of the Eastern Steamship Line, and told him that the workers were going to organize, and that he was going to join the union. He received Coates' blessing: "I appreciate your honesty Ted. If you feel in your heart that's the thing to do, then I urge you to go ahead and do it." This touching moment was the beginning of a new era in Gleason's service to the company—as a labor gangster.

Gleason was instrumental in shoving

containerization, which cost thousands of jobs, down the throats of the dock workers in the 1960s. But he gained fame chiefly through serving as a stunt man for imperialist public relations. In the early 1960s, Gleason once again declared an embargo on shipments to Russia or the "Iron Curtain". Gleason was heavily involved in the CIA dominated International Labor Organization, designed to extend U.S. imperialist influence through the AFL-CIO to the labor movements of Latin America and the third world generally, while promoting the "American way".

When the war in Vietnam got hot, Gleason was called in as a consultant by the Defense Department to unclog the massive port tie-ups in South Vietnam, which were a mess due to the vast deliveries of American military equipment, men and goods to the puppet regime. Gleason made four trips to South Vietnam, from 1965 on, to "do his part" for the war effort.

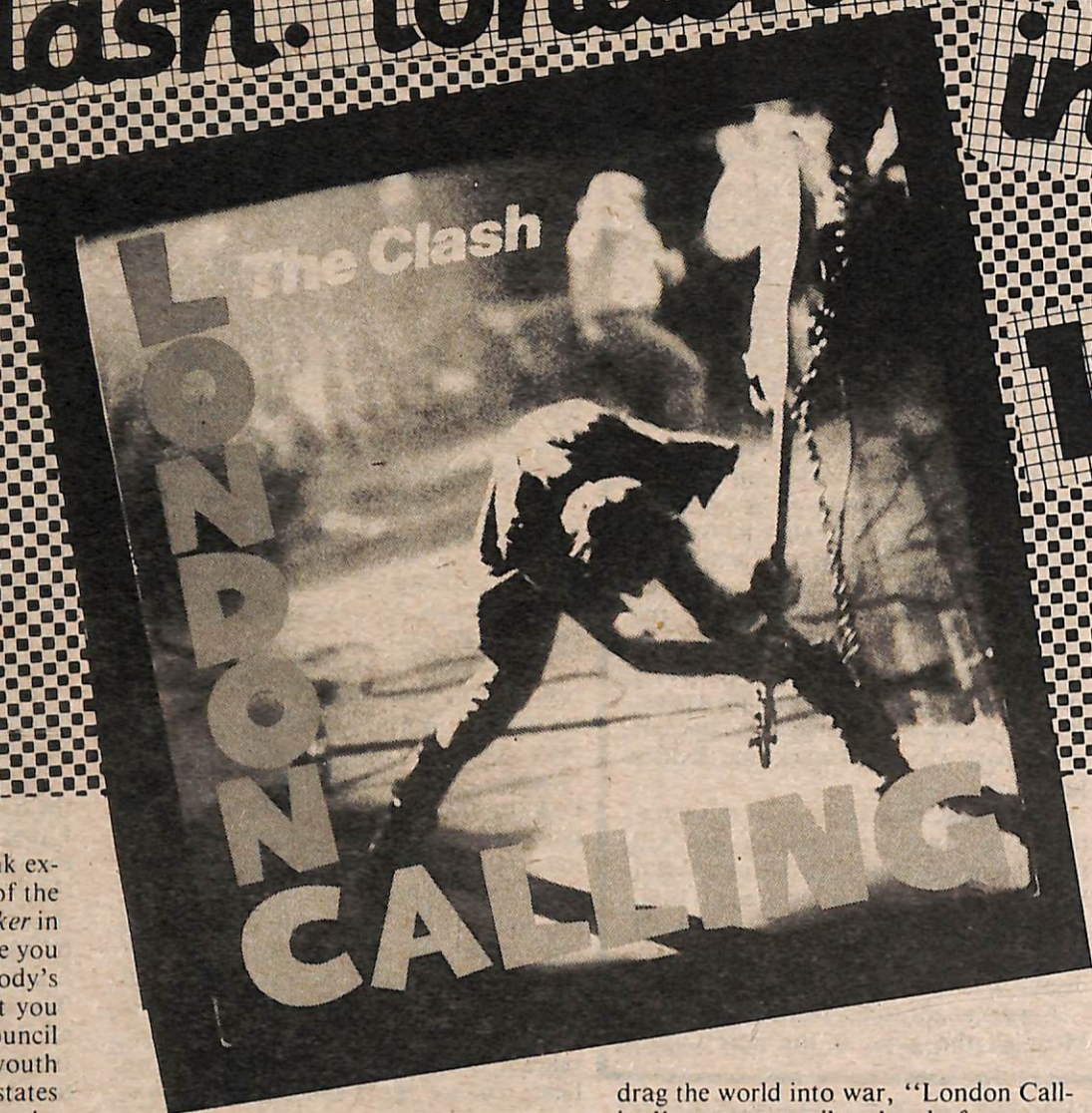
Gleason also maintained close ties to the Chang Kai-shek regime on Taiwan, organizing charity drives and endowments to build universities there, paid

partly out of ILA dues.

In 1970, at the peak of the massive anti-war movement in the U.S., the ILA was instrumental in helping to organize a reactionary "hard-hat" pro-war demonstration in New York City, as well as sending goons around to beat up war protesters and generally provide grist for publicity about the "patriotic workers" opposing the "filthy anti-war hippies."

Gleason's long life has been that of a sawed off stooge for the capitalists, a petty dock tyrant, and a collaborator with the CIA against the masses of people throughout the world. His boycott against "Soviet aggression" caps a career of not only unrestrained support, but unqualified participation in U.S. aggression. It's not too surprising that when the ruling class is thirsty for support for a new world war, in particular "support" they can parade around as that of the working class, they would go to the well once again to rely on the slime in the leadership of the ILA. ■

the clash: "london calling" — into the 1980's



Speaking about the original punk explosion in Britain, Joe Strummer of the Clash told the *Revolutionary Worker* in an interview last September: "Here you are in London in '76 and everybody's been living in these councils, what you call projects here, we call them council estates at home, and loads of youth have been living on these council estates which had just been put up since the war. And they've just come of age now, and so, all of a sudden everybody was kind of turning around to each other and going, 'Hey this is really shitty.' And that feeling wasn't being echoed anywhere—y'know I couldn't go out and get me a record that made me feel any better... in London it was really dead. It was all full of big groups that were playing the big places. It cost a lot of money to get in and a whole section of youth found themselves without any, you know, they didn't look up to the rock and roll 'heroes.' Everybody just sort of went, 'That's a pile of shit' and 'we're going to do it our way,' and that's how it started. And within three months there was about a thousand groups pumping away in London and it kind of exploded from there. We came out of that, and we managed to hang together." (RW No.21)

Pushed to the fore by the mass movement of rebellious working class youth and representing the more politically conscious and aware, The Clash is on the front lines in rock and roll, challenging a rotting rock aristocracy and challenging the people to deal with the state of affairs in the world. And being on the front lines has from the outset put The Clash under the gun—from that class of people which seeks to make a killing (one way or another) off artists who make their stand with the masses. It has put them under fire from the critics, and it has put them under intense scrutiny by the masses of people who are watching and hoping, "Goddamn it, they better not get crushed, killed... or sell out."

Let's face it, there's more than a little bitterness about artists who have gone down one way or another—Joplin, Hendrix, Redding were murdered, Dylan capitulated and died a living death. Marxists understand that as long as the bourgeoisie rules, they're going to try to stamp out people that oppose them, and as long as there is class society there's going to be "selling out." So the reason that this question comes up is not an insult, it's a reality, and it's precisely because of the role that The Clash has played that it does come up. But cynicism isn't where it's at. It's not so surprising that there's an album like "Slow Train Comin'" these days; what is incredible is that the masses keep bringing forward bands like The Clash. Those paying close attention to The Clash now include many thousands in the U.S.A. who have been jolted by the band both on record and in their recent

U.S. tours; and the question has been and will continue to be, "What are they gonna do now?" "London Calling" their new double LP is the latest answer to the question.

What we have to say about "London Calling" is this: if The Clash U.S. tour left audiences with the feeling, as one fan put it, "that if a rock and roll show could be historic, then this was it," then the new album could best be described as a breathtaking tour of the world itself. It is one of the best rock and roll albums ever, and more than that it is a stunning affirmation of where the angry ones hoped The Clash were headed and a significant development of their first two albums.

The Clash themselves have been attempting to deal with this question of "selling out" which objectively comes down to the contradiction facing musicians who have something to say to the people and want to reach out to millions. And in order to do that they have to deal with the record companies, touring etc. while struggling to maintain their integrity and get their message across. Posed by The Clash in their first album in "Garageland" and again in the second album with "Cheapskates" The Clash takes it on again in "London Calling." Things they said before are now better understood as in the song "Death or Glory" they say: *n' every gimmick hungry job digging gold from rock 'n' roll/Grabs the mike to tell us he'll die before he's sold/But I believe in this—and it's been tested by research/That he who fucks nuns will later join the Church/From every dingy basement on every dingy street/I hear every draggin' handclap over every draggin' beat/That's just the beat of time—the beat that must go on/If you've been trying for years—then we already heard your song/Death or glory becomes just another story/Death or glory becomes just another story.*

The music changes and becomes positively triumphant and then... *We're gonna march a long way, gonna fight a long time/Gotta travel over mountains, gotta travel over seas/We're gonna fight you brother, we're gonna fight 'til you lose/We're gonna raise trouble, we gonna raise hell... Death or glory becomes just another story.*

Now mind you, these guys don't necessarily claim to be revolutionaries or anything, and we don't claim to know their secrets, but heading into the 1980's with the U.S. and Soviet bourgeoisies going at each other and getting ready to

drag the world into war, "London Calling" comes out miles ahead of some so-called communists who are already hopping into bed with the imperialists, putting in early applications to be concentration camp guards and the like. And while assholes like these are running around, not to mention the resurgence of the KKK/Nazis here (in Britain it's the National Front) lining up for the clampdown, The Clash comes on strong with one of the best songs on the album "Working For the Clampdown": *The judge said five to ten—But I say double that again/I'm not working for the clampdown./No man born with a living soul, can be working for the clampdown./Kickover the wall, cause governments to fall/How can you refuse it?/Let fury have the hour, anger can be power/D'you know that you can use it?/The voices in your head are calling/Stop wasting time there's nothing coming/Only a fool would think someone could save you/The men at the factory are old and cunning/... In these days of evil president's/Working for the clampdown/But lately one or two has fully paid their due/For working for the clampdown/But Ha! Gitalong Gitalong!*

In the face of "Clampdown" and "Death and Glory" alone it is more than a little incredible that some are leveling the charge of "sellout" at The Clash. The main form this takes is trashing the form of the music and the fact that The Clash has developed from doing punk, punctuated by reggae, to experimenting and innovating, drawing more from rock and roll's early roots. Now it's a bit narrow, don't you think, to insist that any musician should stick to one beat. What's the difference between that and frozen disco where studio musicians are forced to play to a "click track" to keep time. Talk about trying to bolt this band's feet to the floor! The one note critics only fall into the same bag that they purport to hate. Mao Tsetung put it this way—"Why not bring forward new things. Otherwise what are we here for? What do we want descendants for? New things are to be found in reality, we must grasp reality."

A more sophisticated and the most venomous attack on the album that we've seen so far came from a reviewer in the British rock magazine *Sounds*. What few insights this sniveling labor aristocrat-like creep did have, told us far more about him than about The Clash—except that what he really didn't like was significant. The *Sounds* reviewer goes so far as to use The Clash's own words against them, quoting them from an early song

"1977,"—*No Elvis, Beatles or Rolling Stones in 1977*—in order to take pot shots at the new album and the fact that The Clash is doing some new things musically. He spits out, "We didn't realize that by the winter of '79 Elvis would be advertising the third Clash album, its cover a Presley pastiche, its content a sad justification of escalating jibes about The Rolling Clash as Strolling Bones clones." (Well, the Stones wish they sounded this good, if they had anything to say, which they don't.)

The cover of "London Calling" is a likeness of Elvis Presley's first album: pink and green letters down one side and across the bottom with a black and white photo, except for one thing... The Clash album cover photo with Paul Simonon smashing down his guitar (which looks like a flaming standard) at the New York Paladium concert is an expression of intense outrage. Not exactly a Presley pastiche! The effect of this album cover is in fact to acknowledge the roots of The Clash's music today but to also acknowledge the differences—as different as the content of the two album covers for anyone who really has the desire to see.

But underneath all this critique of form, what the *Sounds* reviewer really hates is the content of the album. Of "Guns of Brixton," a powerful reggae piece, written and sung by bassist Simonon, *Sounds* had this to say, "more of the Clash's degenerating 'guns and gangs' outlaw vision—lumpen lyrical fantasy world populated by druggies, crooks, gambling dens, dingy basements and gun-toting niggers." Rubbish! A quick call to the British embassy, which described Brixton as a "grim suburb of London, very grim with a large Black working class population", told us a lot about where this "critic" stands. With heavy references to Jimmy Cliff's film, "The Harder They Come," this song speaks to the struggle of West Indian youth in the Brixton streets vs. the cops, National Front et al. The effect of "Guns of Brixton" is both a challenge to the people—*When they kick at your front door/How you gonna come?/With your hands on your head/Or on the trigger of your gun—and a challenge to the powers that be—You can crush us, you can bruise us/Yes, even shoot us/ But oh,—the guns of Brixton.*

Another factor which had some people confused is that the capitalist press is giving The Clash rave reviews. In one weekend, John Rockwell, the bore who writes "pop" criticism for the *New York Times* proclaimed "London Calling" the "first important rock album of the 1980's"—and the Sunday comic section of the *New York Daily News* ran a syndicated blurb (right next to the instant disco dance step of the week) putting The Clash in the "pop" idol category: "NEW STARS FOR A NEW

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Iran Firings Draw the Line

A few weeks ago, the newspapers responded in an unusual way to a press conference called by Bob Hauck and Jim Kelly, postal workers recently fired from the Bulk Mail Center in Cincinnati, Ohio. The two were discharged for their political stand on Iran. Page one of the *Cincinnati Inquirer* featured a picture of the two wearing the same buttons and T-shirts that led to their firing. The T-shirt bore the slogan, "Shah Wanted Dead or Alive," and the buttons proclaimed, "U.S.—Keep Your Bloody Hands Off Iran." The story of these two was picked up by every TV and radio station locally and even by UPI and ABC nationally.

Why—in the midst of the all out effort by the media to black-out any support for the Iranian revolution—were such inflammatory slogans getting so much publicity? Bulk Mail Center manager Olson, also interviewed in the press, said, "We fired them for their own protection" and from "fear of destruction by employees opposed to the political statements of the two." This was the point—to make it appear as if a groundswell of flagwaving on the part of most of the workers at the BMC had resulted in management's "protection" of Hauck and Kelly.

The press coverage played up one superpatriotic Vietnam veteran named Joe Mechly. An article quoted this reactionary generously, creating the impression that he spoke for the majority. "I think now is the time we must show

unity for our government," said Mechly, who also was quoted in the *Cincinnati Post* as saying, "I fear for the lives of those two if they return to work." (Earlier, Mechly alone had threatened to kill the two.)

The article went on to echo Mechly's claim that 65 workers had signed a petition supporting his views. This petition is one which Mechly strong-armed around the plant, merely states, "We strongly disagree with the views of Hauck and Kelly." Forty-five out of 600 workers signed it. The same article reported on a second petition which supposedly demanded that the union drop the defense of the two. No such petition has ever been seen. On the contrary, according to one worker, "Most of the guys I talk to say they'll drop out if the union doesn't defend them."

At a special union meeting on Jan. 20 called to deal with Hauck and Kelly, the real sentiments of many workers blew away the lies of the press. There, Mechly and a few of his cronies went up against 40 workers who spontaneously came out to support winning Hauck and Kelly's jobs back.

Mechly had to take stock of this situation—"I never threatened to kill them—I never wanted them fired." But he went on to tell what inspired his well-publicized campaign against the two. "I fought in Vietnam, and I'm 50% disabled."

A worker got to his feet, "I went too. Most all the guys at the Post Office

fools who are getting a few crumbs off the table, maybe they even get to sit down once in awhile at the master's table and have a meal (while he's eating steak, maybe they can have a few beans.) There's a few fools sitting in union office, a few fools making money hand over fist, there's a few fools out there like that, but they are not the working class. But we'll say to you, bourgeoisie, keep on thinking that's the way the masses of people feel, until one day you wake up and your windows are rattling and your house is burning down!"

So the bourgeoisie uses two tactics to deal with the culture of the oppressed in society. They have been forced to nod to the artistic excellence of The Clash, who are clearly gaining in popularity, and they attempt to shove their interpretation of the band onto the masses. This is nothing new. If they now seem to be pursuing the tactic of "loving them to death", they have other plans in store for artists who prove implacable, even if they do not completely oppose them, but just won't go down on their knees. Only proletarian revolution can fundamentally resolve the question of which class' ideas will become the dominant ones in society.

Now we're sure a lot of readers are wondering just what this album represents and why we are making such a fuss over it. We don't pretend to read minds, but you can't separate intent and effect in art, and with a bit of the telescope and the microscope we can analyze what the objective effect of "London Calling" is in the real world. And in the present circumstances, we think that The Clash is playing a very progressive, if not downright revolutionary, role. Admittedly it is difficult to capture the sweep of "London Calling" in one review; this album is complex and we are not going to attempt to get into every nook and cranny, but there are a few more points we think need to be made.

When was the last time you heard an album that takes you from Stagger Lee to reggae through four excellent sides with songs about nuclear war, U.S. corporate decadents, the British empire in decline, the Spanish Civil War, the streets of Brixton, the dead ends that the system has to offer, and the ways it chews people up from drugs to "the pill"? It's a rare thing, and it flies right in the face of all the garbage being churned out of the megabucks music industry.

It's 1980, crisis time, and war is on

have been to war. It's too bad you got hurt but you're just like the rest of us. We'll never fight for this damn country again."

"I will so. I'll fight," countered Mechly. "Well then you're a damn fool!" a worker shot back. But, cried Mechly, "They attacked John Wayne. Their newspaper called him an old warhorse and was glad he was dead." Almost everyone jumped to their feet, fingers in the air—"So what, Fuck

the horizon. And as things sharpen up, some people get crushed and broken by the crisis, others—and overwhelmingly the greater number—overall get stronger, steeled and tempered. Lenin also said this. And with this in mind, we have to say that "London Calling" is an example of getting stronger in the face of big storms brewing. The Clash has always spoken from the experience of the oppressed, against racism, against fascists like the National Front, against the "brainwash" and about how you can't avoid dealing with reality. But "London Calling" is a big advance and themes which have been alive in their music are taken up again, but on a higher level.

One insightful rock critic, Tom Carson, once described The Clash as presenting "a world in which war is the only condition and struggle the only escape." And this theme of war and how to deal with it, and more particularly what is the relationship of the musician/artist to what is going on in the world has been with The Clash from the start, as in "Hate and War": *Hate and war the only things we got today/An' if I close my eyes/They will not go away/You have to deal with it/It is the currency.* "London Calling" takes it a bit farther. In the title song we hear: *The ice age is coming. The sun is zooming in/Engines stop running and the wheat is growing thin/A nuclear error, but I have no fear/London is drowning—and I live by the river.* And at the end of "Clampdown" we hear: *Workin' out at Harrisburg/Workin' out at Petersburg/Workin' for the clamp-down/Beggin' to be melted down/Ha Gitalong, Gitalong.* Could it be that The Clash is talking about world war between the U.S. and the Soviet Union? Well, objectively how else can we understand "Harrisburg" and "Petersburg" and that certainly adds a new dimension to not working for the clampdown.

In "The Card Cheat" the gambler becomes a metaphor for dying, isolated British imperialism or more particularly the soldiers in the service of the empire. A warning at the end: *From the Hundred Year War to the Crimea/With a lance and a musket and a roman spear/To all of the men who have stood with no fear/In the service of the king/Before you met your fate be sure you/Did not forsake...your lover.../May not be around anymore.*

Now, as we have said many times in the *RW*, the stand of the proletariat on imperialist war is to work for "revolutionary defeatism" and to turn the imperialist war into a civil war. The Clash do not offer explicit solutions as to what the outcome of all this is going to be, but if they keep asking the right questions, they will come up with some answers. And they are definitely searching. In "Spanish Bombs" a song about the Spanish Civil War, images from the Civil War flash into the present, comparisons to the fighting in Ireland, break through a holiday in Spain. *The hillsides ring with 'Free the people,' or can I hear the echo from the days in '39?/With trenches full of poets, the ragged army, fixin' bayonets to fight the other line,/Spanish bombs rock the province, I'm hearing music from another time.* Trenches full of poets, the ragged army, and in the beginning of the song a reference to Federico Garcia Lorca, a famous Spanish poet who was killed by the Falangists in Granada at the beginning of the war and died in a mass grave. Makes you think about the relationship of artists to the struggle, don't it?

Garcia Lorca was no revolutionary; he was a gypsy poet; he hated the Guardia Civil and the way they brutalized the people, and when the lines got drawn he ended up on the opposite side from Franco's boys. It didn't matter that he wasn't an "activist" they shot

John Wayne! He was a warhorse and a racist. He stood for the same thing you do."

There in this union meeting is what the press and those who command it are so desperate to hide and crush. Workers fighting against reactionary patriotism, taking an active stand. And while the press refuses to report on this, scenes like this are beginning to happen more often, reflecting sentiments that can't be edited out.

him anyway. Others became fighters including many poets and artists from England and all over the world who joined the International Brigades, and went into the trenches. O.K. cynics, how many R&R songs make you think about stuff like this?

Next to the last song on the album is a reggae borrowing, "Revolution Rock", to which The Clash have added a few comments of their own: *To the coolest mobsters... With the hardest eyes and the cruelest tongue/Is your hear so made of rock/That the blood must run 'round the block?/Are you listening mobsters?...* and then back to—*Revolution rock it is a brand new rock/A bad, bad rock/This here revolution rock.*

Well, we're listening and did we hear you say, "This must be the way out?" We happen to think it is.

Back in September, Strummer told the *RW*, "I remember very clearly when I first started rocking in London, the thought that a journalist—in Britain there's a lot of music papers—and the thought that a journalist would actually be interested in what I was doing in London just never occurred to me. 'Cause they were always writing about all the big groups and it was kind of a feeling of inferiority like that. Suddenly that feeling was questioned, you know what I mean, and Johnny Rotten stood up and said, 'Wait a minue, we're just as fuckin' good as they are, in fact we're fuckin' ten times better', and that was a new thought for me and I thought hey, that's right, I don't got to suck these guys...y'know." One of the things that has made The Clash great is that they deal with reality, with the real problems confronting the working class people and challenge people to deal with them. A big part of this is taking on the sense of "inferiority" which the bourgeoisie pushes on the working class, that we're stupid and can't do anything, and the new LP deals with this, with a new confidence and optimism, like in "I'm Not Down" where they say: *And I have lived that kind of day/When none of your sorrows will go away/... But I know there'll be some way/When I can swing everything back my way/Like skyscrapers rising up/Floor by floor—I'm not giving up.* Or in "Rudie Can't Fail": *We hear them sayin'/Now first you must cure your temper/Then you find a job in the paper/You need someone for a savior/Oh, rudie can't fail/So we say... Hey bossman/You're lookin pretty smart/In your chicken skin suit/You think you're pretty hot/In your pork pie hat/But... Look out... skyjuice... 10¢ a bottle.*

Now some people might say, well that's well and good, but isn't that a bit of a revenge line? Well if it's just left there it could become that, but meantime how does it stack up against the way the bourgeoisie makes people feel every goddamn day? Oppressed people start fighting the oppressor before they seek philosophy, Mao also said that. And check out "Four Horsemen" on "London Calling", where The Clash puts out a challenge that shows they intend to keep looking: *But you!/You're not searching are you now/You're not looking anyhow/You're never gonna ride that lonely mile/Or put yourself up on trial/Oh, you told me how your life was so bad/And I agree it does seem sad/But that's the price you gotta pay/If you're laziness around all day.*

Other songs deal with how people get wasted like "The Right Profile" about the life and death of Montgomery Clift. Clift, a screen star of the late '40s and early '50s and an early prototype of the James Dean style loner/confused rebel mangled his face in a crackup on Sunset Boulevard. When he was finally able to return to films, he was only photographed from the right pro-

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Clash

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DECADE NO.1 THE CLASH LEADING THE ENGLISH INVASION!" This one-two punch hitting the "high brow" and the comic page all at once is a remarkable switch. What's up?

Interestingly, Rockwell's review while lavishing praise on the diversity of form and technique (the flip side of the "one-note critique") is short on particulars when it comes to content. He admits that "as with all The Clash's music, the themes are political, either directly or indirectly," but then goes on to narrow this down to "descriptions of London life that make one realize all that's gone wrong with the English ideals of fairness and opportunity." He praises the album for "capturing all the diversity of present day London underclass life." Who is he kidding? Check out "Koka-Kola" on the new album: *Elevator going up! In the gleaming corridors of the 51st floor/The money can be made if you really want some more... Koke adds life where there isn't any/So Freeze, man freeze/It's the pause that refreshes in the corridors of power/When top men need a top up long before the happy hour/Your snakeskin suit and your alligator boot/You won't need a laundrette—you can send them to the vet!*

Maybe Rockwell forgot about Hamilton Jordan and the little cocaine scandal and maybe he doesn't remember which national flag Coca Cola flies under, but we do. The Clash came out of and speaks to the experience of British working class youth, but internationalism has always been one of their strong points and besides what makes their art (and yes, it is art) great is precisely that the themes of their music have a universal quality. When The Clash did "I'm So Bored With The U.S.A.," it was objectively an exposure of U.S. imperialism—*Yankee dollar talk to the dictators of the world/In fact it's giving orders and they can't afford to miss a word, and it caught on here because a lot of people felt the same way.*

No, this Rockwell character is trying to put The Clash in a bag and more than that, these bourgeois have so much contempt for the American people, particularly the working class, that they don't think anybody is going to really get the message. But like Bob Avakian said on May Day 1979, "Do we love the way they force us to live and be treated like dogs? Oh, there might be a few

Revolutionaries & Disarmament

V.I. Lenin: The War Programme of the Proletarian Revolution

In 1916 World War I was grinding up the armies of Europe. In many countries even those who had earlier been swept into the fighting patriotic fervor were sobering up. But what was the way to peace? And would it be a just peace, or a peace that meant no change in the reactionary nature of the warring countries and would only lead in the future to more imperialist wars? "Disarmament" became a popular slogan among those who were fighting against flag-waving warmongering. Even some socialists argued for this slogan. In the article below, written in September 1916, the great Russian revolutionary Lenin showed why communists, and all those who really opposed the source of war—imperialism—did not favor raising up this illusion of "disarmament" and instead fought to turn the reactionary war of the imperialists into a revolutionary war to destroy this war-breeding system.

While all the particular examples in this article do not exactly apply today, its basic points are very relevant right now.

In Holland, Scandinavia and Switzerland, voices are heard among the revolutionary Social-Democrats who are combating the social-chauvinist lies about "defence of the fatherland" in the present imperialist war, in favour of substituting for the old point in the Social-Democratic minimum programme: "militia," or "the armed nation," a new one: "disarmament." The *Jugend-Internationale* (Youth International—RW) has inaugurated a discussion on this question and has published in No. 3 an editorial article in favour of disarmament. In R. Grimm's latest theses, we regret to note, there is also a concession to the "disarmament" idea. Discussions have been started in the periodicals *Neues Leben* and *Vorbote*.

Let us examine the position of the advocates of disarmament.

I

The main argument is that the demand for disarmament is the clearest, most decisive, most consistent expression of the struggle against all militarism and against all war.

But this main argument is precisely the principal error of the advocates of disarmament. Socialists cannot, without ceasing to be Socialists, be opposed to all war.

In the first place, Socialists have never been, nor can they ever be, opposed to revolutionary wars. The bourgeoisie of the "Great" imperialist Powers has become thoroughly reactionary, and we regard the war which *this* bourgeoisie is now waging as a reactionary, slave-owners' and criminal war. But what about a war *against* this bourgeoisie? For example, a war waged by people who are oppressed by and dependent upon this bourgeoisie, by colonial peoples, for their liberation? In the theses of the *Internationale* group, in No. 5, we read: "In the era of this unbridled imperialism there can be no more national wars of any kind." This is ob-

Ever since the first inter-imperialist war (World War I—"the war to end war" according to our rulers), the imperialists have sought to hide their preparations for new wars under a cloud of "disarmament" and "peace" agreements, which also serve as arenas of contention, with each of the chief imperialist powers trying to get its rivals to accept a position of weakness. Here the signing of the Kellogg-Briand pact to "renounce war as an instrument of national policy," initiated by France and the U.S.; on the same day, the U.S. Senate started action on a bill to build 16 new warships.

viously wrong.

The history of the twentieth century, this century of "unbridled imperialism," is replete with colonial wars. But what we Europeans, the imperialist oppressors of the majority of the peoples of the world, with our habitual, despicable European chauvinism, call "colonial wars" are often national wars, or national rebellions of those oppressed peoples. One of the main features of imperialism is that it accelerates the development of capitalism in the most backward countries, and thereby widens and intensifies the struggle against national oppression. This is a fact. It inevitably follows from this that imperialism must often give rise to national wars. *Junius* (pseudonym of the German revolutionary Rose Luxemburg—RW), who in her pamphlet defends the above-quoted "theses," says that in the imperialist epoch every national war against one of the imperialist Great Powers leads to the intervention of another competing imperialist Great Power and thus, every national war is converted into an imperialist war. But this argument is also wrong. This *may* happen, but it does not always happen. Many colonial wars in the period between 1900 and 1914 did not follow this road. And it would be simply ridiculous if we declared, for instance, that after the present war, if it ends in the extreme exhaustion of all the belligerents, "there can be no" national, progressive, revolutionary wars "whatever," waged, say, by China in alliance with India, Persia, Siam, etc., against the Great Powers.



To deny all possibility of national wars under imperialism is wrong in theory, obviously mistaken historically, and in practice is tantamount to European chauvinism: we who belong to nations that oppress hundreds of millions of people in Europe, Africa, Asia, etc., must tell the oppressed peoples that it is "impossible" for them to wage war against "our" nations!

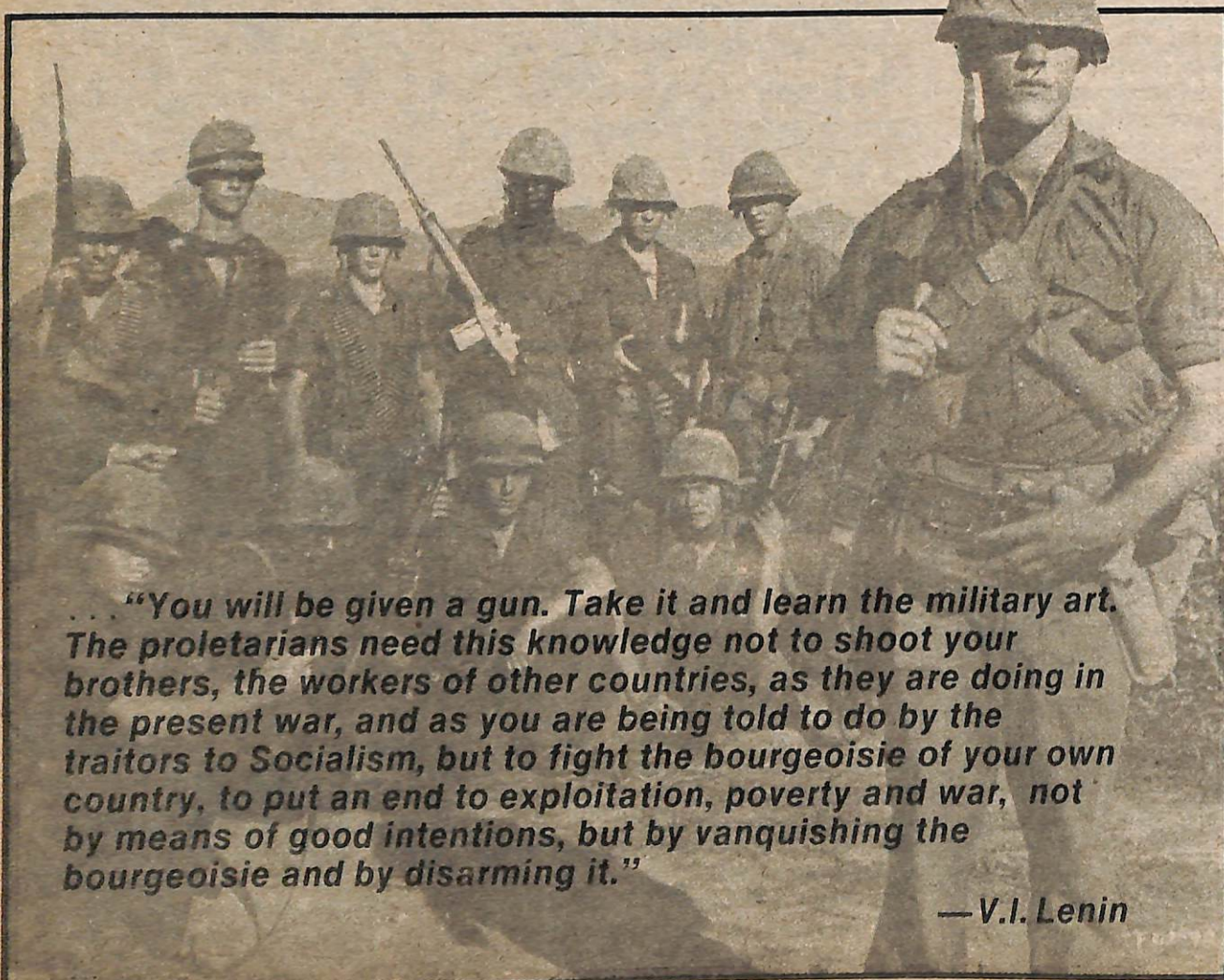
Secondly, civil wars are also wars. Whoever recognizes the class struggle cannot fail to recognize civil wars, which in every class society are the natural, and under certain conditions, inevitable continuation, development and intensification of the class struggle. All the great revolutions prove this. To repudiate civil war, or to forget about it, would mean sinking into extreme opportunism, and renouncing the socialist revolution.

Thirdly, the victory of Socialism in one country does not at one stroke eliminate all war in general. On the contrary, it presupposes such wars. The development of capitalism proceeds extremely unevenly in the various countries. It cannot be otherwise under the commodity production system. From this it follows irrefutably that Socialism cannot achieve victory simultaneously in *all* countries. It will achieve victory first in one or several countries, while the others will remain bourgeois or prebourgeois for some time. This must not only create friction, but a direct striving on the part of the bourgeoisie of other countries to crush the victorious proletariat of the socialist state. In such cases a war on our part would be a legitimate and just war. It would be a war for Socialism, for the liberation of other nations from the bourgeoisie. Engels was perfectly right when, in his letter to Kautsky, September 12, 1882, he openly admitted that it was possible for *already victorious* Socialism to wage "defensive wars." What he had in mind was defence of the victorious proletariat against the bourgeoisie of other countries.

Only after we have overthrown, finally vanquished, and expropriated the bourgeoisie of the whole world, and not only of one country, will wars become impossible. And from a scientific point of view it would be utterly wrong and utterly unrevolutionary for us to evade or gloss over the most important thing, namely, that the most difficult task, the one demanding the greatest amount of fighting in the *transition* to Socialism, is to crush the resistance of the bourgeoisie. "Social" parsons and opportunists are always ready to dream about the future peaceful Socialism; but the very thing that distinguishes them from revolutionary Social-Democrats (now known as Communists—RW) is that they refuse to think about and reflect on the fierce class struggle and class wars that are necessary for the achievement of this beautiful future.

We must not allow ourselves to be led astray by words. The term "defence of the fatherland," for instance, is hateful to many, because the avowed opportunists and the Kautskyites use it to cover up and gloss over the lies of the bourgeoisie in the *present* predatory war. (Kautsky was a socialist leader who betrayed the revolutionary cause during World War I—RW.) This is a fact. It does not follow from this, however, that we must forget to ponder over the meaning of political slogans. Recognizing "defence of the fatherland" in the present war is nothing more nor less than recognizing it as a "just" war, a war in the interests of the pro-

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"You will be given a gun. Take it and learn the military art. The proletarians need this knowledge not to shoot your brothers, the workers of other countries, as they are doing in the present war, and as you are being told to do by the traitors to Socialism, but to fight the bourgeoisie of your own country, to put an end to exploitation, poverty and war, not by means of good intentions, but by vanquishing the bourgeoisie and by disarming it."

—V.I. Lenin

Thousands Hit

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outside the White House. Also in D.C. 130 students at Ballou High School signed a banner brought by the RCYB reading: "To Hell with US-Soviet Drives to WW3, Screw the Draft" the morning after Carter's speech. The school principal had appeared on the news following the speech arrogantly proclaiming, "Students here (at Ballou High—RW) are behind the draft 100%."

All these rallies were sponsored and joined by a very wide variety of groups and individuals from anti-war, pacifist and anti-Nuke organizations, to women's organizations and a variety of other campus political organizations of many stripes. Also participating in many of these actions were the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade and The Vietnam Veterans Against the War. Many who attended the demonstrations were participating in political activity like this for the first time in their lives.

While in most cases strong stands were taken and a spirit of militancy prevailed, there were some in leadership of these actions who sought to keep things cool and under control as well as trying to keep people away from revolutionary politics. Most of those participating, however, were hungry for politics and many of the actions were

marked by sharp struggle and heated debate over crucial questions around the draft and imperialist war.

At the demonstration in front of the White House the speaker from the VVAW was very well received when he said, "Today's demonstration against the draft is great, it is only a first step. This time nobody is going to be able to run off to Canada, 'cause what they're talking about is not a Vietnam-type war, but world war. This is why today is only the first step. Today we can see two superpowers, both desperate, both hit by crisis, forced to fight each other to redivide the world. That's what's behind the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the U.S. moves to get their claws back into Iran. We have no interest in supporting either of them... We're talking about cheering every setback U.S. imperialism suffers, and more, helping to bring that about."

This speech began to raise many questions in the crowd which finally burst forth when the VVAW brother began talking about turning the guns around and making a revolutionary war on our rulers. Some in the crowd shouted, "Peace, not war" and "No to revolutionary war. No to imperialist war." The brother shot back, "During the Vietnam War, people at Kent State and Jackson State marched for peace



Stanford students burn giant draft card.

and were gunned down by the rulers of this country, and after Vietnam, we were promised peace, yet here we are staring a world war in the teeth. What we have to do is get rid of this system that causes war, and the rulers of that system won't quit without a bitter fight." Heated discussion around this and other vital questions continued well after the rally had ended.

With many more anti-draft rallies planned for the coming weeks, thousands of students and other youth will be brought into political motion

around the reinstatement of the draft and stepped up U.S. and Soviet war moves in general. More and more people are being shocked awake by the rapid approach of world war and are seeking a way out. Through struggle many can and will be won to the understanding that it is not really a question of are we going to fight or not, are we going to shed our blood or not, but a question of for whom and for what are we going to shed our blood, for the imperialists or to get rid of them.

Spy Press

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Mikelson, who once set up a direct hot line between CBS headquarters and the CIA headquarters kept his CIA connections long after leaving CBS. In fact he went on to become president of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, both notorious CIA fronts.

Henry Luce, the head of Time Inc., also gave full cooperation to the CIA. His policies closely followed those of William Paley's all the way down to the dinner debriefing sessions. Luce's personal contact with the CIA was C.B. Jackson, a Time Inc. vice president and the publisher of *Life* magazine until his death in 1964. Luce himself made a regular practice of personally briefing CIA directors after his return from numerous trips abroad and he encouraged his correspondents to do the same.

Over at *Newsweek*, Malcolm Muir, the editor until 1961, admitted to private briefings with CIA officials as well as arranging and approving regular debriefing sessions for their foreign correspondents. According to Muir, "Whenever I heard something that I thought might be of interest to Allen Dulles, I'd call him up...at one point he appointed one of the CIA men to keep in regular contact with our reporters." When *Newsweek* was sold to the Washington Post Company in 1961 the CIA didn't worry a bit, especially since Philip Graham, the publisher of the *Washington Post*, was known for his eager cooperation with the CIA.

Covert Propaganda

While intelligence gathering is the main function of the press in relation to the CIA, the CIA also exerts a good deal of time and money using the media to create public opinion in foreign countries advantageous to U.S. imperialism. In order to facilitate this the CIA owns or subsidizes a number of foreign based newspapers, magazines and news services. Their news services, including major ones like *Forum World Features* which closed in May of 1975 a few months before it was exposed as a CIA front, and the *Copely* news service, which was presented to the CIA by its original owner James Copely in a fit of patriotic fervor to "act as the eyes and the ears of the CIA in Latin America," sold articles to major newspapers all over the world with special emphasis on Asia, Africa and Latin America. (When a reporter spoke with an official at *Copely's* Washington, D.C. bureau, inquiring as to which newspapers this agency serviced around the world, the official stated that she "did not know" but

would get back to the reporter later.)

The CIA's propaganda is not designed to make friends so much as it is laying the ground work for doing whatever it has to do in order to safeguard the interests of U.S. imperialism. The sharpest known example of this is the role of the CIA in Chile. As a crucial part of their efforts to overthrow the Allende government in Chile, the CIA used a major Chilean newspaper, *El Mercurio*, to pave the way for the fascist junta. As soon as Allende was elected, *El Mercurio* (once a *Wall Street Journal* type paper) changed its format to resemble the *New York Daily News* and reach a broader number of people. The paper also began to run pictures of Soviet tanks and other weapons—thus emphasizing the grave "threat" posed by the Allende government. Of course the CIA had no problem arranging all this, especially since Agustin Edwards, the owner of *El Mercurio*, had been a CIA agent since 1958, was a close friend of Nixon, a cousin to the Rockefeller family by marriage, and is now a vice president of Pepsi Cola international division.

While the example of Chile is the best known, this type of incident is by no means an isolated one. According to one CIA official they have active media fronts in every foreign capitol of the world with special emphasis on the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. In addition to their own newspapers, magazines and news services, the CIA also has many well placed agents/reporters in other newspapers of these countries ready to write a story for the CIA at a moments notice.

Of course, a lot of noise has been made over the last few years about "restraints" on the Central Intelligence Agency. Various investigations have theoretically curtailed CIA activity. But during the famous Congressional hearings of late 1977/early 1978, Agency Director Stanfield Turner defended, in fact boasted about, the CIA's press network. When questioned about the seeming contradiction between the idea of a "free press" and the current practice of both the CIA and the U.S. media, he responded, "There's an international ideological contest going on...we have to have some way of operating and getting our ideas out in foreign countries..." A number of media representatives, ranging from publishers to columnists and correspondents, also testified at these hearings and vigorously agreed with Turner.

And the real direction of things today was indicated by Carter's State of the Union Address. He specifically spoke to the need to streamline CIA operations as the U.S. imperialists quicken their pace on the road to war with their

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rivals in the Soviet Union. Presumably, this includes the "media assets" of the CIA. So we should cast as speculative an eye on any claims of restraint on the CIA as we do arguments that the U.S. press is "free" and "objective."

In fact, as shown by its coverage of recent events in Iran, all sections of the "established" U.S. press (whether having direct connections with the CIA or not) have demonstrated willing service to U.S. imperialism. And as things heat up, their "coverage" of world events will no doubt be increasingly inspired by a very well informed source—the Central Intelligence Agency.

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Carter Draft Registration

LINING UP THE CANNON FODDER

When President Carter took the stage to deliver the 1980 State of the Union address last week, he looked like he had just stepped out of an "Uncle Sam Wants You" recruiting poster. "You and I will act as necessary to protect the nation's security", the President warned—and then proceeded to call for starting up registration for the draft. This announcement followed hot on the heels of Carter's pledge that the U.S. armed force will henceforth be ready for combat in the Persian Gulf or wherever else in the world "U.S. vital interests are threatened." This was nothing less than a direct statement of the U.S. ruling class' intentions to drag millions off to fight and die for them in a worldwide bloodbath between the two biggest imperialist powers in the history of the world—the U.S. and the Soviet Union.

To soften the impact of Phase 1 of reinstating the draft, NBC commentators followed Carter's speech by anxiously explaining *four* times that "this doesn't mean the draft is coming back, it just means 'registration' for the draft is coming back." They can repeat this 100 times, but that doesn't make it any more believable. Already, a company in Illinois, UARCO Inc., has printed up hundreds of thousands of draft cards.

These plans to reinstitute the draft

are an important part of the U.S. ruling class' efforts to put the country on a war footing, politically as well as materially.

After his speech, Carter announced that he would soon make a decision as to whether women as well as men will have an "equal right" to be drafted. Carter has left little doubt as to what this decision will be. Even Rosalynn has floated the idea publicly, an indication of what Carter will make public on February 9th, when he announces the ins and outs of his draft plan. Much of the brass in the U.S. military are discovering that they too believe in "women's equality" as they calculate how many warm bodies they will need for war with the Soviets.

As many people have been jolted awake in recent months by the approaching danger of war, opposition to the draft and to U.S. war preparations has grown by leaps and bounds. These anti-war sentiments have been lent even greater strength by the experience of the Vietnam War. In the 1960s and early '70s, mass refusals to report for induction, attacks on draft boards, kicking ROTC and military recruiters off campus were an important part of the anti-war movement. And while the resistance to the draft played a positive role overall, backward tendencies arose

to keep the struggle narrowly-focused on opposing the draft and on searching for individual solutions to "stay out of the war." In the inter-imperialist war that is now shaping up, there will be no individual solutions. There will be nowhere to go to "sit this one out."

What about moving to Canada? Already the Canadian government, a full-fledged member of NATO, has announced it will deport U.S. draft resisters. Besides, with much of the North American Air Defense Command (NORAD) which commands U.S. bombers, missiles, radar, etc., located in Canada, going to Canada will not get you any further away from this war.

In the two previous world wars, the U.S. imperialists were able to let the other major powers do most of the fighting and then successfully grab up the spoils of war. However, because the U.S. imperialists are now in the position of directly defending huge chunks of the world from their Soviet rivals, the U.S. will be on the front lines of World War 3. Even if war first breaks out in Europe, the Middle East or elsewhere, the American people will be looking for the first time at the prospect of massive destruction *inside* the U.S. As part of their scenario for a "winnable" nuclear war, the capitalists already have their experts calculating

how many human lives—50 million, 80 million, 100 million is an "acceptable" loss in a war to defeat the Soviets.

For the rulers of the U.S., war with their imperialist rivals in the Soviet Union is a matter of survival; and they will raise and field an army if they have to stick a bayonet in the back of every young man and woman in this country and march them off to the battlefield. Even millions of people demanding peace (as happened before World War I, for instance) will not stop the imperialists from going to war. The only thing that can stop them from unleashing World War 3 is revolution—the overthrow of the imperialists and their war-breeding system.

If we are unable to make revolution and prevent war, then every effort must be made to utilize the war—and the fact that the ruling class will itself be greatly weakened—to make revolution during the war itself.

As the world heads towards a third world war, once again the question will be put to millions: if we must fight, will it be for the imperialists to protect their blood-soaked empire, or to liberate the masses of people from the hellhole of capitalism and to break the seemingly endless cycle of imperialist wars. ■

Youngstown Steel

Continued from page 4
dance.

Some political hacks got up and fouled the air, and so did a few whining "union leaders". All urged reliance on utopian schemes for community ownership of the mills along with federal intervention to save steel jobs in the Mahoney Valley.

Finally, Ed Mann, president of Steel Worker Local 1462 at J&L's already closed Bryer Hill Works took the microphone. Mann has been associated with the union reform organization Rank and File Team (RAFT) and with Ed Sadlowski's candidacy in the past.

"It's time we went down that hill (to U.S. Steel headquarters)," he said. "What happens today is going to determine the future of Youngstown for the next 10 years. Let's show the politicians, the company and the people of this country that steel workers have guts."

With that people headed for the streets. Finally a chance to hit back—a chance to vent the anger burning in the guts of slaves thrown on the garbage heap of society. Ten minutes later the takeover was complete inside and out. Not a boss was to be seen anywhere. What were they demanding, a reporter asked. "Keep the mill open," some said. "We're here to stay," said someone else.

The union "leaders" quickly decided to demand a meeting of the U.S. Steel bigshots of Pittsburgh, "or an appointed representative." Very civilized. But that's not why people kicked in the door and took over.

At 5:30 Bob Vasquez, president of Local 1330 came in. "We're at loggerheads. Us and the company are both backed into a corner and no one is backing off. It's time to vacate the building. They'll meet with us tomorrow when the building is cleared." Boos and cat-calls filled the air, "We've got them down, let's keep them down," one worker said. Another—"What the hell did we take this damn thing over for if we're just going to pack up and leave?"

But Vasquez & Co. had the upper hand. They kept repeating "We got what we came for—a meeting," and eventually bluffed and buffaloed everybody outside the building.

The next day the nature of the "meeting" became clear. U.S. Steel was "forced" to enter into negotiations to sell the mill to the workers. Typical

hack behavior—turn *anything* into bargaining over a selling price! To add insult to injury Vasquez also revealed that the "buy the mill" scheme being concocted by the union hacks and the company included the workers "joining in with" a number of steel fabricating companies in the area.

The next day as the smoke cleared most workers were trying to sort out what had happened and what it meant. All the different forces involved had been forced to deal with the growing anger and militancy of the workers. The role of some of the hacks was dragged much more into the light of day. Some others, while playing a progressive role that day, were still peddling the same old deadend solutions.

This "workers buy the mill" scheme in particular has been run out before in Youngstown. Two years ago Youngstown Sheet and Tube closed down and a well-publicized plan was floated for "workers and the community" to buy it. Soon enough this diversion collapsed. Capital couldn't be raised and even the Federal Government (for its own reasons, of course) concluded it wasn't feasible, so it refused to make necessary financial arrangements for the deal.

And capitalism's laws kept asserting themselves in other, related, ways too in Youngstown. Youngstown and J&L merged around that time, and now J&L is also shutting down unprofitable plants in the area. What's happening in steel is that capital is being more concentrated, more monopolized, and not that "the system can be made to work to give the little guy a chance."

The mills are scheduled to finally close down about a week before May 1, 1980. This past week in Youngstown the workers got a taste of what it meant to begin to take things into their own hands. There is still much confusion. But what's becoming clear is that vast numbers of these workers have no intention of passively accepting their fate.

Capitalism itself has decided that on May Day 1980 the slogan "We won't work that day" will apply to these Youngstown steelworkers. In the face of all the phony schemes being thrown at these workers, what *they* will have to answer are some other questions from the May Day Manifesto: "Where you will be? What will you be doing? Who will you be serving?" ■

Clash

Continued from page 10

file—the less damaged side of his face, which remained a marketable commodity in the opinion of the producers. Clift's life became a whirl of booze, pills and degenerate sex; by the time of his death in 1966 he was mentally wasted and spiritually defeated. Makes you mad, no? The way they do people is echoed at the end of "Revolution Rock" when Strummer wails out with, *Young people shoot their days away, I've seen talent blooown away!*

By the way, in an album that's full of surprises, one more little surprise is "Lovers Rock" which is actually a serious attempt to deal with the problems faced by women as a result of the infamous pill. According to an interview in *Melody Maker Magazine*, they've been doing a bit of reading on the subject. With the rock and roll scene infected by misogyny and women-hating creeps like Iggy Pop and the Stranglers running amuck, the fact that they are trying to find some practical alternative to cancer causing and

dangerous birth control schemes offered by "modern" medical megacorps, shows at least that they care more about women than just as some sex object.

Last surprise on the album is a song which does not appear on the label or liner notes called "Train in Vain": *Please stand by me/You're not alone/Now I've got a job/But it don't pay/I need new clothes/I need somewhere to stay/But without all these things I can do/But without your love/I won't make it through/But you don't understand my point of view/I suppose there's nothing I can do./You can stand by me/You're not alone/You can stand by me/No Way/You must explain why this must be/Did you lie when you spoke to me?* Like we said, we don't know their secrets but we figure this isn't just a love song. Could The Clash be giving a message to their fans?

There is no such thing as crisis insurance and we're not into making bets, but like we said back in September, "The Clash ain't wasting their time or any one else's," and that goes double for "London Calling." We hope they make it to the front lines when the "ragged army" comes tearing out of hell.



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Dictatorship of the Proletariat: Touchstone of Marxism

The Science of Revolution (Part III)

This is the third 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."

"The theories of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat are the quintessence of Marxism-Leninism. The questions of whether revolution should be upheld or opposed and whether the dictatorship of the proletariat should be upheld or opposed have always been the focus of struggle between Marxism-Leninism and all brands of revisionism..." (*On Khrushchov's Phoney Communism and Its Historical Lessons for the World*)

This was the strong stand of the Chinese Communist Party under Mao's leadership against the distortions and perversions of Marxism by the traitors to revolution who had seized back power in the Soviet Union in the late '50s. This declaration drew a bold and unmistakable dividing line between Marxism and revisionism.

But what is the importance of such dividing lines? Is such struggle, as some think, merely irrelevant quarreling that should be put aside for more important things? Or does it bear critically on the conditions and struggles that the broad masses face? This article will take up this question of the dividing lines between Marxism and revisionism and in doing so will focus on what indeed is the "quintessence of Marxism-Leninism": proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

But first, a brief definition of revisionism. Revisionism is opposition to Marxism carried out in the name of Marxism. It first arose in the late 19th century, after Marxism had in a number of countries thoroughly defeated all other ideologies claiming to be for socialism. These ideologies had arisen from the petty bourgeoisie—that is, the middle strata of peasants and small farmers, petty businessmen, craftsmen, teachers, intellectuals, etc.—which both felt itself crushed by and hated the rule of the bourgeoisie, but equally resisted its only real alternative: the rule of the working class.

Reflecting their "in-between" position, these middle forces dreamed of a socialism somehow free of both class struggle and the anarchy of capitalism, in which "reasonable people would make things work." In practice, as we shall see, such dreaming—when concentrated into an ideological and political line—inevitably ends by siding with the bourgeoisie.

With the victory of Marxism over these various trends in many countries, they generally took a new form: one of claiming adherence to Marxism with certain "revisions" made necessary by new developments, unforeseen by Marx—hence, the label "revisionism." Revisionism, whatever its particular strain—and there are many varieties of this infection—achieves remarkable unity on one point: opposition to the proletarian revolution and, following that, proletarian dictatorship.

Proletarian Revolution— Basic Principle of Marxism

Lenin clearly and simply outlined the nature of any and every state apparatus in a 1919 lecture: "If you examine the state from the standpoint of this fun-

damental division, you will find that before the division of society into classes, as I have already said, no state existed. But as the social division into classes arose and took firm root, as class society arose, the state also arose and took firm root... it has always been a certain apparatus which stood outside society and consisted of a group of people engaged solely, or almost solely, or mainly, in ruling... This apparatus, this group of people who rule others, always possesses certain means of coercion, of physical force, irrespective of whether this violence over people is expressed in the primitive club, or in the more perfected types of weapons in the epoch of slavery, or in the fire-arms which appeared in the Middle Ages, or, finally, in modern weapons, which in the twentieth century are technical marvels and are based entirely on the latest achievements of modern technology." ("The State," *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 477)

Mao Tsetung summed it up even more succinctly: "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

And when an exploiting class rules, those guns always point in just one direction: at the oppressed and exploited. The routine use of court injunctions and police violence in strikes; the police assaults against demonstrations carried out by special tactical units numbering in the hundreds; the particularly vicious terror carried out against Blacks and other minority nationalities, especially in the course of fighting for change; and, of course, the use of the state machinery to hound, repress and straight-up murder revolutionaries (with Comrade Bob Avakian the main current case in point) all bear this out.

True, the bourgeois state does have a secondary function of settling conflicts among its own, and at times the courts and even troops might be called in. But these instances are rare, and are *not* cases of the "neutral state sticking up for the little guy"—as the bourgeoisie and their revisionist hand-maidens would have it. For example, the use of federal troops in the South in a few symbolic instances to enforce court-ordered school desegregation was the result of a policy agreed on by the main sectors of the bourgeoisie to both clean up the U.S. image so as to be better able to politically get over internationally in the oppressed nations, and at the same time to channel the Black struggle then beginning to surge with unprecedented power into "acceptable" outlets (fighting for reforms and relying on the bourgeoisie and its state).

The state in every exploiting society poses as being above classes, as a neutral umpire of different class interests. But from its origin with the development of the first class societies, the state has always been a tool of suppression in the hands of the dominant class.

Indeed, the state cannot ultimately even reconcile different exploiting classes: note that in every European country the bourgeoisie could only gain state power by taking up arms against



French bourgeois flee the Paris Commune in this drawing by Daumier celebrating the proletariat seized state power (1871).



In the first 4 years of the Russian Revolution, 20,000 workers and soldiers were organized into village Soviets that sprang up during and after the revolution. As one peasant said: "We are teaching ourselves how to rule ourselves."

the old feudal monarchies and erecting instead one form or another of bourgeois republic.

For these reasons—the nature of the state as an organ of class suppression, and its intrinsic connection to the ruling class which created it—violent revolution is a necessity for the proletariat. For those who doubt this, the U.S. ruling class has demonstrated *its* nature by its stunningly brutal war in Indochina, its slaughter of unarmed protesters at Kent State, Attica and countless other places, its support of butchering puppets from Zaire to Chile to Korea, and its invariable suppression of groups that actually do work for revolution. Plainly the ruling class which does not hesitate to unleash its dogs against non-revolutionary groups in non-revolutionary periods in this country, and which will travel the world to put down revolution in other countries, will hardly agree to come along peacefully when their very existence is at stake!

Yet a hallmark of revisionism is, in one form or another, to claim just that! Revisionists have been remarkably consistent and even more remarkably creative in their ability to find hitherto unknown virtues in bourgeois democracy.

For instance, revisionists like the "Communist" Party, USA insist on dividing the U.S. bourgeoisie and its state apparatus into a sane and sensible wing on the one hand, and a crazy, ultra-right one on the other. Yes, they may concede, the working class should probably take independent action, but... since Kennedy is "more sensitive to the needs of the oppressed" than Reagan or Carter, that means lining up behind him. The "C" PUSA makes a phony "revolutionary" strategy out of the tactical differences that Kennedy and the forces he represents may have with other sections of the bourgeoisie—and even more so, going along with the old Dr. Jeckyl/Mr. Hyde routine in which the bourgeoisie always has at least one phony spokesman for the oppressed out there, the "C" PUSA goes all out to pin the proletariat to the tail of the bourgeois donkey—all in the name of communism!

As for violent revolution? The "C" PUSA envisions the election of an "anti-monopoly coalition" which will then find itself compelled to pass a constitutional amendment outlawing imperialism! True, they attach a rider mentioning the possibility of bourgeois resistance to such an "amendment,"



...brating the Commune, the first time



...re elected to the famous Petrograd
...s was just one of 10,000 city and
...t-representative said, in the Soviets,



Led by Mao Tsetung, the working class ruled in China. Here in 1976, a mass meeting of Shanghai dock workers denounce Teng Hsiao-ping.

but quickly rush to say that "in today's world the possibility exists of creating such a relationship of forces that monopoly capital can be prevented from attempting to drown the popular will in blood." (See *New Program of the CPUSA*, 1970)

Such an insane fantasy would be funny if it didn't play on real illusions among people and if it hadn't itself already resulted in "drowning the popular will in blood," most especially in Chile. There the revisionist CP of Chile promised socialism through the ballot, a socialism to be gained without disarming—let alone, *smashing*—the bourgeois army. In fact, the CP of Chile literally disarmed the masses so as not to provoke the military—a move that resulted days later in a bloody military coup in which 30,000 were murdered. Such are the disastrous results and criminal nature of this line!

Plainly, there is no way to break the power of the bourgeoisie except through forcibly smashing the bourgeois state apparatus, disintegrating its army from within while at the same time crushing it (as well as the police forces), and, in short, depriving the exploiters of every weapon in the arsenal of their dictatorship. The revisionists,

however, actively fight this understanding in their hope to use the masses and their struggle as just so much leverage for a niche in the bourgeois setup, and to that end they push dreams and illusions that reduce the proletariat to a bargaining chip in someone else's game.

Dictatorship of the Proletariat

When the revolutionary situation ripens in which the proletariat can lead the masses to make revolution, it launches armed insurrection. The working class first aims to smash the bourgeois power in several key areas, then raises an army to fight the inevitable civil war to determine nationwide political power. (This model mainly applies to developed capitalist countries—various important modifications, which this article will not go into, come into play in the semi-colonial, semi-feudal countries oppressed by imperialism. However, both the armed nature of the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat that follows it are common to all countries.)

On smashing the bourgeois state the proletariat moves to establish its own state power—the dictatorship of the proletariat. This proletarian dictatorship differs from all previous states, in

which a minority of exploiters dictates to the majority of people, but tries to hide it. Since the proletarian state is a dictatorship of the majority over the minority, of the formerly exploited over their erstwhile masters, it has no need to conceal or misrepresent what it is doing.

Much more fundamentally different is the purpose and goal of the proletarian dictatorship. The proletarian state works to eliminate itself—that is, to create the basis for the day when humankind will need no states because it will have passed out of the stage of class division.

Socialism, then, is a transition period in which the proletariat has the historical task of not only dictating to the vanquished but still fiercely resistant bourgeoisie, but also of step by step eliminating all inequalities and class distinctions, rooting out all the "look out for number one" thinking and culture characteristic of capitalism, and continually overthrowing and suppressing the newborn bourgeoisie that is continually spawned by the backward remnants of capitalism.

The proletariat uses its dictatorship to consciously struggle to transform all of society until it advances worldwide

to the stage of communism where, in Marx's words, "the enslaving subordination of the individual to the division of labor, and therewith also the antithesis between mental and physical labor has vanished... labor has become not only a means of life but life's prime want... (and) the productive forces have also increased with the all-round development of the individual and all the springs of co-operative wealth flow more abundantly." (*Critique of the Gotha Programme*)

Revisionist Opposition to Proletarian Rule

Revisionism, which makes a specialty of opposing armed revolution, naturally opposes its result: the dictatorship of the proletariat. Kautsky, the foremost revisionist to do battle with Lenin, either outrightly opposed the very phrase "dictatorship of the proletariat" as an unfortunate slip of the tongue on the part of Marx and Engels, or else envisioned one that, in his own words, was no different from British bourgeois democracy, complete with a "monarchy at the top"!

The "C" PUSA, for its part, tries to evade the question altogether by never

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Disarmament

Continued from page 11

letariat—nothing more nor less, we repeat, because invasions may occur in any war. It would be simply foolish to repudiate "defence of the fatherland" on the part of the oppressed nations in their wars against the imperialist Great Powers, or on the part of a victorious proletariat in its war against some Gallifet (a general who suppressed the Paris Commune—RW) of a bourgeois state.

Theoretically, it would be quite wrong to forget that every war is but the continuation of politics by other means; the present imperialist war is the continuation of the imperialist politics of two groups of Great Powers, and these politics were engendered and fostered by the sum total of the relationships of the imperialist epoch. But this very epoch must also necessarily engender and foster the politics of struggle against national oppression and of the proletarian struggle against the bourgeoisie, and therefore, also the possibility and the inevitability, first, of revolutionary national rebellions and wars; second, of proletarian wars and rebellions against the bourgeoisie; and, third, of a combination of both kinds of revolutionary war, etc.

II

To this must be added the following general considerations.

An oppressed class which does not strive to learn to use arms, to acquire arms, only deserves to be treated like slaves. We cannot forget, unless we become bourgeois pacifists or opportunists, that we are living in a class society, that there is no way out of this society, and there can be none, except by means of the class struggle. In every class society, whether it is based on slavery, serfdom, or, as at present, on wage labour, the oppressing class is armed. Not only the modern standing army, but even the modern militia—even in the most democratic bourgeois republics, Switzerland, for example—represent the bourgeoisie armed against the proletariat. This is such an elementary truth that it is hardly necessary to dwell upon it. It is sufficient to recall the use of troops against strikers in all capitalist countries.

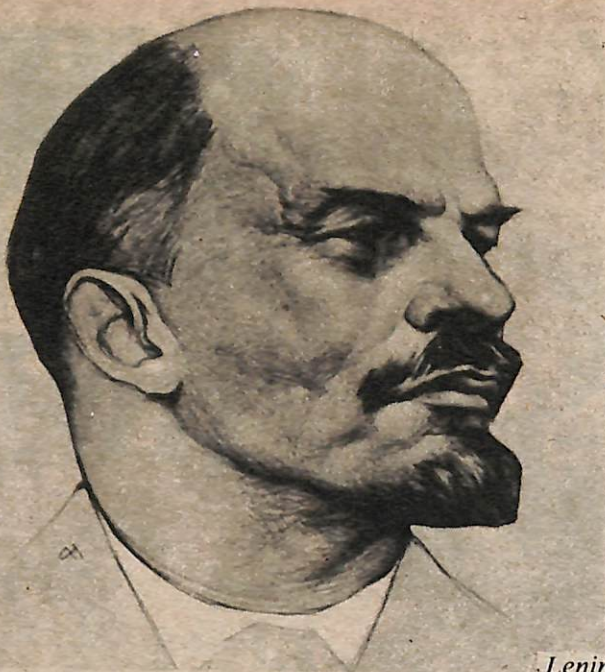
The fact that the bourgeoisie is armed against the proletariat is one of the biggest, most fundamental, and most important facts in modern capitalist society. And in face of this fact, revolutionary Social-Democrats are urged to "demand" "disarmament"! This is tantamount to the complete abandonment of the point of view of the class struggle, the renunciation of all thought of revolution. Our slogan must be: the arming of the proletariat for the purpose of vanquishing, expropriating and disarming the bourgeoisie. These are the only tactics a revolutionary class can adopt, tactics which follow logically from the whole objective development of capitalist militarism, and dictated by that development. Only after the proletariat has disarmed the bourgeoisie will it be able, without betraying its world-historical mission, to throw all armaments on the scrap heap; and the proletariat will undoubtedly do this, but only when this condition has been fulfilled, certainly not before.

If the present war rouses among the reactionary Christian Socialists, among the whimpering petty bourgeoisie, only horror and fright, only aversion to all use of arms, to bloodshed, death, etc., then we must say: capitalist society is always an endless horror. And if this most reactionary of all wars is now preparing a horrible end for that society, we have no reason to drop into despair. At a time when, as everyone can see, the bourgeoisie itself is paving the way for the only legitimate and revolutionary war, namely, civil war against the imperialist bourgeoisie, the "demand" for disarmament, or more correctly, the dream of disarmament, is, objectively, nothing but an expression of despair.

Those who will say that this is a theory divorced from life, we will remind of two world-historical facts: the role of trusts and the employment of women in industry, on the one hand; and the Paris Commune of 1871 and the December uprising of 1905 in Russia, on the other.

The business of the bourgeoisie is to promote trusts, to drive women and children into the factories, to torture them there; to corrupt them, to condemn them to extreme poverty. We do not "demand" such a development. We do not "support" it; we fight it. But how do we fight? We know that trusts and the employment of women in industry are progressive. We do not want to go back to the handicraft system, to premonopolistic capitalism, to domestic drudgery for women. Forward through the trusts, etc., and beyond them to Socialism!

This argument is, with the necessary changes, applicable also to the present militarization of the people. Today the imperialist bourgeoisie militarizes not only the adults, but also the youth. Tomorrow, it may proceed to militarize the women. To this we must say: All the better! Go ahead faster! The faster it goes, the nearer shall we be to the armed uprising against capitalism. How can Social-Democrats allow themselves to be frightened by the militarization of the youth, etc., if they have not forgotten the example of the Paris Commune? This is not a "theory divorced from life," it is not a dream, but a fact. It would be very bad indeed if, notwithstanding all the economic and political facts, Social-Democrats began to doubt



Lenin

that the imperialist epoch and imperialist wars must inevitably bring about a repetition of such facts.

A certain bourgeois observer of the Paris Commune, writing to an English newspaper in May 1871, said: "If the French nation consisted entirely of women, what a terrible nation it would be!" Women, and children of thirteen and upwards, fought in the Paris Commune side by side with the men. Nor can it be different in the forthcoming battles for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. The proletarian women will not look on passively while the well-armed bourgeoisie shoot down the poorly-armed or unarmed workers. They will take to arms as they did in 1871, and from the cowed nations of today—or more correctly, from the present-day working-class movement, which is disorganized more by the opportunists than by the governments—there will undoubtedly arise, sooner or later, but with absolute certainty, an international league of the "terrible nations" of the revolutionary proletariat.

Militarism is now permeating the whole of social life. Imperialism is a fierce struggle of the Great Powers for the division and redivision of the world—therefore, it must inevitably lead to further militarization in all countries, even in the neutral and small countries. What will the proletarian women do against it? Only curse all war and everything military, only demand disarmament? The women of an oppressed class that is really revolutionary will never consent to play such a shameful role. They will say to their sons: "You will soon be a man. You will be given a gun. Take it and learn the military art. The proletarians need this knowledge not to shoot your brothers, the workers of other countries, as they are doing in the present war, and as you are being told to do by the traitors to Socialism, but to fight the bourgeoisie of your own country, to put an end to exploitation, poverty and war, not by means of good intentions, but by vanquishing the bourgeoisie and by disarming it."

If we are to refrain from conducting such propaganda, precisely such propaganda, in connection with the present war, then we had better stop using highfalutin phrases about international revolutionary Social-Democracy, about the socialist revolution, and about war against war.

III

The advocates of disarmament oppose the point in the programme about the "armed nation" for the reason, among others, that this demand, they allege, easily leads to concessions to opportunism. We have examined above the most important point, namely, the relation of disarmament to the class struggle and to the social revolution. We will now examine the relation between the demand for disarmament and opportunism. One of the most important reasons why this demand is unacceptable is precisely that it, and the illusions it creates, inevitably weaken and devitalize our struggle against opportunism.

Undoubtedly this struggle is the main question immediately confronting the International. A struggle against imperialism that is not closely linked up with the struggle against opportunism is an idle phrase, or a fraud. One of the main defects of Zimmerwald and Kienthal, one of the main reasons why these embryos of the Third International may possibly end in a fiasco, is that the question of the struggle against opportunism was not even raised openly, much less decided in the sense of proclaiming the necessity of a rupture with the opportunists. Opportunism has triumphed—temporarily—in the European working-class movement. Two main shades of opportunism have arisen in all the big countries: first, the avowed, cynical, and therefore less dangerous social-imperialism of Messrs. Plekhanov, Scheidemann, Legien, Albert Thomas and Sembat, Vandervelde, Hyndman, Henderson, *et al*; second, the concealed, Kautskyite opportunism: Kautsky-Haase and the Social-Democratic Labour Group in Germany; Longuet, Pressmane, Mayeras, *et al*, in France; Ramsay MacDonald and the other leaders of the Independent Labour Party in England; Martov, Chkheidze and others in Russia; Treves and the other so-called Left reformists in Italy.

Avowed opportunism is openly and directly opposed to revolution and to the incipient revolutionary movements and outbursts, and is in direct alliance with the governments, varied as the forms of this alliance

may be: from participation in Cabinets to participation in the War Industries Committees (in Russia). The masked opportunists, the Kautskyites, are much more harmful and dangerous to the working-class movement, because they hide their advocacy of an alliance with the former under a cloak of plausible, pseudo-"Marxist" catchwords and pacifist slogans. The fight against both these forms of prevailing opportunism must be conducted in all fields of proletarian politics: parliament, trade unions, strikes, military affairs, etc. The main distinguishing feature of both these forms of prevailing opportunism is that the concrete question of the connection between the present war and revolution and other concrete questions of revolution is hushed up, concealed, or treated with an eye to police prohibitions. And this is done, notwithstanding the fact that before the war the connection between precisely this war that was impending and the proletarian revolution was pointed to innumerable times, both unofficially, and in the Basle Manifesto officially. The main defect in the demand for disarmament is its evasion of all the concrete questions of revolution. Or do the advocates of disarmament stand for a perfectly new species of unarmed revolution?

To proceed. We are by no means opposed to the fight for reforms. We do not wish to ignore the sad possibility that humanity may—if the worst comes to the worst—go through a second imperialist war, if, in spite of the numerous outbursts of mass unrest and mass discontent, and in spite of our efforts, revolution does not come out of the present war. We are in favour of a programme of reforms which is also directed against the opportunists. The opportunists would be only too glad if we left the struggle for reforms entirely to them, and saving ourselves by flight from sad reality, sought shelter in the heights above the clouds in some sort of "disarmament." "Disarmament" means simply running away from unpleasant reality and not fighting against it.

In such a programme we would say something like this: "The slogan and the recognition of defence of the fatherland in the imperialist war of 1914-16 is only a means of corrupting the working-class movement with the aid of a bourgeois lie." Such a concrete reply to concrete questions would be theoretically more correct, much more useful to the proletariat and more unbearable to the opportunists, than the demand for disarmament and the repudiation of all "defence of the fatherland." And we might add: "The bourgeoisie of all the imperialist Great Powers—England, France, Germany, Austria, Russia, Italy, Japan, the United States—has become so reactionary and so imbued with the striving for world domination, that any war conducted by the bourgeoisie of those countries can be nothing but reactionary. The proletariat must not only oppose all such wars, but it must also wish for the defeat of its 'own' government in such wars and utilize it for revolutionary insurrection, if an insurrection to prevent the war proves unsuccessful."

On the question of a militia, we should have said: We are not in favour of a bourgeois militia; we are in favour only of a proletarian militia. Therefore, "not a penny, not a man," not only for a standing army, but even for a bourgeois militia, even in countries like the United States, or Switzerland, Norway, etc.; the more so that in the freest republican countries (e.g., Switzerland), we see that the militia is being more and more Prussianized, particularly in 1907 and 1911, and prostituted by being mobilized against strikers. We can demand election of officers by the people, abolition of all military law, equal rights for foreign and native-born workers (a point particularly important for those imperialist states which, like Switzerland, more and more blatantly exploit increasing numbers of foreign workers while refusing to grant them rights); further, the right of every hundred, say, of the inhabitants of the given country to form voluntary military training associations, with free election of instructors, who are to be paid by the state, etc. Only under such conditions could the proletariat acquire military training really for itself and not for its slave-owners; and the need for such training is imperatively dictated by the interests of the proletariat. The Russian revolution showed that every success of the revolutionary movement, even a partial success like the seizure of a certain city, a certain factory village, a certain section of the army—invariably compels the victorious proletariat to carry out just such a programme.

Finally, it goes without saying that opportunism cannot be fought merely by means of programmes; it can be fought only by constant vigilance to see that they are really carried out. The greatest, the fatal error the bankrupt Second International committed was that its words did not correspond to its deeds, that it acquired the habit of hypocrisy and shameless revolutionary phrase-mongering (note the present attitude of Kautsky and Co. towards the Basle Manifesto). Disarmament as a social idea, i.e., an idea that springs from a certain social environment—and is not merely a cranky notion of an individual—has evidently sprung from the exceptionally "tranquil" conditions of life prevailing in certain small states which for a rather long time have stood aside from the bloody world highway of war and hope to stay aside. To be convinced of this, it is sufficient, for instance, to ponder over the arguments advanced by the Norwegian advocates of disarmament. "We are a small country," they say. "We have a small army, we can do nothing against the Great Powers" (and are, therefore, also powerless to resist being forcibly drawn into an im-

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Disarmament

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perialist alliance with one or the other group of Great Powers). . . "We want to be left in peace in our remote corner and continue to conduct our parochial politics, to demand disarmament, compulsory courts of arbitration, permanent neutrality, etc." ("permanent" after the Belgian fashion, no doubt?).

The petty striving of petty states to stand aside, the petty-bourgeois desire to keep as far away as possible from the great battles of world history, to take advantage of one's relatively monopolistic position in order to remain in hide-bound passivity—this is the objective social environment which may ensure the disarmament idea a certain degree of success and a certain degree of popularity in some of the small states. Of course, this striving is reactionary and entirely based on illusions; for in one way or another, imperialism draws the small states into the vortex of world economy and world politics.

Berkeley

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and arguing for nearly 2 1/2 hours. The cold was forgotten as people got down on the big questions facing them. What about the Soviet Union? The relation of Black people's struggles to the struggle in Iran? The risks involved in stepping over the line and taking a stand.

Red, White and Blue Blasted

The work done by the Iran Day Committee was broad-ranging and thorough, because the rally and demonstration were a necessary answer to the U.S. bourgeoisie's call to get ready for imperialist war. In the plaza, the tone was contempt for the "red, white and blue" and what it stands for here and around the world. It was also one of solid unity with the struggle of the Iranian people. A speaker from the L.A. Feminist Women's Health Center put it this way: "We are proud and inspired to work in support of the Iranian Revolution. But it hasn't been easy. Carol Downer (a member of that organization and also of the Send the Shah Back/Hands Off Delegation to Iran—RW) was jailed soon after she got back"—clearly in punishment for having gone to Iran.

Local American Indian Movement spokesman Bill Waupapau linked the struggle of the American Indians with the Iranian people around their common enemy. "When you hear about the death and defamation caused by uranium mining and corporate development in Indian country, you understand why we want our Iranian brothers to have their independence." Dennis Banks, a prominent national AIM figure, issued a declaration on behalf of all their members: "No Native American will register for anything. It will be a criminal act against the Native American nation to register for any war, any draft." And then he gave a message to President Carter: "If you want to go to war in Iran, you go by yourself."

A cheer went through the crowd as a banner was unfurled—"Active Duty GI's Say No to U.S. Military Intervention!" And the crowd knew that some of those GI's were there amongst them. Then a member of Vietnam Veterans Against the War mounted the stage and spoke. "When U.S. imperialism tried to crush the Vietnamese masses, they encountered a force so great that even the most powerful military in the world became impotent. That force was the revolutionary zeal of people seeking to liberate themselves from foreign domination and aggression. . . . How do you turn the tide of thousands and then millions who hit the streets of Iran with their minds on freedom, knowing that death could be around the corner? The answer is that you can't. . . . We owe a great debt to the Iranian students who hit the streets with us in the '60's because of U.S. aggression in Vietnam, and VVAW says today that that debt cannot go unpaid."

The representative from the Solidarity Bloc of the Struggles of the Salvadoran People sent "revolutionary greetings to the people here and to the Iranian people's struggle to send back the Shah." He also read a letter from a Panamanian brother who has been beaten and hospitalized for his organizing against the

In Switzerland, for example, the imperialist environment objectively prescribes two lines to the working-class movement: the opportunists, in alliance with the bourgeoisie, are trying to convert Switzerland into a republican-democratic monopolistic federation for obtaining profits from imperialist bourgeois tourists and to make this "tranquil" monopolistic position as profitable and as tranquil as possible.

The genuine Social-Democrats of Switzerland are striving to take advantage of the comparative freedom of Switzerland and its "international" situation to help the close alliance of the revolutionary elements of the workers' parties in Europe to achieve victory. Switzerland, thank God, has not "a separate language of its own" but three world languages, precisely those that are spoken by the adjacent belligerent countries.

If the twenty thousand members of the Swiss party were to pay a weekly levy of two centimes as a sort of "extra war tax," we would have about twenty thousand francs per annum, a sum more than sufficient to enable us periodically to publish in three languages and to distribute among the workers and soldiers of

the belligerent countries—in spite of the ban of the General Staffs—all the material containing the truth about the incipient revolt of the workers, about their fraternizing in the trenches, about their hope to use their arms in a revolutionary manner against the imperialist bourgeoisie of their "own" countries, etc.

All this is not new. This is exactly what is being done by the best papers like *La Sentinelle*, *Volksrecht* and the *Berner Tagwacht*, although, unfortunately, not on a sufficiently large scale. Only by such activity can the splendid decision of the Aarau Party Congress (a resolution that only proletarian revolution could put an end to the war—RW) become something more than merely a splendid decision.

The question that interests us now is: Does the demand for disarmament correspond to the revolutionary trend among the Swiss Social-Democrats? Obviously not. Objectively, "disarmament" is an extremely national, a specifically national programme of small states; it is certainly not the international programme of international revolutionary Social-Democracy. ■

Shah there. "Since his entry into Panama last December 15, the Panamanian people have not stopped demonstrating their rejection of the presence of the tyrant of the Iranian people." A statement was read by the Oakland Feminist Women's Health Center. "There has long been confusion as to the concept of 'equal rights.' As feminists, we have never and will never fight for the right to be equally oppressed or to be equally oppressors. If women are called to register for the draft, we will encourage women along with men to *not* submit passively to forced conscription. We call on all feminists and freedom-loving people to fight against imperialism and its wars."

The speaker from the RCP pledged solidarity "with the Iranian people in our common struggle against U.S. imperialism," and spoke of revolutionary defeatism in the face of the bourgeoisie's plans for war. "Carter spoke of the renewal of the draft. We will fight to prevent your using us, but if you must have us in your army, *if you insist*, give us guns and we'll turn those guns around. You speak of drafting women—take them in your army also and their anger will be unleashed against you, for all conditions under which you make them live. *If you insist*, unleash the full fury of women. . . ."

The speaker from the Iranian Students Association said, "What's happening in Iran? The answer is very clear. The media portrays the situation as chaotic. We know for a fact that the situation is chaotic, but revolutionary chaotic. The Iranian people clearly know that this is only the beginning of our revolution, and we're going to carry on our revolution and resolve the problems that have been brought to us basically on the policies of U.S. imperialism and its puppet the Shah of Iran."

Fred Hanks, speaking for the Hands Off Delegation, said, "This is the opening salvo here today. I was a member of the U.S. Army 82nd Airborne Division, one of these cats who jump out of planes for the rich corporations in Washington D.C. What they didn't tell you during the Vietnam War was that what happened in the streets woke us up. In the 1970 anti-war demonstration, what they didn't say was that half the company in my unit refused to go to Washington D.C. and be used as cannonfodder against the American people. We refused like many when orders came down, to serve in their bloody war in Vietnam, and we got locked up. This is their loyal army that they're so scared of today. They talk about being so powerful, but they are going to put us back in the motherfucker."

Solidarity statements were numerous and included the Disabled Liberation Front, the NUWO, the Organization of Arab Students, a speaker from the Peace & Freedom Party, Black Student Union at Merritt College, and the Merritt Students for Peace. Songs, poetry and dance were performed also. The spirit of the rally was captured by one speaker who said, "An earthquake of the masses of people is starting right here. . . . and we're telling you, ruling class, you thought we had our heads in our books, our nose to the grindstone. But, *guess what!*"

Significance of Demo

The call for Iran Day was clearly right on target. From coast to coast,

millions of people are sickened by the rabid flag-waving, and angry and frustrated as the prospect of world war becomes a "viable alternative" for our rulers. The action was a pole, a lightning rod, that these people can look to, and a welcome challenge to the young people who are coming up against the cold realities of the future and beginning to question things seriously for the first time. It was also a waking call to the workers to step into action and stand at the front of actions like this.

The broadness and diversity of the forces uniting around the three demands represented a step forward for the masses of people. In the face of the rapidly developing world situation, it was significant that so many forces came together to take a stand. This was in marked contrast to a variety of other coalitions in the past, which often degenerated into sectarian infighting, or, in order to accommodate all points of view, distilled the politics down to a harmless level. The stakes of this battle, however, were too high. It had to happen, the imperialists had to be answered, and it was a sign of growing political maturity that this unity was forged.

A number of people doubted that there was an actual basis to build a rally of this kind, feeling that the level of unity was "too high." This, too, was partially a product of the lull of the past eight or nine years. Many people were affected by bourgeois propaganda about the masses of people and were initially hesitant to take it up. In the course of taking it out and engaging in struggle, activists found out that many people wanted to discuss what was really going on. In fact, the clear stand of the Iran Day Committee against U.S. imperialism as well as the Shah was demanded by the actual conditions in the world. Exactly because of the stakes involved, as the masses' questions were

answered in a deep-going way, then people came forward to support the action. This was Berkeley, but it wasn't the '60s anymore. Questions were more complex, the stakes higher.

Shortcomings

While this demonstration was a genuine success, still it fell somewhat short of its goals. In particular the numbers, though large, were not as great as necessary to break through the media censorship and serve to inspire and activate people all across the country. The media couldn't totally bury it locally, but it did nationally. As we put it in the *RW* two weeks ago, a turnout was needed "in numbers too large to be ignored by the ruling class." Of course the ruling class has proved its ability to ignore what it wants to, while finding six reactionaries screaming "Kill Iranians" a number far too great for them to ignore on the front page. But still a demonstration of several thousand might have pushed its way through this barrier by forcing the ruling class to attack it.

A big factor that kept some away were the changes in the world situation that occurred in the few weeks before the demonstration. Particularly the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the U.S. response. On the one hand, it made some forces see all the more clearly the plans both superpowers have for war, but it also confused others who fell for a lot of U.S. propaganda about the Soviets being the *real* world aggressors—a greater danger. In addition when the U.S. toned down a bit of the publicized war-frenzy directed against Iran (just as cynically and consciously as they had started it) only to turn it up against the Soviets—all this took the edge of urgency in some people's thinking off being in the streets around Iran.

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Contribute to the Prisoners Revolutionary Literature Fund

The Revolutionary Communist Party receives many letters and requests for literature from prisoners in the hell-hole torture chambers from Attica to San Quentin. There are thousands more brothers and sisters behind bars who have refused to be beaten down and corrupted in the dungeons of the capitalist class and who thirst for and

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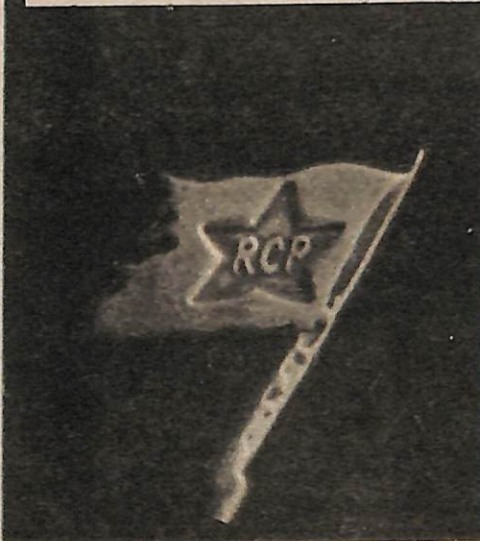
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Touchstone

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mentioning the phrase in its entire program. However, they did let their vision of "socialism" slip out a little bit when their chairman and presidential candidate Gus Hall promised on national TV in 1976 that if elected he could definitely work with a Republican-dominated Congress!

Khrushchev, who led the revisionist takeover in the Soviet Union in 1956, not only wanted to speculate on the names of Marx and Engels, as Kautsky did, he also wanted to drape himself in Lenin's mantle. Thus Khrushchev admitted that proletarian dictatorship may have been necessary in the past, but by 1956 such a thing was clearly out of date. Instead he called for a "state of the whole people," since he claimed that antagonistic classes and class struggle no longer existed in the Soviet Union. This, of course, is no different from the bourgeois myth of a state "of, by and for the people" that covers over their fierce domination of the people.

This slick distortion of Khrushchev's was thoroughly demolished by Mao Tsetung, who convincingly proved that classes and class struggle persist for the entire historical period of socialism and that the state—until its abolition altogether—can, in the words of Marx, "be nothing but the *revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat*." Khrushchev's ploy was the move of the *new bourgeoisie*, in particular, to capitalist restoration, which takes revisionism as its ideological and political cover. This bourgeoisie is concentrated in the highest echelons of the Party and tries to convert the socialist state into a "state capitalism" in which the state owns the means of production—but in which also this new elite controls the state, and uses it to suck surplus out of the working class, in the manner of *all bourgeoisies*.

Mao's discovery was a landmark advance in the history of Marxism. Lenin had recognized the protracted nature of class struggle under socialism, and grappled with the developing bureaucracy even in the young Soviet state. But Lenin lived only a few years

under proletarian rule, and tended to identify the individual production of the peasants as the chief social basis for capitalist restoration. Stalin, who succeeded Lenin, defended the first socialist state and made a number of great contributions, but failed to really grasp the nature of class struggle under socialism and made some serious mistakes in this sphere.

Learning from the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and the errors of Stalin, and basing himself on Marx and Lenin (who described socialism as a "period of struggle between nascent communism and dying capitalism"), Mao showed that the bourgeois hangovers enumerated by Marx—e.g. the contradiction between mental and manual labor, the contradiction between workers and peasants, various other inequalities, the persistence of individual production and the backward thinking all these remnants generated—were the soil on which new bourgeoisies took root and grew.

The proletariat must constantly struggle against and overthrow new bourgeoisies, while digging up "their soil" through socialist transformations in the course of that struggle, or else capitalist restoration is bound to happen.

Why is the new bourgeoisie concentrated in the high reaches of the Party? Because under socialism, from being the hunted and hounded champions of the powerless, overnight the Party, representing the working class, comes to a position of power, including in relation to the means of production. There then begins a tremendous pull toward becoming a new establishment, to ruling at first in place of and very soon *over* the working class, rather than continuing even under socialism in the revolutionary role of unleashing the masses to change the world and carry forward the revolution.

This phenomenon, especially when corruption and degeneration actually occur, is pointed to by the bourgeoisie as evidence that "power corrupts," or "there'll always be big shots," and used to promote the view that therefore it's no use to try to change things. The revisionists for their part make it a question of whether people on top can take care of business for the masses or not. Mao

showed, to the contrary, that the presence of the bourgeoisie in the Party was due to the level of development of society—materially, culturally and politically—and that their nature could certainly be understood, their plots defeated, and their existence eventually eliminated through struggle.

Mao not only called out the bourgeoisie in the Party, he scientifically showed the material basis for it and led in developing the means to fight it, best exemplified in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The Cultural Revolution in China was truly "continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat" as it roused tens of millions of Chinese in a struggle to take back the power usurped by the new bourgeoisie, and in doing so to further transform socialist China in the direction of communism. Through this process, the masses struggled against the "capitalist roaders" (as they were called) in various spheres of power, simultaneously studying and criticizing the line these bourgeois elements had pushed (which is always precisely *revisionism*), and consolidated the struggle through transforming the particular institution in question to be more in harmony with the proletariat's advance to true classless society.

The thrust of the Cultural Revolution was in a sense anticipated by Lenin's insight that "Our aim is to draw the *whole of the poor* into the practical work of administration, and every step that is taken in this direction—the more varied they are, the better—should be carefully recorded, studied, systematized, tested by wider experience and embodied in law. Our aim is to insure that *every toiler*, after having finished his 8 hours "task" in productive labor, shall perform state duties *without pay*; the transition to this is particularly difficult, but it is only this transition that can guarantee the final consolidation of socialism."

But the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution realized this in practice in a qualitatively higher way than any previous revolutionary movement, for it was an attempt to crush the now-recognized new bourgeoisie. Mao's development of Marxism-Leninism is like a spike driven into the side of the sheer mountain face that the proletariat

must firmly grasp to climb still higher and reach the next peak in the ascent to communism. Thus it is not surprising that today many are trying to pull it out and deny the proletariat its crucial hand-hold just as the bourgeoisie and earlier revisionists tried to "pull out" the thesis developed by Marx and then Lenin on violent proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship. The Soviet Union and the parties under its wing, the Chinese betrayers of Mao and *their* plunkies, and even the backstabbing Party of Labor of Albania and their pathetic camp followers all focus their fire on Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The revisionists who rule China today accuse Mao's close comrade Chang Chun-chiao of remarking in the margins of Lenin's thesis (that only those who recognize the dictatorship of the proletariat are genuine Marxists) that *today*, only those who uphold continuing the revolution under proletarian dictatorship are genuine Marxists. They hope to freeze Leninism into a dogma, to use the letter of it against Lenin's tremendous, revolutionary line and spirit. To the revisionists' pathetic charge, all revolutionary Marxists plead "innocent as charged."

Upholding Mao and this immortal contribution is today the key dividing line in the international communist movement. And as this article has shown, these dividing lines are not paper-thin points of argument but razor-sharp knives of struggle that the proletariat must have firmly in hand for its no-quarter-given battle. On the one side stands revisionism pushed by contemptible traitors to try to dull the blade of the working class and serve the bourgeoisie; on the other is Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought in the hands of the revolutionary proletariat. And war to the knife is always war to the death. ■

Recommended readings:

State and Revolution, Lenin, Chapters I and V

Mao Tsetung's Immortal Contributions, Avakian, Chapter 6

Suggested reading:

The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky, Lenin

Iran

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the revolution wish to stop the revolution.

The people of Iran have the taste of freedom in their mouths and have shown that they are not about to stop their struggle now. How absurd it would be to abandon the path that they have taken that has done more to transform and liberate Iran in the past year than a million years of bourgeois elections could do.

Shortly after his election Bani-Sadr said, "Everyone has the right to express views, provided that functioning organizations are able to carry out their tasks. But in Iran, if we have two governments, for example, one by the students and one by the Revolutionary Council, this is not acceptable..."

He recognizes that the masses represent, in effect, a second center, an entirely different direction for the revolution than what his class has in mind. While it hasn't stopped him from dreaming, it's likely that he too recognizes the absurdity of asking the students, for example, who had the audacity and foresight to capture the U.S. Embassy, to remove themselves from active independent political life.

This is shown in the vacillation of his statements since the election where he has consistently downplayed the embassy situation yet has never been able to come out and tell the students to knock it off, because he knows they have the backing of the masses, especially the working class. It's also easy to appreciate the tongue-in-cheek humor of the students upon hearing some of Bani-Sadr's statements when they replied that they approved of Mr.

Bani-Sadr as a popular choice for president, but insisted upon their right to disagree with his views. Of course if Bani-Sadr wanted to continue to press his point there is no doubt he'd be free to come over personally to discuss it.

So while Bani-Sadr may well claim to have the mandate of the people, the wide margin of his victory was due much more to his close association with Khomeini than as a stunning endorsement of his view of the future. And it's hard not to think that some Iranians voted just to see what it was like rather than out of a heartfelt dedication to a future bourgeois democracy. The U.S. ruling class, glimpsing some familiar terrain after months of agony may dream for an end of the turmoil, but the very fact that the new president has to speak of a second government shows that the bourgeoisie in Iran has not yet been able to consolidate their state.

Without a doubt the imperialists will continue to wildly pursue every possible opening to further their own interests, and the new government will undoubtedly now make all kinds of statements in the name of "the revolution." But with millions of Iranians involved in mass political action, the situation continues to be as Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh described to a delegation of U.S. ministers who were allowed into Iran to give religious services on Christmas. Ghotbzadeh said that when the embassy seizure happened there was little he or any other Iranian official could do about it and that even if he had ordered in the army they would have sided with the students. This is the reality that stands in the way of all the grandiose plans of the Ghotbzadehs, Bani-Sadr, and others like them in Iran. ■

Berkeley

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This kind of thinking misses the real links tying all this reactionary garbage together, but it did have its effect on the turnout.

The underlying question, imperialist war preparations and the need to oppose them, is definitely something that needs to be brought home to people, even more clearly than was done in building the demonstration. At the rally itself, many speakers referred to World War 3 in one way or another, reflecting the rapidly changing consciousness of the situation and, to a certain extent, broadening the political scope of the event itself.

Some forces, too, objected to the demonstration on pacifist grounds. In particular they opposed the "Send the Shah Back!" demand on the grounds that this would mean someone being killed. That "someone" is the Shah who killed and dreams of killing tens of thousands in a comeback. To say the least, this view is narrow and completely misses the point that the Iranian people's demand to carry out their revolution is just, and it is not simply a matter of revenge, but of striking a blow against continued U.S. imperialist plotting to enslave Iran. If the Shah is not key in these plans, then why does the U.S. protect him and why did they start the latest crisis by bringing him here? They still have forces in Iran that they wish to unleash to restore U.S. power there, and the Shah is a weapon in their arsenal.

Actually, standing aside from this demonstration was short-sighted even from a pacifist point of view. If this demonstration was not a necessary and timely blow against a major offensive in U.S. war preparations, then what is? Some people influenced by this wrong view even went so far as to axe an Iran

Day Committee speaker who was scheduled for the large anti-draft rally the day before on the Berkeley campus.

In such a situation it is all the more important for the working class—its class conscious section at this time—to step out and take action that will really give leadership to others. While a number of workers did participate in the Berkeley demonstration, their numbers, too, were smaller, than necessary, showing that there was still a great amount of work to be done. In particular those with a more advanced understanding have to get ahold of the idea that their inaction only holds the situation back, and that the activity today of even a relatively small section of workers will have a great impact on others.

The Iran Day work showed both the potential to rally support against the bourgeoisie's war plans, as well as what needs to be done. In this light it was definitely a big step forward. It blasted away a lot of lies about national unity and gave people an inspiring vision of what taking up the struggle against imperialism was all about.

The papers and TV are still declaring that most students are "willing to fight for their country," and the *San Francisco Chronicle* has once again "exposed" the Berkeley students' "new conservatism," but now these epitaphs are beginning to be greeted with the same derision as Spiro Agnew's pronouncements about the silent majority.

The two and a half weeks of building for Iran Day were living proof of what Bob Avakian said in his 1980 article in the *RW*. "...our rulers...are driven to conjure up forces that they cannot control...they must drag the masses of people into political life...once this 'genie,' the masses of people...is roused up, everything will be thrown up for grabs—including who's going to stuff who into what bottle." ■