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Democratic Convention Concludes A Naked Face of War Beneath a Veil of Reform

There was a different cast of hustlers, shills and dealers. The style was different, this last crew was much slicker, tried harder to ingratiate themselves with the folks looking on. But as the 1980 Democratic Party Convention wound down to its dreary close what stood out above all most clearly is that this con game, like the one staged in Detroit by the Republicans a few weeks ago was run by the same gangster class. And the suckers who get pulled into these rackets, or any of the "independent" hustles the capitalists license to

be run on the periphery of their main games, are going to be taken *but good*. Well practiced in stuffing their pockets with the profits they suck from the toil and misery of the masses of people, the capitalists are now into their
Continued on page 4

Best Deterrent: **ATTACK**

U.S. Cocks Nuclear Arsenal

For any who might have doubted that the U.S. imperialists and their Soviet rivals are feverishly preparing to launch the most devastating con- flagration in history to defend and extend their criminal empires, check out last week's banner headlines: **NEW AMERICAN STRATEGY FOR NUCLEAR WAR**. Suddenly the "un-thinkable" has become quite "thinkable" and the U.S. rulers are making no bones about it. The heart of this new strategy, embodied in what is known as Presidential Direc-

tive No. 59, is to give priority to pin- pointing Soviet governmental and military targets instead of relying mainly on a strategy of wiping out entire cities. Its stated purpose is to give the U.S. imperialists the ability to wage a "limited" nuclear war—which, freely translated, means developing the capability of launching a successful first strike against the Soviets that will deci- sively cripple their political struc- ture and military defenses. It represents a major qualitative step toward WW III—a declaration by the U.S. rulers that they are not only ready to go to war with the Soviets but that they are actively planning to be able to initiate this war, if necessary, and developing the tac- tics to make sure they win it.

The arrival of Presidential Direc- tive No. 59 marks a shift away from the policy formulated by Secretary

of Defense Robert McNamara in the 1960s which characterized the nuclear policies of the two super- powers until recently. Known as "mutually assured destruction" (ap- propriately abbreviated MAD), this previous policy of threatening to wipe out all of each others major cities supposedly "deterred" both Moscow and Washington from lau- nching a nuclear attack and made nuclear war "unthinkable." But in the last few years U.S. defense analysts have been screaming loud- ly that "the Soviets no longer recog- nize the concept of MAD" and are no longer interested in "mutual deterrence." What this meant in plain English was that the U.S. rulers were beginning to freak at the rising Soviet challenge to their world empire and that mere deter- rence would no longer cut it in their necessity to meet this chal-

lenge—especially since the Soviets were developing highly accurate missiles with a first strike capability that would be able to knock out U.S. missiles before they ever left the ground. In short, they realized they had better get up off this MAD business, get on the stick and get into position to successfully wage nuclear war—a concept that has obviously become quite "feasible" to the imperialist bloodsuckers that run both superpowers.

Continued on page 5

Murdered for Opposing Draft

Morgantown, West Virginia. It was late Friday night, August 1, and Alan Antonek, a 19-year-old youth, and his two buddies were on the way home after stopping for a few beers at a local tavern. Suddenly a gunman began blasting them at close range with a .45, firing silver-tipped, hollow-point bullets at the three—the kind designed solely for the purpose of killing. Alan died immediately and the other two were seriously wounded. The murderer was 27-year-old Timothy McWilliams, a veteran of the U.S. Marine Corps who served from 1973-75 as part of an elite corps that guarded the U.S. embassy in Saudi Arabia. Trained to kill by U.S. imperialism, this patriot was so thoroughly indoctrinated with his master's ideology that he gunned down

these three youth because of their opposition to the draft.

It had started at the bar when the three youth, all facing the draft, got into a discussion with McWilliams about how this was connected with preparations for World War 3. Alan, a guy who read the *Revolutionary Worker* from time to time and was definitely influenced by it, was the most outspoken. He was against the draft and the world war he saw was coming and had made it clear he wasn't going along with our rulers' sheep-herding program. A few years ago this argument might have remained just an argument. But this ex-Marine, now a West Virginia University student, was influenced, willy-nilly, by imperialist war preparations, thinking in desperation of the defeats in Vietnam

and now Iran suffered by "his" empire. And as if to rub it in his face, the red flag of revolution had been recently raised at anti-draft demonstrations in Morgantown, right in the face of U.S. attempts to raise an army.

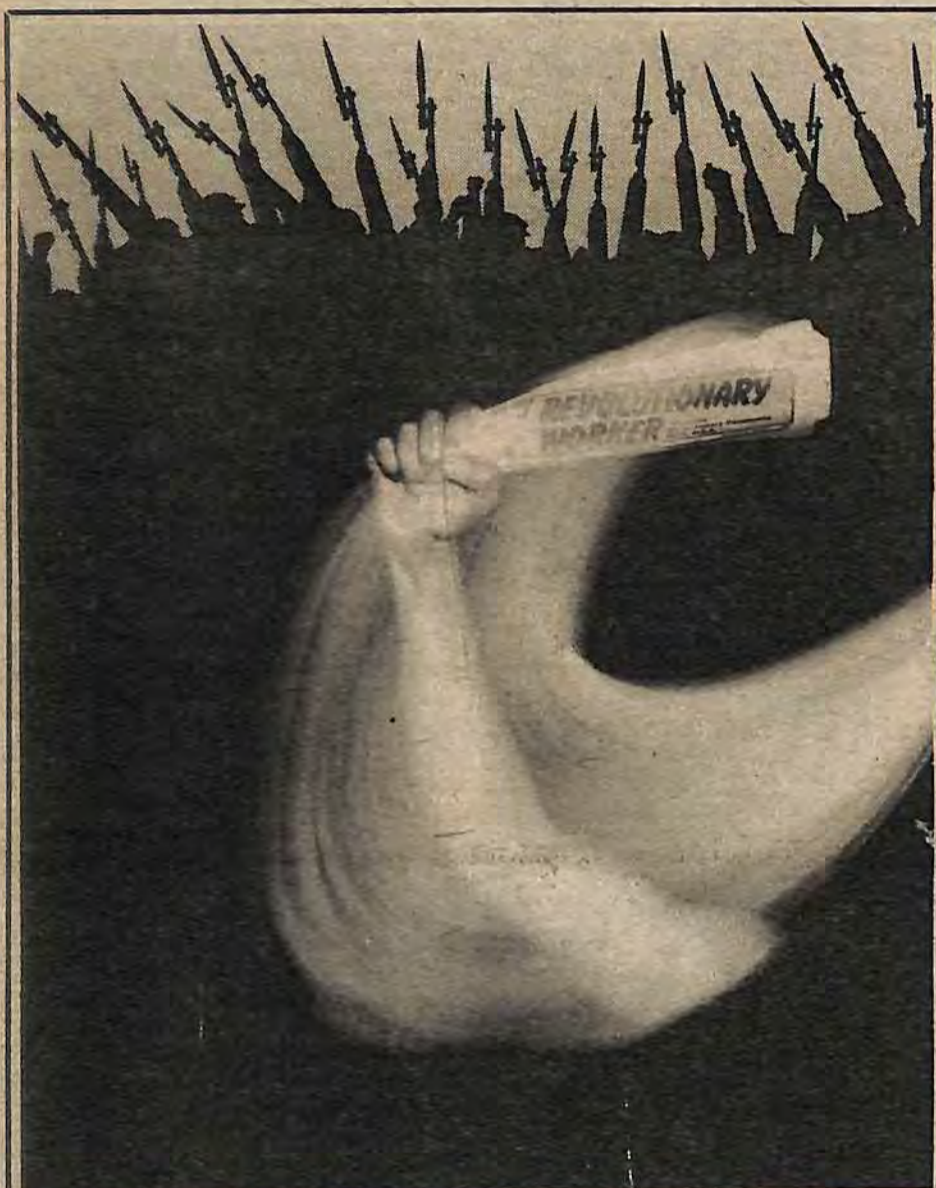
The red flag has been at the storm center of controversy in West Virginia ever since the arrest of 13 May Day activists for carrying red flags in the coal mining town of Beckley became a nationwide incident last March (see *RW* #46). In the last five months 30 arrests of revolutionaries have been made on this very obviously political charge. And when red flag busts came down again in June in Morgantown, more struggle broke out—widespread outrage at the busts on the part of the people and divisions in the government as to how to stifle it and bury the red flag. Circuit Court Judge Starcher publicly cautioned the police to stop the busts. The police politely told him to butt out. The *Charleston Gazette* ran an editorial "Let the Red Flags Fly!" This is a tactical difference over how to get the whole question out of the public eye—made crystal clear by the fact that busts of *RW* sellers have continued to come down for less politically revealing charges. This battle raging over the red flag, awakening many and forcing them to question what the hell it's all about, drove McWilliams into a frenzy. The newspapers reported he had a hit list of people he wanted to get, and the cops actually found a map to some of those people's houses, including Judge Starcher's.

The uppityness of the unpatriotic, "ungrateful" youth McWilliams encountered in the bar was apparently the last straw for this red-blooded American. So he grabbed a .45 out of his arsenal of 20 weapons to shoot them dead—the same thing he has undoubtedly seen happen to people who opposed the Saudi rulers and their U.S.-CIA partners in exploitation. As we go to press, the political nature of

this murder has been blacked out totally, with the newspapers referring only to an unexplained "argument" that took place. (Of course, if any real or imagined radical had gunned down a right-wing reactionary in a political argument, you can bet money that shrill cries of "violence-prone crazies" and "terrorists" would be howled from one end of the country to the other, accompanied by banner headlines.)

But in this case it's better to hush up the political aspect. Because when you come right down to it, McWilliams' vile act reveal a little too clearly exactly where U.S. imperialism is headed at this time. U.S. imperialism is going to call on youth to "defend America" in the same way that McWilliams saw fit—by blindly and obediently shooting down whatever stands as an obstacle to the advance of U.S. imperialism. In the coming world war this means shooting down workers of other countries in order to preserve the supremacy of the U.S. slavemasters over their equally predatory Soviet rivals. And it also means shooting down the resistance of the American people to these war moves if necessary. McWilliams' problem is that he was a little premature—providing a glimpse that is too revealing for now of what may very well be carried out by the U.S. government itself as the situation sharpens up in the future.

The *RW* received a letter from some friends of Alan in West Virginia. They said, "Some people will say this guy is a nut. Nuts just don't drop out of the sky, they grow on trees. This nut came from a tree called U.S. imperialism." And the letter concludes, "Alan Antonek has died, but he stood for the future. He represented the youth who are saying 'we're not going for your lies and bullshit.' The rulers of this country and their twisted followers tremble at this, especially as it's more and more expressed in a revolutionary way." □



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Political Struggle Yields Revolutionary Results

Spreading the Conspiracy— An RW Distribution Report

Submitted by an RW distributor.

Recently, in our city, newspaper sales were not up to what they should be. True, as compared to a year ago, quite a few more *Revolutionary Workers* were being sold, and distribution networks were being set up. But when measured up against the urgent needs of the fast developing objective situation, the opportunities this poses, and, as an expression of that, the Party's call for distributing 100,000 papers each week by the end of September—no one was satisfied with our results. What was to be done to change this? A team of us that sell the paper regularly took this up.

At first, our opinion was that it was our inability to agitate around particular articles which was hindering our sales. So, initially, there was quite a bit of struggle to sharpen up our agitation. While we did study the articles more carefully in order to do this—and this was good—still our agitation proved not to be the key contradiction. Sales did not increase significantly. So we studied, and tried to sum up some more.

First off, it is the Party's line that a newspaper plays a far more important role in the revolution than to be a prop held up to aid somebody in their verbal agitation. And, secondly, on studying the *RW*, including the various descriptions it has run of Bolshevik revolutionary work, it became clear that the big majority of distributors should not be agitators, that verbal agitation was itself a specific task, in which a relatively few people had to be trained in order to do it well—to have a real impact on people, especially in "hot" circumstances.

Going deeper into our summation we discovered that what had been holding back our sales was that we had not really been coming to grips with some of the key questions of the Party's basic line on the situation today, the possibility of revolution and the role of communists.

We had to get a clearer understanding of the whole process of revolution and the role of the newspaper in that. Why was revolution really possible in the coming decade? And based on this assessment of the objective situation, how can we, as the Chairman put it, "come from behind," to make it. This was the key contradiction and closely linked with it was the question of whether or not people firmly grasped the central task of the Party, "Create public opinion... Seize power" and the central role of a newspaper in that today.

When we zeroed in on this contradiction, struggle soon broke out—struggle that dramatically pushed things forward. The question of how urgent is it that we fight for every paper to get sold sharpened up how we saw what was going to be developing in the future, how events were accelerating in the world and the necessity for us to come from behind and vigorously carry out revolutionary agitation and propaganda so that we'll be in the best possible position when the time is ripe. What came out on the side of the wrong line was some pretty strong remnants of economism which says that we have to give something more concrete to the masses to grab hold of and that a newspaper doesn't fulfill their immediate interests. Lacking a revolutionary vision, this view fed some tendencies to think of distributing the newspaper as some kind of "aimless task." As this struggle jumped off someone doing youth work even said, "We must primarily train these youth concretely by them being with us when the police and reactionaries come at us so we're not always alone putting our ass on the line." This misses the point that it is a newspaper through which people are mainly trained—and that more than that, it trains them for a

higher purpose than just defense—it trains them for revolution.

A lot of this evolutionary, step by step, thinking was taken on with the Party's line that big storms are on the horizon and this paper can arouse indignation and anger amongst the masses, raise their understanding and give direction to all the outbursts and minor crises that are erupting and bound to erupt still more. How else could we spread the Party's line and influence broadly when giant forces—like the "minor crises" around Iran or the draft—are pulling people into motion? We got down on the question posed in the Party's 1979 Central Committee report "Do we really understand, for example—and just to take a somewhat arbitrary number—that whether or not a thousand networks of the *Revolutionary Worker* are actually developed might be decisive in determining whether or not we can make revolution in this country in the next decade?"

The advanced who grasped that such work in this period could actually speed up the revolutionary process showed it in their practice. The best seller on our team who used to sell 40 a day went up to 60 and the average sellers went from 25 to 40.

We took up this struggle, too, in an area of our city which is mainly made up of foreign-born people, who speak and read their native language. The *RW* appears in this language, but there was struggle over how many we could really sell in this community, which boiled down basically to the same line questions as everywhere else. On the surface of it there was certainly a basis for the *RW* to be a big force there, and for mobilizing these workers and other revolutionary minded people in a way that would help influence others all over the city, and even further. The experience around May Day showed how true this is—during the Button Day campaign 250 buttons were sold in just two days in this area; and in some of the garment factories here, workers sewed a number of red flags for Red Flag/Internationale Day. There was sharp struggle among the paper sellers over the effect of May Day and whether it had actually created new ground to sell more papers. It was decided to pay particular attention to this area to help make a breakthrough for sales overall.

One particular line that arose here—and is related to how we see educating the masses, raising their consciousness in the storms of struggle and in the midst of the influences of many different political forces—was that the masses here were too dominated by the influence of revisionism (coming from the influence of revisionism in the home country) to come forward around a revolutionary line. In fact, while this posed some specific problems, overall the opposite was true. The masses here have some very big questions about how to sum up the experience of revolutions and their setbacks, and that's a tremendous basis for political struggle; along with that is the fact that many of the masses are immigrants and take an extra interest in following world affairs.

After this struggle, most of the sellers went out with a different orientation. Line struggle constantly flared up during the daily selling. Those who had a firmer grasp of the line acted as political sparkplugs; not only did their selling set the pace for the rest of the team, they constantly challenged each other about, "Did we start losing sight of the orientation provided by the Party's line?" In a certain sense, some "socialist competition" started, which further intensified the political atmosphere of selling. There were more debates with the masses—and debates among the masses. Even some sellers who before tended to see the selling as

an aimless task and a chore now began to feel that we are daily "making history."

As a result of this struggle, our sales in the city overall increased three-fold in one week, and the sales in the foreign-born area increased five or six times over what they were the week before. This was without the Party assigning all sorts of new forces, but instead relying on the political line and on the masses. Since that time, the sales in the foreign-born area have remained generally high, although the sales in the rest of the city have fallen back somewhat. All this makes clear is that the struggle proceeds through twists and turns, not a straight line, and that we have to persevere, go deeper and repeatedly struggle over these questions. One important point is that even when we made our big increase in sales, still we did not really take the basic questions of political line we were struggling over out to the masses, particularly the advanced people. The Party has many tools for doing just this—not only the paper itself, but also the pamphlet "Create Public Opinion... Seize Power," the Party Chairman's talk "Coming from Behind to Make Revolution," the *Draft Programme*, etc. The Party's basic line needs to be taken out to really meet the interests and requirements of the advanced workers, and to unleash their own activity. Although this is occurring in a somewhat different context, the point made in Comrade Avakian's talk before May First applies here, as well:

"So, especially with regard to the advanced workers—including those who have for some time, for various reasons, been more inclined toward a revolutionary position, but generally those

who more readily gravitate toward and tend to take up revolutionary agitation and propaganda—we have to struggle with them to understand our analysis of the objective situation and its possibilities. I believe that if they do not grasp that, we cannot win them to take up May Day—and not just to come out themselves, but to *build* for it. 'Cause why should they act? Why will they themselves be brought forward to act? Simply because they've always hated this system and would love to see it wiped away? No, by and large they are not yet acting politically, even spontaneously; although some are here and there, in general they are not yet acting politically—not only not in a politically conscious way, which of course they can't do without revolutionary leadership anyway, but not even by and large, (and certainly not on a large scale and intensely yet) they are not doing so spontaneously. Many people, especially among the more advanced, have been through a lot of struggle, and they have a lot of deep questions. They are not just going to come out and struggle, no matter what their sentiments might be, they are not going to come out in large numbers and in any kind of sustained way unless and until they see the possibility for it to make a real difference, to have a real effect on society, to actually contribute something important toward basic change, toward revolution."

What is said above about acting on May Day also applies to actively taking up the battle to expand the *RW*'s distribution.

We still need to make a big leap to achieve the goal of 100,000 but it is clear that by grasping and applying the Party's line, we will be able to rise to the demands history is placing on us. □



Selling the Revolutionary Worker to active-duty GI's: Here the police immediately swooped down on the scene, but many refused to be intimidated and bought the paper right under the nose of the bourgeoisie's enforcers.

1980 ELECTION BALLOT

Send one of these ballots to the Revolutionary Communist Party and we will find something dramatic to do with all of them together at election time. Keep the other one and think of something creative to do with it yourself on election day.

BALLOT



- DEMOCRATIC PARTY
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KEEP THIS ONE AND DO SOMETHING CREATIVE WITH IT YOURSELF ON ELECTION DAY.

A Naked Face of War Beneath a Veil of Reform

Continued from page 1

quadrennial effort to make sure they've got the political allegiance of the people stuffed away.

Historically both the Democrats and the Republicans have had a particular role to play for the bourgeoisie in this political process. The Democrats showed in New York that they had a slight edge over the Republicans in hawking their wares. Their convention had much more of the populist touch than the GOP. There was the standard deluge of demagoguery about the welfare of the common man, the working man and woman and endless talk of equal rights for all, blah, blah, blah. And of course there was the all new Teddy Kennedy show—as this pompous and unconvincing champion of the downtrodden barked out his old invitation to step right up on the bourgeoisie's merry-go-round. And there were many colorful little touches missing from the Republican show: the Democrats had twice as many extras, precisely half of these delegates were women and the reporters didn't have to search up and down the aisles to find Black delegates. There were Black political lackeys and poverty pimps by the score, from Andy Young, Maynard Jackson, Richard Hatcher, Coleman Young, and even a few cameo appearances by Mohammad Ali, and, of course, Jesse Jackson, who as usual threatened to walk out—this time unless his demand for the appointment of a Black presidential assistant at the White House was met. (Jesse undoubtedly would be glad to take such a

job.)

But all the demagogic trappings, best exemplified in Ted Kennedy's supposed tear-jerking speech before the convention in which he rehashed practically every time-worn cliché about helping the poor and helpless masses yearning to breathe free, etc., and all the concentration on jobs and the economy, civil rights, etc. actually was only the usual sop to those who have been enthralled and sucked into supporting the Democratic Party because of its traditional image as the party of the common people. All the haggling and debates over this and that two-bit reform or attack in the guise of a reform was only for the benefit of this misled crowd. More than anything else, behind the distracting shadow-boxing of open convention vs. closed convention and inflation vs. unemployment, the 1980 Democratic convention was a war convention. The bottom line for the Democrats was identical to that of the Republicans. And there is scarcely any difference in the essence of what both are running out even in the details.

In an unprecedented move, Carter dispatched a handwritten note that was handed out to the delegates during the debate on a minority plank on the MX missile. It was signed *Commander in Chief of the American Armed Forces*, and read in part:

"It is crucial that our strategic nuclear forces not be vulnerable to a pre-emptive Soviet attack. The MX missile system is our optimum means of

meeting these vital goals.

"We Democrats must demonstrate to our nation and to the world that we are committed to defending our country..."

As the *New York Times* described it, "The Carter Administration rolled out its heavy artillery for the MX missile debate." Earlier in the convention, Senator Daniel Moynihan ran the basic war program of the Democrats. He spoke on behalf of the platform committee:

"The source of our concern is clear enough and open. The Soviet empire has entered a new period of expansion." At the expense of our empire, he might have added. "The United States gave the Soviet Union every opportunity to choose a different course... the Soviet response is known. So is ours. We had increased our defense efforts each of our four years in office, fixing a new direction only just begun in the final years of the previous (Ford's—*RW*) administration. In the long history of our republic there has never been in peace time such a reversal."

Reminding the delegates that it was the Democratic Party which held office during both world wars, Korea and most of Vietnam, Moynihan continued, "In this iron-hard, so often hateful century it is the Democratic Party which has time and again been called upon to face the reality of totalitarianism." And his obvious implication here is that the Democrats should be prepared for the occasion again.

Then getting down to the heart of the matter he continued, "The Trident Missile Submarine will soon be at sea; the MX missile is in full-scale engineering development; we will soon have some 3,000 Cruise missiles aboard our intercontinental bombers; we have more than 9,000 nuclear warheads aimed at the Soviet Union... we have com-

menced a wrenching review of the whole doctrine of deterrence." (Our emphasis—*RW*)

What Moynihan is referring to here is the series of presidential directives released to the press this week by Carter which represent new and more strident moves toward war by the U.S. Chief among these orders is Presidential Order No. 59 which directs the retargeting of U.S. missiles against Russian military targets (see article on front page).

Commenting with unusual candor on the strategic arms limitation talks (SALT), Moynihan said, "The present SALT Treaty is no more than a photograph of the facts; no arms treaty with the Soviets can be otherwise." In other words, SALT limits nothing. It only reports the present situation and the planned increases. And the Soviet Union will never agree to any real limitations on the arms race.

That leaves only one alternative, doesn't it? "From his exile in Gorky, Andre Sakharov appealed to us with blinding clarity and undiminished courage. Do not, he pleads, fail mankind in this matter." And what has been the appeal of Sakharov, a rabid reactionary? Sakharov has made repeated warnings that the Soviet Union will never give up its quest for world domination, that it grows stronger every year, and that the U.S. must exterminate the Soviet Union before it is too late. (And please get me out of Gorky A.S.A.P.)

Finally, in relation to Iran, Moynihan spewed forth his special venom: "It is no doubt something to be the newest tyranny on earth, it is something else to be the oldest constitutional democracy. We did not become such because we are a soft nation, we will not be made a victim of our decency. This is

Continued on page 9

"They Don't Mind Us Here," Says Navy U.S. Invades Vieques . . . Again

A little more than a month ago the fishing island of Vieques, Puerto Rico, was once again turned into a target range for the guns and bombs of the U.S. Navy. Every year since 1975, Vieques, which is inhabited by nearly 10,000 people, has been used as a testing grounds for bombing during annual Navy maneuvers. This year, the Viequeses were treated to both the usual large-scale naval "gunfire support" maneuvers and a secret set of maneuvers, code named Operation Universal Trek. Maneuvers began on July 12 and involved about 20,000 troops, ships and helicopters mainly from the U.S., but also Brazil, Venezuela, Canada, Holland and others. This year saw "invasion practice"—troop landings from helicopters. For about two weeks planes and naval artillery saturated the island with bombs while naval observers radioed back how close to pre-determined targets they were hitting. This first set of maneuvers amounted to two weeks of literal target practice.

A second set of maneuvers were secret exercises involving approximately 2500 U.S. soldiers, sailors and marines. They began immediately after the first set had ended and entailed parachuting army personnel onto the western edge of the island in both civilian areas as well as an area occupied by a naval base. The stated purpose of these maneuvers (and an apt explanation for the code name) was "to practice recapturing key U.S. facilities."

By August 1, the maneuvers were over and the Navy has since declared them successful. For the Viequeses, who depend on fishing for their livelihood, these recent maneuvers totally destroyed the southern and south eastern beaches and also demolished 610 of their fishing traps (this was the highest number of traps ever destroyed by anything in the history of Vieques). Moreover, during the course of the maneuvers, the fishing potential in the area was reduced by 90%.

No problem, said the Navy when confronted by *RW* reporters. Noted a Navy spokesman: "There's a very small number of people, a very small percentage of the population who protest our presence and our maneuvers. The vast majority of people don't mind us being there. That's because we've been in the area since World War 2 and we don't cause an uproar."

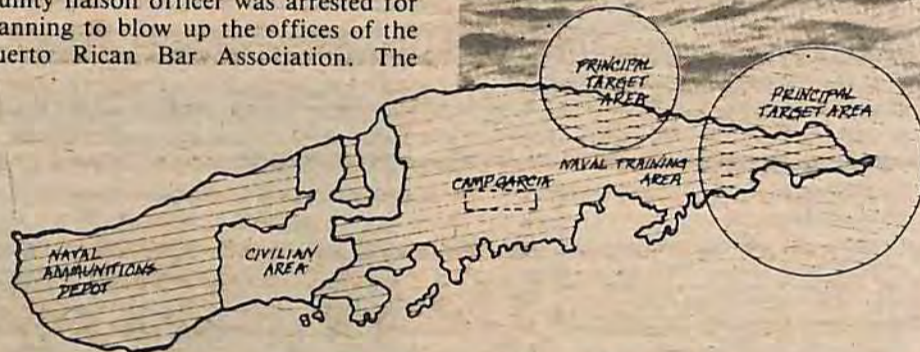
If the Pentagon wishes to change the name of its naval anthem "Anchors Aweigh" to something like "We Love the U.S. Navy," it is free to do so—but it's unlikely that many Puerto Ricans will want to sing along. They don't love their island being blown to bits year after year; they don't love their means of livelihood being destroyed; don't love U.S. imperialism, in fact, they hate it—and in particular, they hate the U.S. Navy.

Ample testimony to this is the years-long struggle of the people of Vieques. Last year this struggle resulted in the U.S. having to pull off an armed invasion and seizure of the beach, beating, arresting and jailing demonstrators. One of those jailed was later killed. (See *RW*, No.30) And the Navy tried to officially ban the Viequeses from their island before the "war games" started.

But throughout this year the Navy has gone to great lengths to cover up the nature of their activities on Vieques, and to create favorable public opinion about them. At the same time, the Navy has clandestinely tried to sabotage and smash the struggle of the Viequeses. In January of this year the Navy's community liaison officer was arrested for planning to blow up the offices of the Puerto Rican Bar Association. The

liaison officer was hurriedly tried and acquitted in June of this year due to the fact that other higher Navy officials were being implicated in the course of this trial. One example of this was a Navy officer who testified that he had been ordered to plant explosives on the beach to prevent demonstrators from disrupting the maneuvers.

In May of this year, the Navy tried a much more subtle approach. An undercover naval officer was dispatched to mingle among the Viequeses and build support for the U.S. Navy. His first attempt to do this was a speaking engagement before a group of high school students. When he arrived at the school, he found the Vieques Fishermen's Association holding a rally



outside the high school. The Navy's pep rally turned out to be a flop as many of the high school students left the school and joined the fishermen's rally. While the fishermen exposed the Navy's schemes, the Navy resorted to a couple more ridiculous and desperate attempts at building a favorable image, including a concert by the Navy band and the offer of a free day-long tour of the U.S. Naval Base with free hot dogs, hamburgers and soda pop. Needless to say, even these foolish little schemes were met with the angry hatred of the Viequeses and were blocked by demonstrators. And although this year's maneuvers were not interrupted by the fishermen, primarily because they received word ahead of time that

special troops, boats and federal marshalls were ready and prepared to swoop down and immediately arrest them, the Viequeses have vowed to continue their struggle and in fact did stage small demonstrations at the Governor of Puerto Rico's office.

Vieques is, according to the Navy, "a most beneficial range" because it is the only base of its kind near the Atlantic Ocean. But its real benefits go beyond its upfront use as a target range. The annual military maneuvers have taken on a whole new importance as "muscle flexers" in light of the stepped up U.S.-Soviet contention in the entire Caribbean Sea area as well as attempts at intimidating the masses of people in this politically volatile backyard of U.S. imperialism.

For the Viequeses and for the masses of Puerto Rican people as a whole for whom Vieques has become a battle cry, Vieques has come to symbolize their hatred for and determination to end the oppression and domination of U.S. imperialism. □

Nuclear Arsenal

Continued from page 1

In case there's any who might think that this new U.S. policy marks a basic change in the intentions of the U.S. rulers, Secretary of Defense Harold Brown made it perfectly clear that it was not "a major break with past policies"—in other words, the U.S. has always been prepared to wage nuclear war if necessary, even under the old concept of MAD. The new strategy, said Brown, is an "evolutionary development" and "the U.S. has long included in its plans effective and comprehensive coverage of military and control targets." Indeed, this latest directive has its roots in a war plan formulated during the Ford administration in 1976—national security decision memorandum 242—which initially called for a greater emphasis on Soviet military and war-related targets. But if anyone is entertaining the notion that the latest shift from all out destruction of civilian population centers to knocking out "selective" political and military targets will somehow exempt millions of people from nuclear holocaust, they had better think again. These political and military centers in both superpowers are for the most part—where else?—in or near big cities

like New York and Moscow.

By early 1978, Leo Sloss, a State Department aide, under orders from Brown, organized small teams to develop nuclear strategies along these lines. This research gave birth to the MX missile, which the bourgeoisie approved in 1979, and which is designed to escape a Soviet first strike due to its mobility as well as being accurate enough to single out Soviet installations for direct hits. The MX is slated for deployment in the late 1980s. But what about now? The bourgeoisie's answer came in an announcement in August 1979. For the first time in 20 years the U.S. would deploy missiles on European soil aimed at the Soviet Union. The ground launched cruise missiles and Pershing ballistic missiles are not covered by SALT because they are not "strategic," (i.e. inter-continental) and would give the U.S. first strike capabilities within a 1500-mile radius, as well as countering the Soviet buildup of SS. 20 missiles and backfire bombers targeted for Europe.

What all this boils down to is that the U.S. imperialists are making concrete plans for waging war in today's conditions, which have drastically changed

since the U.S. was the undisputed top-dog imperialist power in the world. In the '60s, the U.S. could rely on its superior conventional military forces while MAD was designed to prevent the Soviets from getting any ideas about "going for broke" and to hold America's more highly developed nuclear arsenal over the Soviets' heads. But now Soviet nuclear capabilities are on par with the U.S. and their conventional forces poised at the heart of Europe (the main focus and most coveted prize of superpower contention) outnumber NATO two to one—and with very efficient supply lines. Similarly the Soviets could move quickly into the oil-rich countries of the Middle East (as they proved in Afghanistan). U.S. defense analysts are crying that it would take a full month to get enough conventional U.S. troops in place to counter a full-scale Soviet thrust, particularly in Europe—not to mention the problems of supplying them from halfway around the world.

The impact of these strategic changes was revealed by Rep. Jack Edwards last May when he commented on secret testimony by military experts given before a House defense subcommittee that led him to the conclusion that "the Soviets could 'out-ait' us in a conventional war." Edwards said: "If we go to war in central Europe and the Soviets

come out with all their tanks, planes and men, we're not going to have but one alternative—to fire tactical nuclear weapons. And in the Persian Gulf, we'd have to bring out tactical nukes there, too... It's the only way we'd win." Edwards went on to point out that the only way the U.S. could defeat the Soviets in a conventional war would be "to resort to the use of nuclear weapons—not as an option, but as the sole means of waging successful warfare." And if the U.S. decides to initiate the use of nukes in such a situation, tactical or otherwise, they know they damn well better be able to "go for broke" themselves and knock out Soviet military targets and missile silos with reliable accuracy before the Soviets can respond in kind, since the Soviets do not make a distinction between "tactical" and "strategic" nuclear weapons, as far as their response.

Of course for such an important announcement as Presidential Directive No. 59, a little public furor was in order to pretend that under bourgeois democracy there is room for argument and debate on such questions as nuclear strategy. After Democrat Carter made the announcement, Republican Henry Kissinger piously declared that "I do not believe the middle of an election campaign is the appropriate moment to an-

Continued on page 10

A New Job for Andy

The forthcoming retirement of Robert McNamara from his 11-year-old post as president of the World Bank has led to a careful search for a new leader for this gang of "respectable" robbers and rapists. According to an article in the international *Herald Tribune*, Andrew Young's name appears among those at the top of the list and in many circles he is the favorite to win.

The World Bank, consisting of the bank itself and its two affiliates, the International Development Association and the International Finance Corp., is a big part of an international economic network, set up and controlled by U.S. imperialists. It was founded in 1944 at the Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, meeting of the major capitalist countries. This was a meeting which reorganized the international economic system to regulate monetary activity and trade in a way that accurately

reflected the new division of the post World War 2 world—that is, with the U.S. on top. The meeting led to the formation of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and a new international economic structure of the world on the basis of the U.S. dollar. Throughout the years, the World Bank, as well as the IMF and other organizations, have served to grease the skids for U.S. imperialism's domination of other countries. Under the signboard of "humanitarian" aid and loans for "development," the bank has played a key role in the impoverishment, exploitation and oppression of scores of nations and literally hundreds of millions of people. The World Bank means imperialism, and all the more sharply so in the recent period of international imperialist economic crisis.

Of course, being the president of such an organization is no easy job,

especially under present conditions. In fact, one of the qualifications for the job is the ability to speak in words of pious concern "for the hideous conditions of the world's poor." The right man for the job must be moved to words of compassion for people living in conditions where, as McNamara stated in a 1979 speech, "Now nutrition saps their energy, stunts their bodies, shortens their lives. Illiteracy darkens their minds and closes their futures, preventable diseases maim and kill their children. Squalor and ugliness poison their surroundings." Yes, he must be able to spout these words of "compassion" as he at the same time ruthlessly leads one of the key tools of the system that causes and enforces these conditions.

For a while, it looked like Andy Young faced some stiff competition for the job. Edward Heath, former Prime

Minister of Great Britain was also in the running. While Heath let it be known that he would much rather become head of NATO than president of the World Bank, Andy's particular qualifications as an "oppressed American" who made it to the big time but can still "relate to the Third World and their problems" may make him a shoo-in.

Already he has the backing of some of the world's financial heavies, including James Grant, Executive Director of UNICEF and Pierre-Paul Schweitzer, the former managing director of the IMF, as well as most of the executive directors of the World Bank itself. They are positive that "uncle Andy" has more than proven his qualifications. And Young's long career in the service of the U.S. rulers, whether in the civil rights movement, the United Nations or on his own, proved them right beyond a shadow of a doubt. □

Imperialist "Equality" of Language "Speak English!"

Years ago (actually only a few years ago) school children who spoke anything but English had it beaten out of them. Spanish-speaking students in the Southwest, Asians in San Francisco or American Indians at federal schools, for instance, who were caught speaking their own language could expect a fast rap on the knuckles and maybe getting kicked out of school.

You might think that all this has changed in the last few years with the establishment of bilingual education programs in some areas, but it hasn't. The Department of Education issued guidelines Aug. 5 to "clarify" the purpose of such programs: "First, students must be taught English as quickly as possible. Second, they must not be permitted to fall behind their English-speaking classmates while they are learning English." In other words,

students can speak and learn their own language as much as they want as long as they can learn two languages as fast as other kids can learn one. If that turns out to be impossible, too bad. They'll be given periodic exams in English, and if they "fall behind their English-speaking classmates," well, they had their chance and blew it. Streets, here they come.

Due to the national liberation movements which swept the country in the 1960s, beating kids for speaking their own language became itself an exposure of national oppression. So more subtle methods (but no less brutal) of coercion were added. Even according to the federal government's own figures, only 60% of students whose language is not English get classes in their own language. But these figures are wrong and actually the vast majority are

denied such an education because of the lack of bilingual programs or pressure not to take them. How can it be said that the purpose of this set-up is anything but to rob them of their language, when so many millions leave school unable to read and write their own language, or English either?

These new federal guidelines for bi-

lingual education certainly have clarified matters—they've clarified even more where the ruling class stands on equality of languages, an important part, along with other forms of denial and suppression of language and culture, of beating back resistance and maintaining the national oppression on which imperialism thrives. □



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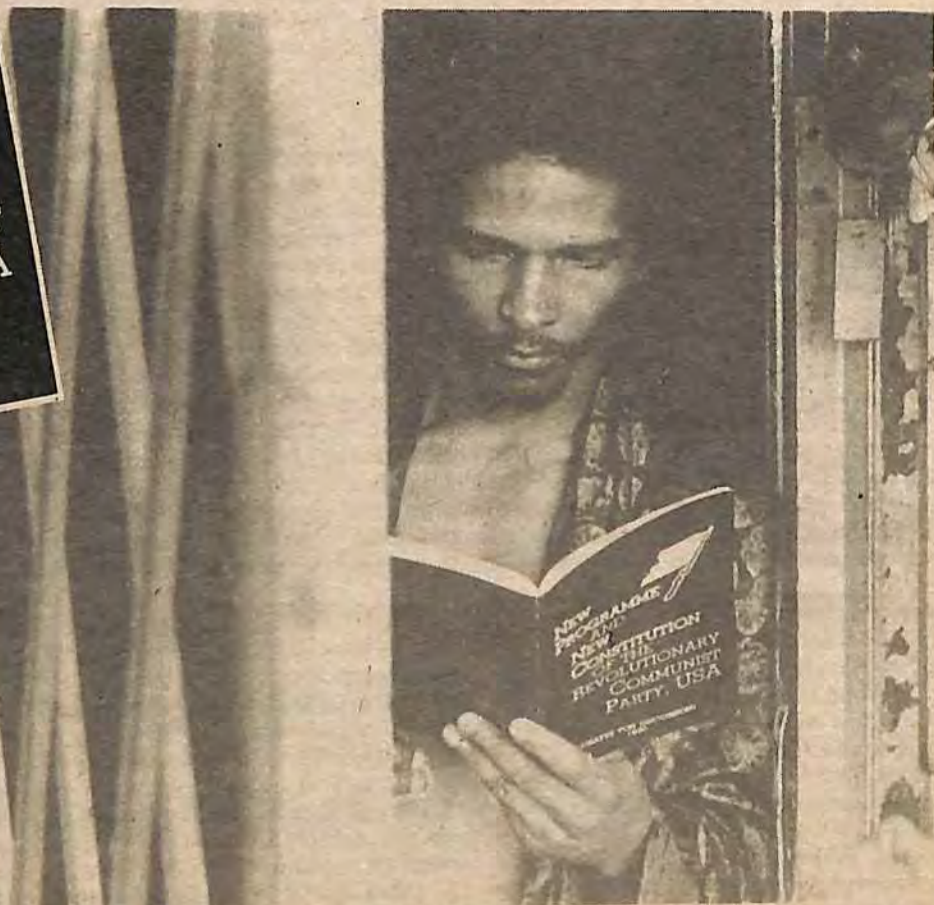
In a situation which is developing as rapidly as today's, the actions taken by the advanced section of the proletariat are of decisive importance. They will in no small part determine how far along we are and whether we are able to break through all the way when the conditions fully ripen and the opportunity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

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

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What Is To Be Done? Chapter 5

The Plan for an All-Russian Political Newspaper



V.I. Lenin

The Revolutionary Communist Party has announced a plan, and has made the call for people to step forward and assist—100,000 Revolutionary Worker newspapers to be distributed each week, on a sustained and ongoing basis, by the end of September. We have done so because this newspaper is the main weapon in our hands today in preparing later to capture the fortress. Why is this so? How can such a paper, and the common efforts of class conscious workers and others around it, accomplish such miracles as this?

V.I. Lenin, the great leader of the Russian revolution, addressed just this question—for this was his line, the line that led the Russian revolutionaries of 1917. In 1902 Lenin wrote *What Is To Be Done?* While this book was written before the Bolshevik Party was actually forged, the political ideas it contains are very relevant today under our conditions. Throughout the book Lenin lays out the importance of broad political exposures, or creating public opinion. In Chapter 5, which we are reprinting here, he speaks especially to the role of a national newspaper as a “collective organizer” around which a regular army of fighters would systematically gather, become trained and build up strength for the revolution. The first two sections of the chapter were reprinted in last week’s RW and the final section appears below.

C. WHAT TYPE OF ORGANIZATION DO WE REQUIRE?

From what has been said the reader will see that our “tactics-as-a-plan” consists in rejecting an immediate call for attack, in demanding “a regular siege of the enemy fortress,” or in other words, in demanding that all efforts be directed towards gathering, organizing and mobilizing permanent troops. When we ridiculed the *Rabocheye Dyelo* for its leap from Economism to shouting for an attack (for which it clamoured in April 1901, in the *Listok Rabochevo Dyela*, No. 6), it of course came down on us with accusations of being “doctrinaire,” of failing to understand our revolutionary duty, of calling for caution, etc. Of course we were not in the least surprised to hear these accusations coming from those who totally lack principles and who evade all arguments by references to a profound “tactics-as-a-process,” any more than we were surprised by the fact that these accusations were repeated by Nadezhdin (a theoretician of excitative terror—RW), who in general has a supreme contempt for durable programs and the fundamentals of tactics.

It is said that history does not repeat itself. But Nadezhdin is exerting every effort to cause it to repeat itself and he zealously imitates Tkachov in strongly condemning “revolutionary culturism,” in shouting about “sounding the tocsin,” about a special “eve-of-the-revolution point of view,” etc. Apparently, he has forgotten the well-known maxim that while an original historical event represents a tragedy, the copy of it is only a farce. The attempt to seize power, which had been prepared by the preaching of Tkachov and carried out by means of the “terrifying” terror which did really terrify, was majestic, but the “excitative” terror of a little Tkachov is simply ridiculous and is particularly ridiculous when supplemented by the idea of an organization of average workers.

“If the *Iskra* would only emerge from its sphere of literariness,” wrote Nadezhdin, “it would realize that these (instances like the worker’s letter to the *Iskra*, No. 7, etc.) are symptoms of the fact that soon, very soon that ‘attack’ will commence, and to speak now

(sic!) of an organization linked up with an all-Russian newspaper means propagating armchair ideas and armchair work.” What an unimaginable muddle: on the one hand excitative terror and an “organization of average workers” along with the opinion that it is far “easier” to gather around something “more concrete,” like a local newspaper—and on the other hand, the view to talk “now” about an all-Russian organization means propagating armchair thoughts, or, to put it plainly and bluntly, “now” is already too late! But what about the “extensive organization of local newspapers”—is it not too late for that, my dear L. Nadezhdin? And compare with this the *Iskra*’s point of view and tactics: excitative terror—is nonsense; to talk about an organization of average workers and about the extensive publication of local newspapers means opening the door wide to Economism. We must speak about a single all-Russian organization of revolutionaries, and it will never be too late to talk about that until the real, and not paper, attack commences.

“Yes, as far as organization is concerned the situation is anything but brilliant,” continues Nadezhdin. “Yes, the *Iskra* is absolutely right when it says that the mass of our military forces consists of volunteers and insurgents. . . . You do well to give such a sober picture of the state of our forces. But why, at the same time, do you forget that the crowd is not ours at all, and consequently, it will not ask us when to commence military operations, it will simply go and ‘rebel’ When the crowd itself breaks out with its elemental destructive force it may overwhelm and brush aside the ‘regular troops’ among whom we had been preparing all the time to introduce the extremely systematic organization, but had never managed to do so.” (Our italics.)

Astonishing logic! Precisely because the “crowd is not ours,” it is stupid and unseemly to shout about “attack” this very minute, because an attack means assault by regular troops and not a spontaneous outburst of the crowd. It is precisely because the crowd may overwhelm and brush aside the regular troops that we must without fail “manage to keep up” with the spontaneous upsurge by our work of “introducing extremely systematic organization” among the regular troops, for the more we “manage” to introduce such organization the more probable will it be that the regular troops will not be overwhelmed by the crowd, but will take their place in front at the head of the crowd. Nadezhdin is confused because he imagines that troops, which are being systematically organized, are engaged in something that isolates them from the crowd, when as a matter of fact they are engaged exclusively in all-sided and all-embracing political agitation, i.e., precisely in work that brings closer and merges into a single whole the elemental destructive force of the crowd and the conscious destructive force of the organization of revolutionaries. You, gentlemen, wish to lay the blame where it does not belong. For it is precisely the *Svoboda* group that, by including terror in its program, calls for an organization of terrorists, and such an organization would indeed prevent our troops from coming closer to the crowd, which, unfortunately, is still not ours, and which, unfortunately, does not yet ask us, or rarely asks us when and how to commence military operations.

“We will miss the revolution itself,” continues Nadezhdin in his attempt to scare the *Iskra*, “in the same way as we missed the recent events which came upon us like a bolt from the blue.” This sentence taken

in connection with the one quoted above clearly demonstrates the absurdity of the “eve-of-the-revolution point of view” specially invented by the *Svoboda*.* To put it candidly, this special “point of view” boils down to this: it is too late “now” to discuss and prepare. If that is the case, oh most worthy opponent of “literariness,” what was the use of writing a pamphlet of 132 pages on “questions of theory** and tactics”? Don’t you think it would have been more becoming for “the eve-of-the-revolution point of view” to have issued 132,000 leaflets containing the brief call: “Beat them up”?

Those who make nation-wide political agitation the cornerstone of their program, their tactics and their organizational work as the *Iskra* does, stand in least risk of missing the revolution. The people who were engaged over the whole of Russia in spinning the network of organizations linked up with an all-Russian newspaper not only did not miss the spring events, but, on the contrary, enabled us to foretell them. Nor did they miss the demonstrations that were described in the *Iskra*, Nos. 13 and 14; on the contrary, they took part in those demonstrations, clearly appreciating their duty of coming to the aid of the spontaneously rising crowd and, at the same time, through the medium of the newspaper, helping all the comrades in Russia to become more closely acquainted with the demonstrations and to utilize their experience. And if they live they will not miss the revolution which first and foremost will demand of us experience in agitation, ability to support (in a Social-Democratic manner) every protest, ability to direct the spontaneous movement, while safeguarding it from the mistakes of friends and the traps of enemies!

We have thus come to the last reason that compels us so strongly to insist upon a plan of organization centred around an all-Russian newspaper, by means of joint work for a common newspaper. Only such organization will ensure the flexibility required of a militant Social-Democratic organization, i.e., the ability to adapt itself immediately to the most diverse and rapidly changing conditions of struggle, the ability, “on the one hand, to avoid open battle with an enemy of overwhelming strength when he has concentrated all his forces at one spot and, on the other, to be able to take advantage of the awkwardness of this enemy and

Continued on page 12

* *The Eve of Revolution*, p. 62.

**In his *Review of Questions of Theory*, L. Nadezhdin, by the way, made almost no contribution whatever to the discussion of questions of theory apart, perhaps, from the following passage, which is a very peculiar one from the “eve-of-the-revolution point of view”: “Bernsteinism, on the whole, is losing its acuteness for us at the present moment, as also is the question as to whether Mr. Adamovich has proved that Mr. Struve has already deserved distinction, or on the contrary whether Mr. Struve will refute Mr. Adamovich and will refuse to resign—it really makes no difference, because the hour of revolution has struck.” (P. 110.) One can hardly imagine a more striking illustration of L. Nadezhdin’s infinite disregard for theory. We have proclaimed “the eve of the revolution,” therefore “it really makes no difference” whether the orthodoxians will succeed in finally driving the critics from their positions or not!! And our wiseacre fails to see that it is precisely during the revolution that we shall stand in need of the results of our theoretical battles with the critics in order to be able resolutely to combat their practical positions!

Shot by Vigilantes

Black Youths' Blood Runs in Cincinnati Streets

A sticky hot Sunday, August 10th in "Over the Rhine," the integrated inner-city section of Cincinnati. Old men sit in paint-peeling doorways, kids run through alleys littered with empty beer cans and used syringes. Everyone's out on the street, trying to get away from the oven heat of the rotting red brick tenements.

"Bit" Charles and 8 or 9 other Black youth stand around on the corner at 14th and Walnut. As usual. Nowhere else to go but wino park and the white owners run them out of the pool rooms. A blue Chevy rounds the corner. Three white men in it. "Nigger!" they yell.

The Chevy comes around the block again, pulls to a dead stop. "I got something to keep you all off the streets." One of the men in the car fires

off a .38 right at this crowd. Alan Pinkston falls down into the gutter. He lies dead in a pool of his own blood at age 17. "Bit," 26, slumped in the hallway, wounded in the shoulder.

People come running from all directions. Cops who suddenly appear are too busy trying to get the crowd to disperse, too intent on yanking Alan's mother off her dead son's body, to notice that the blue Chevy has circled the block a third time. "There they are!" a youth calls out. The cop puts the three in a squad car. No rough stuff. People surround the car shaking it. "Get away now boys, we'll take care of them," the cop says.

The shooting was the second of its kind in less than 2 months in Cincinnati: in June two Black teenagers gun-

ned down on the eve of a widely publicized Klan rally in a nearby town. Despite many tips and evidence, the cops somehow fail to turn up the killers.

Are things going to go on and on this way? The media says it's "just part of everyday life in Over the Rhine." The mayor and some of the city's human relations commission come the following night to take a "peace stroll" around the area.

But the stroll turns into a run as Mayor Blackwell flees to his car with shouts of "Black flunkie!" and "Remember Miami!" ringing in his ears. And the press has to do some fancy footwork to avoid taking pictures of the *Revolutionary Worker* in people's hands and red flags circulating throughout the crowd.

A woman whose son was grazed by a bullet took her own little stroll—up to Blackwell's face. "Alan's blood runs in the gutter while you sit up there with

your white capitalist friends... This whole system stinks and you're part of it. I stand with the RCP and we're gonna bring it down." This woman, a regular distributor of the *RW*, had written up a leaflet the night of the attack and called for a protest march the next day. Her phone has been ringing off the wall. People from all over the city, outraged and wanting to act.

As the mayor flees, the human relations squad buzzes through the crowd. "We've got to keep cool," they say, trying to sign people up for committees to investigate problems. "We don't need a committee. We need to get out from under this mess," yells one white woman.

"We don't need that revolution stuff. We want peace down here," say the human relations flunkies. "What peace?" yells one youth. "The kind we had here Sunday? Ask Alan about it!"

Says another: "Alan was going to join the Marines today to fight for his country and they gunned him right down in the gutter last night."

And he adds: "The revolutionaries are right!"

Cynthia O'Donnell ran as fast as she could. But it wasn't fast enough. 25 bullets were pumped into her body as she lay beneath the Clay Wade Bridge in Covington, Kentucky. Her murderer was Thomas O'Donnell, her ex-husband. That same night, February 21, 1980, O'Donnell turned himself and the two murder weapons (a .38 automatic and a .357 revolver) over to a local priest who called the police. O'Donnell was charged with murder but instead of being thrown in jail, he was committed to Emerson North, a Cincinnati psychiatric facility. You see, Thomas O'Donnell was a Covington city cop, "with a fine record on the force."

And it was a record that was not going to be soiled by the murder of a mere woman. The same night as the brutal murder, O'Donnell was examined by psychiatrist Charles Feuss, who claimed that he was suffering from "psychosis" and a "severe loss of contact with reality." His eyes were bulging, he was sweating, and his body was trembling. The most graphic symptom was that one half of his face was completely white, colorless, like it was cold in the room, while the other half was so red that it appeared sunburned. Too bad all the psychotic gunslinging pigs aren't so easily identified.

Whether these were the actual symptoms or not, and whether they led this cop to commit the murder or were the results of his brutal actions (which later testimony from other psychiatrists raised serious questions about) was unclear. What was clear even in these few short hours after Cynthia O'Donnell's murder, was that the skids were already being greased for this pig to slide his ass to freedom. In fact, only days before he was brought to trial, on July 14, the State reduced O'Donnell's charges from first degree murder to manslaughter—due to "insufficient evidence." We suppose that if it had been 15 bullets instead of 25 Cynthia's death might have been ruled a suicide!

In fact, the final verdict of the trial wasn't too damn far from that. The defense, using the tack that O'Donnell was "temporarily insane" at the time, actually succeeded in putting Cynthia O'Donnell's lifestyle on trial and concluding that basically she brought the whole thing on herself—a tune that is commonly played whenever women are brutalized, raped, or murdered in this society. The whole trial, and the whole line of reasoning that the defense attorneys fought for, was another powerful illustration of women's oppression in a society that says women are just meat on the hoof to be ridden, broken and branded—and to be done with the way any piece of property is done with—as the owner sees fit.

Thomas O'Donnell maintained from the beginning to end that, "I was morally right in killing her and I feel no remorse for the deed." Defense attorneys paraded a series of witnesses that harped on the theme that O'Donnell was driven to it by his ex-wife. And

Murder of Ex-Wife Gets Court's Blessing

what was the "startling" evidence? It seems that Cynthia O'Donnell was majoring in art at Northern Kentucky University and smoked marijuana. These were the grounds that caused O'Donnell to call in juvenile officers to take their 7-year-old daughter Alia away from her mother for "neglect." And further, when Cynthia said that she was going to take Alia with her to California, it was enough to induce paranoia in O'Donnell that Alia was being persecuted by her mother and that he was the only one who could save her

"from a life of drug abuse and sexual perversion" (O'Donnell's own words).

At one point, another psychiatrist testified that O'Donnell knew full well what he was doing because if he was that out of touch with reality he wouldn't have felt the compulsion to carry out the murder. With that, the defense got a little shook up. They tried to cover that base by appealing to the court that if O'Donnell went to prison he would be killed there (obviously there were some prisoners who had some experience with O'Donnell's

brand of "psychosis"), and that if found guilty he should be put to work doing 5 years labor for charity as penance. But really there was little need to worry. On July 30, after 4 hours and 4 minutes, the jury found Thomas O'Donnell not guilty, basically concurring with the defense that he was driven "temporarily insane" by a drug-addict, promiscuous wife, bent on stealing his daughter away. And to show just how "temporary" all that "insanity" really was, the very next day, July 31, Circuit Court Judge Gillicee declared Thomas O'Donnell, "no longer in need of further hospitalization," and ordered him released from psychiatric custody. The next day he and his wife Karen, also a Covington cop, flew off for several weeks of vacation.



SUMMING UP THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

by Bob Avakian

"... in the final analysis, the reason for the destruction of the Black Panther Party as a revolutionary organization did not lie outside of it but inside of it. It lay not in the policies and vicious acts of repression that the government carried out—murder, harassment, jailing, hounding people out of the country—not in all that, though that played a crucial role, a vicious, crippling role—but fundamentally in the ideology and philosophy of the Black Panther Party, which ultimately determined how they responded to not only that repression, but how they responded to events in society as a whole." (from the pamphlet)

(Excerpts from a speech given in Cleveland, 1979, as part of a nationwide speaking tour.)

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Chicago P.D.'s Latest

The Murder of Richard Ramey

Sunday afternoon, July 6—the 35th St. elevated train platform in Chicago was crowded with baseball fans from nearby White Sox Park. A train creaked into the station. On board, three white plainclothes cops stalked through the cars. When they sighted Richard Ramey, a 51-year-old Black man, they immediately ordered him to stamp out his cigarette. When Ramey didn't respond fast enough with the required "Yassuh," this was more than these undercover thugs could tolerate. They started repeatedly punching Ramey in the chest and stomach, "jerking him all over, wrestling him from one side of the train to the other," as an eyewitness put it. When the train stopped, the pigs dragged Ramey onto the platform where they continued beating him. One pig kept shouting at the people on the platform, "I'm a police officer, keep moving! This is police business!" These two-legged beasts executed their "business" quite thoroughly—four hours later Richard Ramey lay dead. The cops had pummeled him to death, not stopping until they broke both his ankles, fractured a bone in his neck and inflicted multiple internal injuries. The autopsy report states that he died from shock resulting from "blunt trauma."

So what else is new? Isn't this standard operating procedure for the Chicago pigs, as for their counterparts in 100 other cities across the USA? The only difference is that it was maybe a little more brutal and more blatant than most—and that the Miami rebellion had erupted a scant six weeks previously.

That rebellion had been touched off by the failure of the "justice system" to indict another bunch of blatantly murdering cops. So this time in Chicago things are different. The cops are suspended a mere 4 days after the murder. A mayoral spokesman issues an assurance: "There is going to be a full and impartial inquiry into the incident surrounding the death of this man. We are all very much concerned." On July 22 the Illinois State's Attorney condemns the killing as "the most blatant use of excessive force I have ever

seen" and announces the indictment of the three for murder.

It's strange how all these officials have no knowledge of the way the cops always behave. Funny how they always refused to bring murder indictments against the pigs before. Like in the case of David Karpel, shot square in the forehead by a cop who supposedly slipped on the ice and "accidentally" fired his gun...or John Neumann, the 18-year-old white youth who ended his life face down with a bullet in his back and his hands cuffed behind him...or Wallace Davis, the Black man shattered by a cop's bullet and left for dead, but who lived to tell about it...or even the 29-year-old white man who was viciously beaten a few months ago by the same trio that killed Ramey. But now, as a Police Department spokesman explained, "There is wider publicity to stave off the feeling that nothing is being done. There is so much hostile feeling out there. We want to forestall another Miami." Indeed they do.

But at the same time, the way they're doing things here is not all that different. The pigs were easily sprung from jail on a \$25,000 bail "because they are police officers," the judge said, when the going rate is more like \$100,000 bail for a murder charge. And most recently, the pigs have learned that the wages of sin for murder is a higher-paying job! The city and Teamster boss Louis Peick (the Teamsters are trying to organize the Chicago police) arranged a slimy deal to install the killer cops in cushy jobs at McCormack Place, the city's huge exposition hall, so they can take a little paid vacation while on suspension from the police force. In other words: "It's fine to kill a Black man if you're a cop. (The same as always.) And if we're forced to make a show of prosecuting you, we'll make it up in other ways."

And conversely—if you're a cop and you don't go ahead and kill when you've got the chance, or if you expose your fellow thugs in blue, then you'll be punished. What other message could the Justice Dept. have intended when the first cop they indicted on federal



charges in the Miami murder of Arthur McDuffie was the one who did not participate in the beating and who, in fact, had turned state's evidence against the other pigs?

No doubt Richard Ramey's murderers will claim as their defense that they were only doing their job—and for once these dogs will be telling the truth.

Beating, killing and terrorizing the masses into submission to keep them under the boot of the bourgeoisie is indeed the job of the police. The generous reward already bestowed upon these pigs shows that the ruling class has every intention of letting their plainclothes executioners go free for a job well done. □

Face of War

Continued from page 4

not said in self-congratulation, but in fair warning."

Needless to say, it would indeed be difficult to describe this speech by Moynihan, Carter's acceptance speech, or the Democratic Party platform as holding out the olive branch of peace to the world.

The Democrats' foreign policy platform is in complete agreement with the Republican platform on all matters of substance. There are some tactical differences and slight differences in rhetoric and phraseology. For example, the Republicans are against draft registration now, favoring instead a draft when it is necessary, whereas the Democrats make a point of stating that registration is necessary now and that women should be signed up as well. The Democrats, although willy-nilly, stand by the SALT II treaty with the Soviet Union, while making clear their commitment to step up U.S. nuclear weapons production. (SALT is nothing but part of imperialist war preparations anyway.) The Republicans oppose the SALT II treaty, favoring a more straight-up declaration of U.S. intentions to step up preparations for WW3 without the facade of this agreement. Minute disagreements such as these are of little significance.

In fact, the only difference worth commenting on here is the different style and approach of the Democrats, whose chief usefulness to the bourgeoisie has been precisely their pitch to the

working class and oppressed people, their traditional demagoguery about reforms and improvements in the livelihood of the masses, while pushing unbridled chauvinism and support among the masses for U.S. imperialism's drive to remain the No. 1 oppressor and exploiter in the world.

Yep, the Democrats are supposed to be the Party of the People, while Republicans are known as the Party of Big Business. But increasingly for people in this country, both parties are seen as tools of the capitalists, serving the interests of the rich and offering the masses nothing but the empty promises of pompous politicians and the beating of war drums.

But what about the supposed night-and-day differences that exist between the economic policies and programs of the Republicans and the Democrats? These are said to be the real dividing line. The Democrats claim the mantle of Franklin D. Roosevelt, who, according to the capitalists' view of things, poured out a great abundance of social programs to benefit the poor and working people of this country. This is supposedly the party that fought for Civil Rights in the New Frontier of JFK and the Great Society of LBJ. We can't get into debunking here all this nonsense about these saviors of the masses and all their phony social reforms. We've already done that in numerous articles in the *RW*, as well as explaining in some detail why it was that the top-dog position of U.S. imperialism in those earlier periods made it possible to toss a few crumbs of concession and reform to the masses for a while. (See "Democrats: Imperialism's Party for the People," *RW* No. 66, August 8, 1980.) The point

is, now they can't. And this was reflected time and time again in the speeches and programs at both conventions. While the Republicans blabbered on and on about removing government restrictions from the free enterprise system and letting the private sector bloom unfettered—thereby supplying millions of jobs and prosperity for all, the Democrats pleaded that old solutions would not solve new problems (by that they meant that U.S. imperialism is not in a position to come across with a new round of New Deal-type programs). Carter's economic platform proposals emphasized fighting inflation by continuing to put the screws to the working class and the poor (they didn't say it exactly that way). They talked more in terms of curtailing costly government programs and evaluating the effectiveness of social services, while at the same time providing for the basic needs of the people, of course, of course. Even that great champion of the poor and downtrodden, Ted Kennedy, made a nod to this in his convention speech when he pointed out that "the poor are no longer in fashion." Both the Republican and the Democratic party programs put the emphasis on government spending in an area they agree to be of top priority: military spending for the necessary preparations to take on the Russians.

Despite all this, the Democratic convention was filled with the rhetoric of social reform, concern for the plight of the lowly and claims to uphold the legacy of FDR. So what? What were they going to do this convention—just get up and say, "Hey, American people, the crumbs are being cut off. We are in big trouble and we are gearing up

for war to deal with it. So line up and move out!" Now the Republicans, they came pretty close to saying it in so many words. But the Democrats couldn't do that. They still have an important role to play in appealing to the masses of people with visions of peace and prosperity. And it is here that Kennedy's role in particular comes in.

As a columnist in the *New York Times* explained: "Kennedy put some passion into a convention that had seemed almost detached. He made the delegates care. He aroused the old Democratic platform emotions, not only in Madison Square Garden but surely around the country." Or at least that's what the media did their damndest to try and convince us he did. At a time when the crisis of imperialism is throwing millions out of work and forcing wholesale cutbacks in social services, at a time when the loss of faith in the system and its politicians is shown in thousands opting out of the farce of elections, Ted Kennedy steps boldly forth, points to the sky and says, "There, there, can't you see it? There's the pie."

The very fact that the Kennedy program was so totally removed from the reality of the imperialist crisis seemed to give it an almost mystical appeal to his faithful rooters at the convention. He proposed the re-industrialization of America, the building of new plants to make America competitive again. He called for a complete system of national health care. There was a \$12 billion emergency jobs program. And—now here is a real reform—wage and price controls. Richard Nixon showed what a progressive piece of social legislation

Continued on page 12

Nuclear

Continued from page 5

nounce a new strategy for conducting nuclear operations, a subject of extraordinary delicacy and profound consequence to the Soviet Union, to our allies, and to our own people." Of course in its platform approved in Detroit last month, the Republicans, coming off Kissinger's "extraordinarily delicate" speech, in which he called for the U.S. to "end Soviet expansionism," had already made it clear that they thought the U.S. needed "a clear capability" to destroy missile silos and other military targets in the Soviet Union.

Then there was the cynical speculation in the *NY Times* that the Kennedy forces "would probably succeed in putting an anti-MX statement in the Democratic party platform." It was not particularly surprising though when the Democrats ended up with a statement which read, "The MX missile deployment will enhance the survivability of our land based ICBM force. Cruise missiles will modernize our strategic air deterrent and the new Trident Submarine, with a missile range of over 4000 miles, will both improve and help guarantee the invulnerability of our nuclear deterrent." Strategic Air Deterrent? The invulnerability of nuclear deterrence? Come on please, give us a break! It seems that the word "deterrent" has taken on a new definition. It's now an imperialist code word for attack capabilities.

EXACTLY!

All this only goes to prove that the timing of the announcement was quite appropriate for the imperialists and that their plans for waging and winning WW III are quite urgent and that they can't afford to wait and see which presidential puppet will be more eager to carry it out. Supposedly they didn't even wait to tell Muskie—but who cares? It only reaffirms that fundamental imperialist policy, especially their war plans, is not made by or cleared with this or that politician or Secretary of State but is instead hammered out by cabals of the top kings of the bourgeoisie, military leaders and their think-tank specialists in organizations and meetings, expressly for that purpose.

There was also the flap over NATO not being informed in advance of Carter's announcement as Brown supposedly rushed to "reassure the allies" that the U.S. has "no desire to fight a nuclear conflict." But the fact that the announcement of the new U.S. strategy appeared in the press before a formal message was sent to the NATO allies, far from being some kind of unilateral action, was more a reminder to NATO that the U.S. is determined to play its role as leader of the pack and that the time has come to get serious on the question of war and cut out the minor squabbling. In fact the *NY Times* reported a few days later that the U.S.'s European allies were not in the least surprised by the shift in American nuclear war strategy, nor were they inclined to raise any objections. Policy makers in several capitals said Brown had already outlined the change last June at a meeting of the Atlantic alliance's Nuclear Planning Group. "We feel we were properly kept in the picture by Sec'y. Brown's presentation then and even earlier," said one. "We certainly don't have the feeling that the Americans have sprung a surprise on us." Brown even used the occasion to send a note of "explanation" to the Allies which slyly exhorted them to beef up their military preparations even further for the future joint war efforts: "We all know, moreover, that the cleverest theory for us of nuclear weapons cannot eliminate the need for action by all of us to provide a more adequate conventional (emphasis ours—RW) component in our military capability for deterrence and defense."

All the imperialists' talk of "deterrence" however is wearing pretty thin these days, a rather transparent veneer covering over their real intention which has nothing to do with deterrence whatsoever, but instead with decisively winning a nuclear war. According to the *NY Times*, Defense Sec'y. Brown liked the new strategy because he "was interested in convincing the Soviet

Union that it could not gain an advantage by striking at American military targets. He was therefore attracted by the idea that the best way to do this was to threaten (emphasis ours—RW) the survival of Soviet leaders and military forces." What is this but typical gangster logic? Deterrence is clearly nothing more nor less than another "extraordinarily delicate" word which means being in the position to successfully wipe out your enemy—St. Valentine's Day style—before he wipes out you! The heights of this hypocrisy were revealed in a *NY Times* article following the release of Directive No. 59 which was headlined INTEREST IN ANTIBALLISTIC MISSILES, CURBED SINCE '72, REVIVING IN THE U.S. As the *Times* pointed out, the U.S.-Soviet treaty outlawing ABMs had been based on the assumption that "the best way to assure mutual deterrence is to leave both sides vulnerable to attack" (in fact, at the time it was deemed too expensive a venture by both superpowers). But now suddenly White House officials are suggesting that the use of ABMs to protect the MX or existing American land-based rockets against a first strike would be compatible with the new war strategy—or in White House officialese, a deterrent to the Soviets' deterrent against our deterrent first-strike capability!

The lengths which the imperialists will go to and the absurd double-think they are willing to engage in to justify the rising chorus that nuclear war is "thinkable" clearly knows no bounds. Take the following gem from an article in the current issue of the U.S. journal *Foreign Policy* entitled "VICTORY IS POSSIBLE" in which the author cynically plugs the new U.S. nuclear strategy by arguing that the old concept of MAD is thoroughly "immoral":

"Surely no one can be comfortable with the claim that a strategy that would kill millions of Soviet citizens and would invite a strategic response that could kill tens of millions of U.S. citizens would be politically and morally acceptable. However, it is worth recalling the six guidelines for the use of force provided by the 'just war' doctrine of the Catholic Church: Force can be used in a just cause; with a right intent; with a reasonable chance of success; in order that, if successful, its use offers a better future than would have been the case had it not been employed; to a degree proportional to the goals sought, or to the evil combated; and with the determination to spare non-combatants, when there is a reasonable chance of doing so.

"These guidelines carry a message for U.S. policy. Specifically, as long as nuclear threat is a part of the U.S. diplomatic arsenal and provided that threat reflects real operational intentions—it is not a total bluff—U.S. defense planners are obliged to think through the probable course of a nuclear war..." Obligated indeed—Thank goodness the U.S. imperialists have discovered that nuclear war can be "moral" after all, if they just think it through to its "logical" conclusion!

Two other directives that were released to the press along with Directive 59 also drive home the new posture of the U.S. in regard to nuclear war. Presidential Directive No. 53 is aimed at improving communications between the government and private industry during nuclear war. Discussions have already begun between government officials and American Telephone & Telegraph (AT&T) about moving to decentralize the nation's communication systems, the use of materials less sensitive to the effects of nuclear weapons, and about the redundancy (duplication) of systems to prevent total breakdown in the event of nuclear war and strikes on U.S. soil.

Presidential Directive No. 58, on the other hand, has to do with protecting U.S. leaders, both military and civilian, during World War 3. Because of the pinpoint accuracy of Soviet missiles, the U.S. imperialists have ruled out (or so they say) the idea of underground bunkers for the president and the various members of the ruling class. Instead, they have been developing "operation Kneecap," an airborne command post inside a Boeing 747 equipped with the most sophisticated electronic gear from which to direct the

war effort. Unfortunately the bourgeoisie has summed up that the ten minutes that it would take for a submarine launched nuclear missile to strike Washington, D.C. is not nearly enough time to evacuate key government personnel. No doubt everyone and their brother in the bourgeoisie is trying to get on the flight list for this command center. You can just imagine Jimmy Carter being pulled from a pressing engagement in the White House bathroom by SS men and being rushed to the middle of a Saigon-type evacuation scene at the helicopter pad—with all those drunken Senators streaming out of Capitol Building, kicking and clawing at each other as they try to get on board the "Kneecap" command plane.

This latest package of presidential directives only underscores the rapidly accelerating contention between the U.S. and Soviet rulers, each of which are quite ready and willing to unleash their arsenals of nuclear horror in their attempt to grab up the lion's share of the world's plunder, irregardless of who is the first to push the button. This will undoubtedly bring down incredible suffering on the world's people, but it will also bring forth tremendous opportunities and awaken millions to what

can and must be done. As Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the RCP, put it in a speech last year:

"We can't have any illusions thinking that this is going to be some nice clean marquis of Queensbury battle going on between two bloodsucking dinosaurs who are desperately trying to prolong their rule. And it is the whole imperialist system that produces all this rot and puss. We have to understand the nature of it. That they will stop at nothing to divide up the world... and if they have to kill off 200 or 300 million in this war to try and prolong their existence, then they will do it if they can... and for this war that's shaping up they are also directly responsible. They will be held accountable for all the suffering that they bring down, but nonetheless they cannot succeed in destroying the whole world and all the people in it. But even if they could blow up the whole world and all the people in it, there's nothing we can do in the face of such a prospect, except to make revolution. It still comes back to the same thing. All that we should do is once more intensify our determination to rise up and overthrow them and prevent them from doing that." (RW No. 5)

San Pedro Youth Put Cops on the Run

On a Sunday in early August, what started out as an ordinary day of baseball and basketball in Peck Park in San Pedro, California ended in an all-out battle between hundreds of Chicano, Black and Puerto Rican youth and the Los Angeles Police Department, with nine of L.A.'s finest ending up in the hospital. It seems some cops had come into the park, hassling people as usual. But the police became rather upset when they found that the youth would not react passively to attempts to arrest a young Chicano as a "burglary suspect". The "suspect" got away as the park filled with 60 Los Angeles police and all the county sheriffs within reach, police helicopters flying overhead. The pigs went in swinging, beating everyone they could get their hands on and arresting 15 people.

But things didn't go quite the way

they had planned. The youth responded with rocks and bottles, and cops were going down left and right. The battle raged for over an hour. That night, the radio news was in a frenzy over this "deplorable violence," (!) calling it a "gang war." Indicating just how badly the police were beaten, these same news stations haven't said a word about it since.

The LAPD certainly didn't forget it, though, as they went into a nearby project a week later to take out some revenge. Apparently hoping for an easier target than the youth in the park, they resorted to typically low-life attacks, including throwing an elderly woman off a second-story balcony! In response, the next day 250 Chicano youth marched to the local pigsty, demanding an end to the police brutality and harassment.

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Lenin speaking to the All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies in Petrograd, October 25, 1917, only hours after the revolutionary seizure of power.



“Democracy” and Dictatorship

The following is an article by V.I. Lenin which originally appeared in the newspaper *Pravda* in 1919. The question Lenin addresses—that of bourgeois democracy and proletarian dictatorship—was an extremely sharp one in the wake of the first imperialist war, the revolutionary crises produced by this war and the successful revolution fought by the working class in Russia under Lenin's leadership. The article can be found in Volume 28 of Lenin's *Collected Works*, along with others which stress the same general themes. The questions are highly relevant for us today.

The few numbers of the Berlin *Red Banner* and the Vienna *Call (Weckruf)*, organ of the Communist Party of German Austria, that have reached Moscow, show that the traitors to socialism—those who supported the war of the predatory imperialists—the Scheidemanns and Eberts, Austerlitzes and Renners—are getting the rebuff they deserve from the genuine representatives of the revolutionary workers of

Germany and Austria. We extend warm greetings to both papers, which epitomise the vitality and growth of the Third International.

Apparently the chief question of the revolution both in Germany and Austria now is: Constituent Assembly or Soviet government? The spokesmen of the bankrupt Second International, all the way from Scheidemann to Kautsky, stand for the first and describe their

stand as defence of “democracy” (Kautsky has even gone so far as to call it “pure democracy”) as distinct from dictatorship. In the pamphlet *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*, which has just come off the press in Moscow and Petrograd, I examine Kautsky's views in detail. I shall try briefly to give the substance of the point at issue, which has become the question of the day for all the advanced capitalist countries.

The Scheidemanns and Kautskys speak about “pure democracy” and “democracy” in general for the purpose of deceiving the people and concealing from them the *bourgeois* character of *present-day* democracy. Let the bourgeoisie continue to keep the entire apparatus of state power in their hands, let a handful of exploiters continue to use the former, bourgeois, state machine! Elections held in such circumstances are lauded by the bourgeoisie, for very good reasons, as being “free”, “equal”, “democratic” and “universal”. These words are designed to conceal the truth, to conceal the fact that the means of production and political power remain in the hands of the exploiters, and that therefore real freedom and real equality for the exploited, that is, for the vast majority of the population, are out of the question. It is profitable and indispensable for the bourgeoisie to conceal from the people the *bourgeois* character of modern democracy, to picture it as democracy in general or “pure democracy”, and the Scheidemanns and the Kautskys, repeating this, *in practice* abandon the standpoint of the proletariat and side with the bourgeoisie.

Marx and Engels in their last joint preface to the *Communist Manifesto* (in 1872) considered it necessary specially to warn the workers that the proletariat cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made (that is, the bourgeois) state machine and wield it for its own purpose, that it must smash it, break it up. The renegade Kautsky, who has written a special pamphlet entitled *The Dictatorship of the Proletariat*, concealed from the workers this most important Marxist truth, utterly distorted Marxism, and, quite obviously, the praise which Scheidemann and Co. showered on the pamphlet was fully

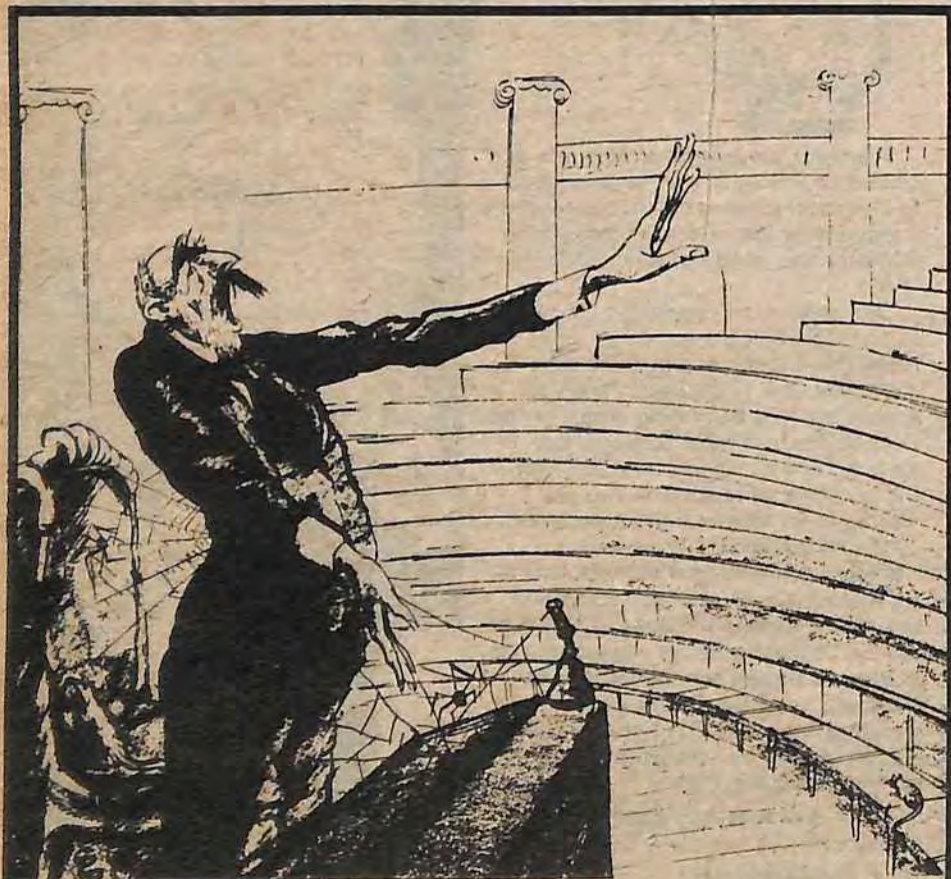
merited as praise by agents of the bourgeoisie for one switching to the side of the bourgeoisie.

It is sheer mockery of the working and exploited people to speak of pure democracy, of democracy in general, of equality, freedom and universal rights when the workers and all working people are ill-fed, ill-clad, ruined and worn out not only as a result of capitalist wage-slavery, but as a consequence of four years of predatory war, while the capitalists and profiteers remain in possession of the “property” usurped by them and the “ready-made” apparatus of state power. This is tantamount to trampling on the basic truths of Marxism which has taught the workers: you must take advantage of bourgeois democracy which, compared with feudalism, represents a great historical advance, but not for one minute must you forget the bourgeois character of this “democracy”, its historically conditional and limited character. Never share the “superstitious belief” in the “state” and never forget that the state even in the most democratic republic, and not only in a monarchy, is simply a machine for the suppression of one class by another.

The bourgeoisie are compelled to be hypocritical and to describe as “popular government” or democracy in general, or pure democracy, the (*bourgeois*) democratic republic which is, in practice, the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, the dictatorship of the exploiters over the working people. The Scheidemanns and Kautskys, the Austerlitzes and Renners (and now, to our regret, with the help of Friedrich Adler) fall in line with this falsehood and hypocrisy. But Marxists, Communists, expose this hypocrisy, and tell the workers and the working people in general this frank and straightforward truth: the democratic republic, the Constituent Assembly, general elections, etc., are, in practice, the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, and for the emancipation of labour from the yoke of capital there is no other way but to replace this dictatorship with the *dictatorship of the proletariat*.

The dictatorship of the proletariat alone can emancipate humanity from the oppression of capital, from the lies,

Continued on page 13



A Bolshevik cartoon from 1917, depicting a congress of the bourgeois Provisional Government shortly before it was overthrown, is titled “Gone Forever.”

The Plan

Continued from page 7

attack him whenever and wherever he least expects.*" It would be a grievous error indeed to build up the Party organization in anticipation only of outbreaks and street fighting, or only upon the "forward march of the drab everyday struggle." We must *always* conduct our everyday work and always be prepared for everything, because very frequently it is almost impossible to foresee when periods of outbreaks will give way to periods of calm. And in those cases when it is possible to do so, it will not be possible to utilize this foresight for the purpose of reconstructing our organization, because in an autocratic country these changes take place with astonishing rapidity, being sometimes connected with a single night raid by the tsarist janizaries. And the revolution itself must not by any means be regarded as a single act (as the Nadezhdins apparently imagine) but as a series of more or less powerful outbreaks rapidly alternating with periods of more or less intense calm. For that reason, the principal content of the activity of our Party organization, the focus of this activity, should be work that is possible and necessary in the period of the most powerful outbreaks as well as in the period of complete calm, namely, work of political agitation, linked up over the whole of Russia, illuminating all aspects of life and conducted among the broadest possible strata of the masses. But this work is *unthinkable* in contemporary Russia without an all-Russian newspaper, is-

sued very frequently. The organization which will form around this newspaper, an organization of its *co-laborators* (in the broad sense of the word, i.e., all those working for it), will be ready for *everything*, from upholding the honour, the prestige and continuity of the Party in periods of acute revolutionary "depression," to preparing for, fixing the time for and carrying out the *nation-wide armed insurrection*.

Indeed, picture to yourselves a very ordinary occurrence in Russia—the complete discovery and arrest of our organization in one or several localities. With *all* the local organizations lacking a *single*, common regular task, such raids frequently result in the interruption of our work for many months. If, however, all the local organizations had one common task, then, even in the event of a very serious raid, two or three energetic persons could in the course of a few weeks establish new youth circles, which, as is well known, spring up very quickly even now, and bring them into contact with the common centre. And when the common task, hampered by the raid, is apparent to all, new circles could come into being and make connections with the centre even more rapidly.

On the other hand, picture to yourselves a popular uprising. Probably everyone will now agree that we must think of this and prepare for it. But *how*? Surely the Central Committee cannot appoint agents to all localities for the purpose of preparing for the uprising! Even if we had a Central Committee it could achieve absolutely nothing by such appointments under present-day Russian conditions. But a network of agents** that would form in the course of establishing and distributing a common newspaper would not have

to "sit around and wait" for the call for an uprising, but could carry on the regular work that would guarantee the highest probability of success in the event of an uprising. Such work would strengthen our contacts with the broadest strata of the masses of the workers and with all those strata who are discontented with the autocracy, which is of such importance for an uprising. It is precisely such work that would serve to cultivate the ability properly to estimate the general political situation and, consequently, the ability to select the proper moment for the uprising. It is precisely such work that would train *all* local organizations to respond simultaneously to one and the same political questions, incidents and events that agitate the whole of Russia, to react to these "incidents" in the most vigorous, uniform and expedient manner possible; for an uprising is in essence the most vigorous, most uniform and most expedient "reaction" of the whole of the people to the conduct of the government. And lastly, it is precisely such work that would train all revolutionary organizations throughout Russia to maintain the most continuous, and at the same time the most secret, contact with each other, thus creating *real* Party unity—for without such contacts it will be impossible collectively to discuss the plan of the uprising and take the necessary preparatory measures on the eve of it, which must be kept in the strictest secrecy.

In a word, the "plan for an all-Russian political newspaper," far from representing the fruits of the labour of armchair workers, infected with dogmatism and literariness (as it seemed to those who gave but little thought to it), is a most practical plan for immediate and all-round preparations for the uprising, while at the same time never for a moment forgetting our ordinary, everyday work.

NOTES

1. Lenin refers here to the following passage in Marx's *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*: "Hegel remarks somewhere that all facts and personages of great importance in world history occur, as it were, twice. He forgot to add: the first time as tragedy, the second as farce." (Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1951, Vol. I, p. 225.)
2. *Janizaries*—elite rifle troops of the Ottoman Empire, abolished in 1826. The Janizaries were known for their plunder of the population and wanton brutality. Lenin uses the term to describe the tsarist police.

* *Iskra*, No. 4, "Where To Begin?" "Revolutionary culturists, who do not accept the eve-of-the-revolution point of view, are not in the least perturbed by the prospect of working for a long period of time," writes Nadezhdin. (P. 62.) To this we shall remark: unless we are able to devise political tactics and an organizational plan designed for *work over a very long period* and at the same time, *by the very process of this work*, ensure our Party's readiness to be at its post and fulfil its duty in every contingency whenever the march of events is accelerated, we shall prove to be but miserable political adventurers. Only Nadezhdin, who began to describe himself as a Social-Democrat but yesterday, can forget that the aim of Social-Democracy is radically to transform the conditions of life of the whole of humanity and that for that reason it is not permissible for a Social-Democrat to be "perturbed" by the question of the duration of the work.

** Alas, alas! Again I have let slip that awful word "agents" which jars so much on the democratic ears of the Martynovs! I wonder why this word did not offend the sensibilities of the heroes of the 'seventies and yet offends the amateurs of the 'nineties? I like the word, because it clearly and trenchantly indicates the *common cause* to which all the agents bend their thoughts and actions, and if I had to replace this word by another, the only word I might select would be the word "collaborator," if it did not suggest a certain literariness and diffusiveness. The thing we need is a military organization of agents. However, the numerous Martynovs (particularly abroad) whose favourite pastime is "mutual promotion of each other to the post of general" may instead of saying "passport agent" prefer to say, "Chief of the Special Department for Supplying Revolutionists With Passports," etc.

Naked Face of War

Continued from page 9

this could be back in 1971! Kennedy opposed some uses of nuclear power and the draft (at this time) and whooped it up for solar power and the ERA.

Jimmy Carter and every other capitalist (including Kennedy himself, when you get right down to it) knows that their crisis eliminates any possibility of implementing the Kennedy program, even though stripped of its rhetoric it amounts to really nothing for the masses.

But it is precisely because the system is in such crisis that Kennedy's program and role at the convention were so politically useful to the capitalist class. Keep faith. Keep faith in the capitalist system. It can deliver! That was the message Kennedy was sent to deliver. The bourgeoisie knows how essential it is to keep this myth alive among the broadest number of people possible, especially among those millions who are now being hit the hardest. But in the context of this convention and the overall campaign for the 1980 elections, this illusion of prosperity is merely a background melody to the military music being belted out on center stage. For the successful waging of war against the Soviets and a new redivision of the world that benefits the U.S. is their only, if temporary, way out of this crisis. On this point there are hardly even rhetorical differences between the two parties, although at this convention, Kennedy, because of his particular role, could for the most part avoid the military questions.

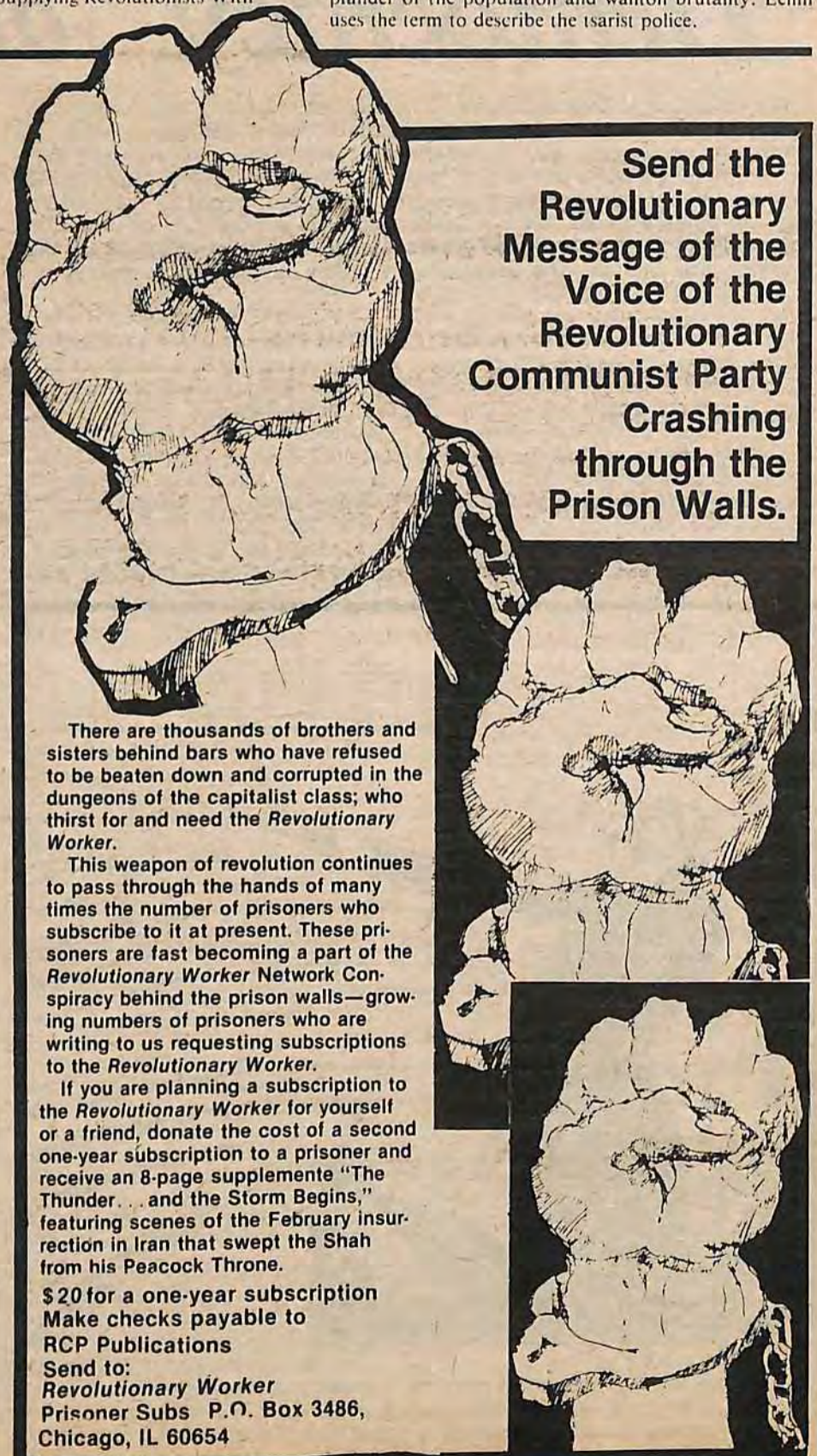
Before the workmen at Madison Square Garden began their job of putting away the chairs and sweeping up all the garbage that hadn't already left for home, the newsmakers in the network booths overlooking the convention were busy summing up the whole show. What they offered up was a ruthless shredding of Carter, his speech and his whole performance at the convention. True, they stopped short of attacking him because he has such an ugly, whining daughter, with those buck teeth and coke bottle glasses—but that was the general tenor of their commentary.

Tom Brokaw of NBC called his act the "politics of give me a second chance." Dan Rather announced that on the floor of the convention the sentiment was "not only can Carter not free the hostages, he can't even get the balloons down from the ceiling." All and all, these fellows went out of their way to make it clear that Ronald Reagan was the favorite candidate of an important section of the bourgeoisie. For in the minds of a lot of these criminals, Reagan's open banging of the war drums is just what's needed now.

But it would be a mistake to think that Carter is already out of it. The bourgeoisie has got to make a horse race out of this campaign in order to generate some public interest and enthusiasm, not just for the candidates, but for their overall programs, especially the war preparations. It wouldn't do if the vast majority just tuned out in utter boredom.

The Carter camp has already started its counter-attack, and the outlines and theses of their campaign are already clear: if you think Carter is bad, you can't imagine how awful Reagan will be. They are gearing up to picture Reagan as a raving maniac, a fascist on a white horse preparing to lead a right-wing coup. (A sign at the Democratic convention called him "the fascist gun in the West.")

It is important to expose this shit for just what it is: another regurgitation of the old "lesser of two evils" line. How many times has the bourgeoisie tried, and been successful in sucking people back into the chains of their political system with this ruse. Remember, LBJ was the lesser of two evils over Goldwater. If Reagan speaks more openly as a reactionary, it is not because he is one whit more reactionary than Carter or Kennedy. All of them have demonstrated their willingness to pillage, plunder and repress for imperialism. There is no future in buying one of their "lesser of two evils" options. The only future is in flushing their whole putrid system down the drain. □



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'Democracy' and Dictatorship

Continued from page 11

falsehood and hypocrisy of bourgeois democracy—democracy for the rich—and establish democracy for the poor, that is, make the blessings of democracy really accessible to the workers and poor peasants, whereas now (even in the most democratic—bourgeois—republic) the blessings of democracy are, in fact, inaccessible to the vast majority of working people.

Take, for example, freedom of assembly and freedom of the press. The Scheidemanns and Kautskys, the Austerlitzes and Renners assure the workers that the present elections to the Constituent Assembly in Germany and Austria are "democratic". That is a lie. In practice the capitalists, the exploiters, the landowners and the profiteers own 9/10 of the best meeting halls, and 9/10 of the stocks of newsprint, printing-presses, etc. The urban workers and the farm hands and day labourers are, in practice, debarred from democracy by the "sacred right of property" (guarded by the Kautskys and Renners, and now, to our regret, by Friedrich Adler as well) and by the bourgeois state apparatus, that is, bourgeois officials, bourgeois judges, and so on. The present "freedom of assembly and the press" in the "demo-

cratic" (bourgeois-democratic) German republic is false and hypocritical, because in fact it is freedom for the rich to buy and bribe the press, freedom for the rich to befuddle the people with the venomous lies of the bourgeois press, freedom for the rich to keep as their "property" the landowners' mansions, the best buildings, etc. The dictatorship of the proletariat will take from the capitalists and hand over to the working people the landowners' mansions, the best buildings, printing-presses and the stocks of newsprint.

But this means replacing "universal", "pure" democracy by the "dictatorship of one class", scream the Scheidemanns and Kautskys, the Austerlitzes and Renners (together with their followers in other countries—the Gomperses, Hendersons, Rnauels, Vandervelde and Co.).

Wrong, we reply. This means replacing what in fact is the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie (a dictatorship hypocritically cloaked in the forms of the democratic bourgeois republic) by the dictatorship of the proletariat. This means replacing democracy for the rich by democracy for the poor. This means replacing freedom of assembly and the press for the minority, for the exploiters, by freedom of assembly and the press for the majority of the population, for the working people. This means a gigantic, world-historic extension of democracy, its transformation from falsehood into truth, the liberation of humanity from the shackles of capital, which distorts and truncates any, even the most "democratic" and republican, bourgeois democracy. This

means replacing the bourgeois state by the proletarian state, a replacement that is the sole way the state can eventually wither away altogether.

But why not reach this goal without the dictatorship of one class? Why not switch directly to "pure" democracy? So ask the hypocritical friends of the bourgeoisie or the naive petty bourgeois and philistines gulled by them.

And we reply: Because in any capitalist society the decisive say lies with either the bourgeoisie or the proletariat, while the small proprietors, inevitably, remain wavering, helpless, stupid dreamers of "pure", i.e., non-class or above-class, democracy. Because from a society in which one class oppresses another there is no way out other than through the dictatorship of the oppressed class. Because the proletariat alone is capable of defeating the bourgeoisie, of overthrowing them, being the sole class which capitalism has united and "schooled", and which is capable of drawing to its side the wavering mass of the working population with a petty-bourgeois way of life, of drawing them to its side or at least "neutralising" them. Because only mealy-mouthed petty bourgeois and philistines can dream—deceiving thereby both themselves and the workers—of overthrowing capitalist oppression without a long and difficult process of suppressing the resistance of the exploiters. In Germany and Austria this resistance is not yet very pronounced because expropriation of the expropriators has not yet begun. But once expropriation begins the resistance will be fierce and desperate. In concealing this from

themselves and from the workers the Scheidemanns and Kautskys, the Austerlitzes and Renners betray the interests of the proletariat, switching at the most decisive moment from the class struggle and overthrow of the yoke of the bourgeoisie to getting the proletariat to come to terms with the bourgeoisie, achieving "social peace" or reconciliation of exploited and exploiters.

Revolutions are the locomotives of history, said Marx. Revolutions teach quickly. The urban workers and farm hands in Germany and Austria will quickly discern the betrayal of the cause of socialism by the Scheidemanns and Kautskys, the Austerlitzes and Renners. The proletariat will cast aside these "social traitors"—socialists in words and betrayers of socialism in practice—as it did in Russia with the same kind of petty bourgeoisie and philistines—the Mensheviks and "Socialist-Revolutionaries". The more complete the domination of the above-mentioned "leaders", the quicker the proletariat will see that only the replacement of the bourgeois state, be it the most democratic bourgeois republic, by a state of the type of the Paris Commune (about which so much was said by Marx, who had been distorted and betrayed by the Scheidemanns and Kautskys) or by a state of the Soviet type, can open the way to socialism. The dictatorship of the proletariat will deliver humanity from capitalist oppression and war.

Moscow, December 23, 1918

Pravda No. 2
Signed: N. Lenin

Breakout in Watts

A lot more is heating up in Watts these days than the weather. Just 10 minutes after several people began selling the *RW* in Bethune Park, the announcement came over the LAPD loudspeaker, "All communists must leave the park immediately or be arrested." Several minutes later, most of the 200 or so people there moved to the edge of the park to continue to discuss and debate everything from what the police were doing, to the draft, to what difference a paper like the *RW* makes.

A few people came up, took stacks of *RW*'s, and went back into the park to sell them. Several others started taking on the cops. One guy yelled out sarcastically, "Hey, what about all this democracy and free speech we're supposed to have!" A pig snorted in reply, "This is Watts, and that shit don't apply here!" With that, one woman shot a reply back to the cops referring to their attack on the May First demonstration in downtown Los Angeles: "This ain't May Day, this ain't downtown, this is

Watts!" The police, getting the point that they were now in "enemy territory," were becoming noticeably uneasy.

They backed off from trying to make any arrests at the park, and only after the *RW* sellers left and were safely out of sight of the park, the LAPD made their move. They gave everyone traffic tickets, and busted two people for "soliciting (selling the *RW*) without a permit." That they are desperate to keep the *RW* out of Watts was becom-

ing clearer to many. But as one of the two guys from the park who had now joined the group of *RW* sellers said, "These pigs can do whatever they want to me, they can give me all the tickets they want, but I'm not giving up these papers! I'm gonna stash 'em under my shirt—they can bust me for carrying a 'concealed weapon'!"

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

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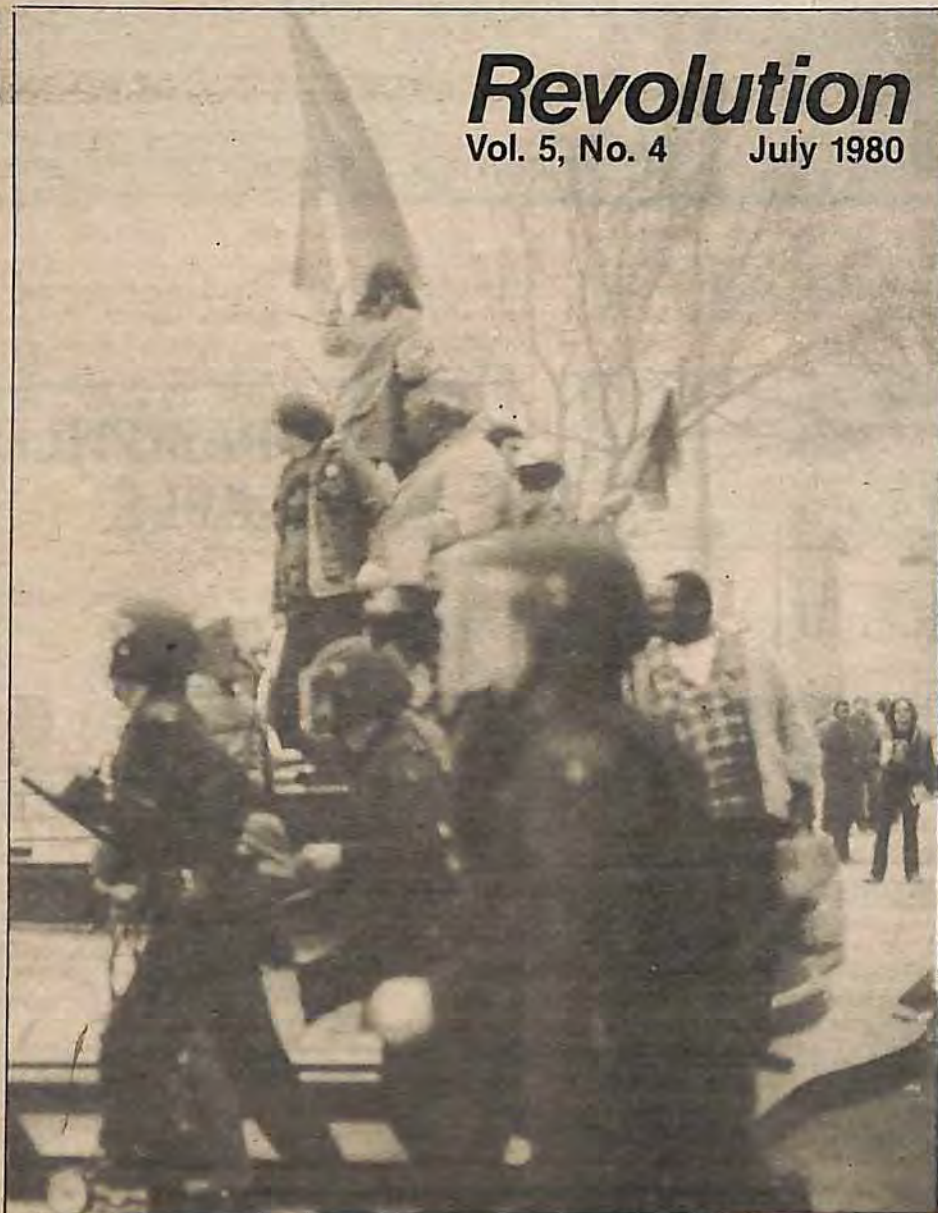
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Revolution

Vol. 5, No. 4 July 1980



Visit to an Iran Factory

Continued from page 17

But the activities of these workers didn't stop at demonstrating at the U.S. Embassy. "We have the mechanism to react against a U.S. coup d'etat. For example we are starting to learn how to fight to be part of the army of 20 million to defend the revolution."

Heated discussion also raged on the

question of the Soviet Union and developments towards World War 3. Some workers felt that any anti-Soviet propaganda was simply anti-communism stirred up by the U.S. to divert attention from itself. Others knew that the USSR was in fact a dangerous imperialist country which at

some point could go to war with the U.S.

When I posed the question of how they thought Iran should break free from imperialist economic strangulation, a lively debate broke out among the Shora members. "There should be two programs," one asserted. "In the

short term we should do what the government is now doing; look for different suppliers, like the Arab countries or other countries we trust for the parts we need. In the long term we have to make the technology we need ourselves, and change the American-style consumer mentality that has been implanted in the people." Someone else jumped in to disagree: "I believe the way is to break all relations with imperialism, like they did in China. We need to be self-reliant; as long as we are dependent on oil we will never be truly independent!"

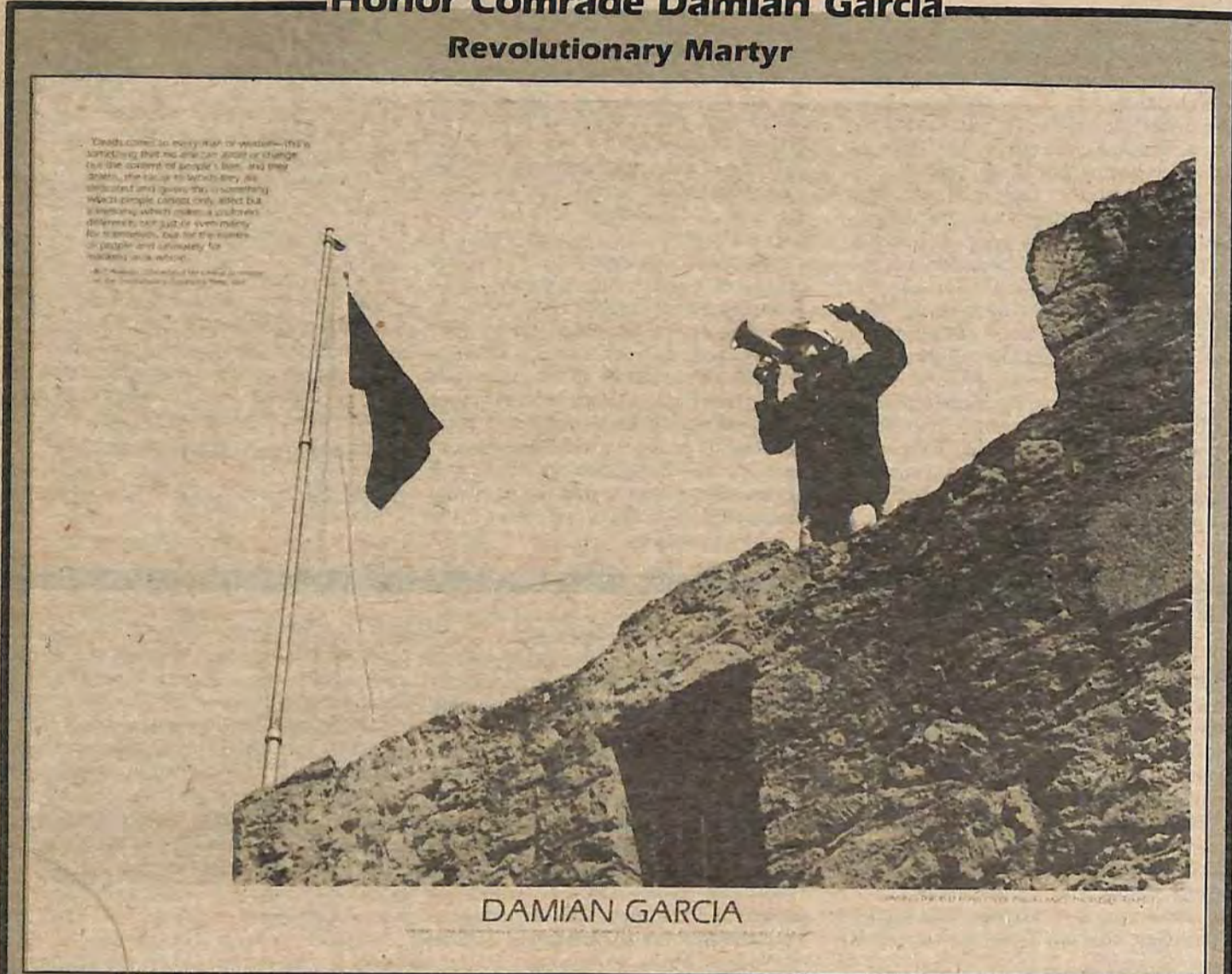
This worker clearly didn't think the present government is capable of carrying out such economic and political transformations. Later as we were walking through the factory, another worker unobtrusively approached us and asked, "Do the workers in America read Mao?" Yes, I replied, Mao's legacy is alive in the U.S., just as it is here.

As my too brief visit to this Iranian factory demonstrated, while not yet the dominant force within the Iranian revolution, the working class is making tremendous progress. Workers have learned great lessons in the course of the revolutionary struggle; genuine communist forces have linked up with and expanded their influence among the workers; and a section of class-conscious workers is being forged that will play a crucial role in rallying other oppressed classes throughout Iran to its revolutionary banner of carrying the anti-imperialist democratic struggle through to victory and advancing from there to socialism.

Workers there, like workers in the U.S., took part in very important May Day demonstrations this year. And from their description, it seemed that the spirit of revolution and internationalism was very much alive at both. "We are not fighting with the people of America," one council leader told us to convey to the American people. "We have solidarity with them, especially the workers of America. When we take part in the May Day demonstrations here we feel solidarity with the struggles of workers in America and other countries. And we want the American workers to support the Iranian revolution!"

"We know the American capitalists and imperialists are oppressing the people of America also," another continued. "And we hope that one day you will do what we did; get people together, and make revolution so that those imperialists in America will be for all time wiped away from the world!"

Honor Comrade Damian García Revolutionary Martyr



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Hurricane

Disasters Natural and Unnatural

Hurricane Allen roared into the Caribbean last week battering Haiti and other islands with full-force 175 m.p.h. winds. The miserable tin and cardboard housing on the coast of these islands oppressed by U.S. imperialism meant the death toll climbed steadily to 220 people as Allen mercilessly flattened these hovels. Allen then ripped toward Texas, pounding at the southern tip of the coast. But major damage was far less than anticipated as the hurricane's strongest winds stormed through largely uninhabited areas. In 1933, the last time a 175 m.p.h. hurricane had slammed the area, 6000 people were left dead in its wake. So officials of the state of Texas thanked the Lord above for sparing them the wrath of Allen and began congratulating themselves on how well they had prepared to meet this challenge.

But while they were patting themselves on the back for a job well done, 250 residents of a federally-funded, low-income housing project—supposedly a showcase for what HUD (Housing and Urban Development) is doing for the elderly—were an angry testament to the contrary. While there were supposed to be elaborate rescue efforts co-ordinated by Civil Defense, the Red Cross and the National Guard, these people were totally abandoned, left with only the building janitor to look after them, and very little food or water. No one would heed their cries for help—not the police, management of the building or the Red Cross—so they had no other choice but to pack themselves into the lobby and wait. But while the old people were left to fend for themselves the government made sure that the private property in the Port Isabel tourist area was well

guarded. After winds shattered the store windows of many businesses; National Guard troops were called in to patrol the area and protect it from looters.

"They didn't set up nothing for these people here—they just ran off and left them," said one old man angrily pointing to many people in wheelchairs. "People have not been asleep for three days because there weren't enough cots. Do you know what that does to people to stay in a wheelchair for three days? It cuts off all the circulation in their legs." A survivor of World War 2 added, "I've been in a concentration camp, and I can tell you that it was just like that here this morning."

There's been an effort to keep this incident quiet as it mars the "well-prepared" image state officials are trying to protect. But a quick survey of the actual damage done shows that if a really severe hurricane had hit, the effect would have been totally devastating.

As it was, poor people, including many farmworkers, were the hardest hit when their flimsy shacks were levelled flat by high winds. 200,000 people who were hurriedly given last minute instructions to evacuate their homes and go to emergency shelters found that they had to bring their own supply of food and water. And because of the small number of shelters available, each was packed to the brim with people who were to remain crammed in a windowless room for an indefinite period of time. The only ventilation was provided by electrically-powered air conditioning which could have caused disastrous results if cut off for any length of time.

Bulletins on the disaster were broadcast constantly in cities as far away as El

Paso which did not even face the threat of being affected by the hurricane, leaving the distinct impression that "even if this doesn't affect you, you're going to have to deal with situations like this in the future (like war perhaps?)—so pay

attention!" Even this minor crisis has been utilized by the bourgeoisie as a "wet run" to condition the masses of people, to accustom them to the hardships this system certainly holds in store for the future. □



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CORRECTION

for last week's RW

In the article entitled "U.S./Soviets Tie For Gold in Contention," the end of the article was inadvertently left out. It should have ended as follows:

Recently, another "get even with the Russians" track and field meet has been organized in Rome, Italy. This time 19 countries who boycotted the Games are participating, along with 13 gold medal winners from the 1980 Olympics, and some of the Soviet athletes. No doubt these are to be considered the "real Olympics" whenever an East/West matchup is slated and the winners (if they're Americans) will get "untarnished" medals for their efforts.

As the Olympic torch was extinguished last week, many eyes turned towards the 1984 Olympic Games. The U.S., as host country, has already produced its mascot to replace Misha the Soviet bear. Walt Disney Productions has designed an American bald eagle, appropriately named SAM (for Surface to Air Missile no doubt). And in the spirit of U.S. imperialism struggling to regain its number one position over the rest of the world, they coined the Olympic slogan of "faster, higher, stronger" (and more megatons, we might add—*RW*). The one thing that was clearly evident with the invasion of

Afghanistan, the boycott of the Olympics, and the hand-to-hand combat in the realm of public opinion, is that the superpowers' war preparations are escalating. The fact that the Olympic Games have been postponed for both world wars one and two was certainly not lost on the U.S. imperialists. The August 4 *Time* magazine essay quoted earlier is a clarion call-to-arms for them: "The Games have their significance, but they also come and go; the political advantages come and go; in the long run even the champions come and go... As for the possible collapse of the Olympics after Moscow, that would not be the worst thing either... The Games collapsed in 393 B.C. ... and neither sport nor the world came to an end..."

Whether the 1984 Olympic Games come off as planned or not; whether they are postponed for war or whether new provisions have to be made to account for the athletes having to compete in combat boots; the world, in the next four years, will definitely be propelled that much closer to war wherein the imperialists trade athletes for soldiers and step into a different arena to battle for the real prize—world domination. □

Visit to an Iran Factory

Struggle Sharpens Over Course of Revolution



Workers at the truck factory.

The following article was sent to the RW by a revolutionary activist and journalist who has recently returned from a trip to Iran.

"We are aware of U.S. imperialism's actions in Iran," one worker, a leader in the truck factory, loudly declared. "We hate imperialism and are ready to fight it in any way!"

Little more than two years ago, he told me, "we couldn't even whisper such words" in the truck factory, or in any Iranian workplace for that matter. Unions were SAVAK-controlled and strikers could be arrested and jailed, if not shot. But the regime's main fear was that revolutionary politics would infect the working class. Anyone suspected of being a revolutionary leftist working in a factory—even if the only clues were the language and manners of an intellectual—was immediately arrested and banished to one of the Shah's torture chambers. Distribution of revolutionary literature was extremely difficult. And when, in spite of all the Shah's repressive measures, strikes did break out, the regime often bullied the factory owners to grant economic concessions to settle the strike and prevent the outbreak of political struggle.

But all these precautions were useless. Fueled by the overall revolutionary movement sweeping Iranian society, and the massacres at the Rex Cinema in Abadan and Bloody Friday

in Tehran, in October of 1978 a massive strike wave exploded across Iran! Within two weeks, more workers had gone on strike than had in years!

What began as mainly economic struggle didn't stay that way for long. Inspired by the revolutionary mood of the masses, the work of the left, and the advanced political stand of the oil workers, political consciousness spread rapidly. By the end of the month hundreds of thousands of workers were echoing the demands of the oil workers; end martial law, free all political prisoners, end imperialist exploitation of Iran, and Down with the Shah. The workers' demands, and their refusal to take the regime's desperate offer (bribe) of 100% wage increase to get them back to work, gave the existing movement a more powerful anti-imperialist thrust. Within three months, due in large measure to the role played by the working class, the Shah had fled Iran, his "mighty" regime in shambles; and U.S. imperialism's "island of stability—gendarme of the Persian Gulf" smashed by revolution.

*** *** ***

Since that time, struggle has raged between opposing class forces over whether to push forward and complete Iran's anti-imperialist, new-democratic revolution, or whether to entrench a new form of reactionary rule that will come to terms with imperialism or be

smashed by more openly subservient pro-imperialist forces.

The Workers Councils

One of the focal points of that struggle, within the working class, has been the Shoras, or workers councils. These councils were largely the spontaneous creation of the workers in the course of the revolution, or its immediate aftermath. During the revolution the Shoras played the role of strike co-ordinating committees, and were often centers of political struggle. After the overthrow of the Shah's regime, many comprador factory owners (including the one who used to own the particular factory I visited) fled the country, and workers' councils sprung up independent of the new Islamic government in hundreds of factories. Since then, these councils have generally taken on a mixture of economic and political tasks.

I had the opportunity to meet with the Shora that represented the several thousand production and office workers at a big truck assembly complex outside of Tehran, that was dependent on a major European truckmaker for patents, parts, technical assistance and capital. Sitting in their office, just off the factory floor, and talking to the dozen or so Shora representatives, it didn't take long to get a feeling for the tremendous ferment among Iranian workers; every one of my questions brought forth comment from the workers and all were full of spirited anti-imperialism. "The whole world is changing," one told us. "US im-

perialism is trying very hard to crush our revolution, but we are a witness that they are nothing! They will only make our revolution succeed." Another carried on, "Everyone was involved in our revolution, and we are all working to decide the future of our movement—to understand which direction is the right one for our country."

This consciousness poses real problems for the U.S.' plans for restoring a pro-imperialist regime, as well as the Iranian bourgeoisie's dream of bringing the revolution to a halt and consolidating its political power. Both the forces grouped around President Bani-Sadr and those of Ayatollah Beheshti and the Islamic Republic Party have insisted that the workers concentrate on raising production and leave political affairs to them, while at times trying to get the workers to follow their lead in reactionary political causes such as opposition to the struggle for autonomy in Kurdistan. To crush the political movement among the workers, Ayatollah Khomeini as well as numerous government figures have spoken out against the Shoras, and branded any strikes or "disruptions" of production as "anti-revolutionary." When workers have taken matters into their own hands, as at the Minoo biscuit factory in Teheran, where workers went on strike against government attacks on their council, Pastaran (the government's so-called "revolutionary guards") were sent to the factory to crush the strike by armed force, killing at least one worker. Revolutionary communist forces within the working class have been singled out for special attacks.



Workers take to the streets on May 1st in the oil city of Abadan.

The managers within the factories, usually either government appointees or lower level managers from the Shah's days, take a similar stance—either using “democratic” persuasion to get the workers to hitch themselves to the national bourgeoisie’s plans to make the current economic setup “work,” or resorting to outright suppression. “People in top management are still powerful,” one council member explained. “They don’t represent the people; they oppose the Shoras and just want to direct the same way as they did during the Shah’s time.”

But once the horse is out of the stable, it is no easy matter to corral it again. The combined forces of the bourgeoisie haven’t yet been able to control the Iranian workers. Workers in many factories have spontaneously driven old managers, ex-SAVAK agents, and any remaining foreign advisors out of the factories, or even seized such people, demanding they be put under arrest by the government as counter-revolutionaries. “We will have a whole new group of managers next week,” one worker said, trying unsuccessfully to conceal a wide grin. Strikes, sit-ins, and demonstrations around a variety of issues, have continued to break out sporadically among the workers in recent months.

Battle vs. Economism

In the face of this continuing struggle among the workers, the government has used a variety of tactics, ranging from setting up its own “Imam committees” in many factories to influence or openly oppose the Shoras, to stationing Pastaran in the factories. Overall, the government as well as various opportunist forces within the working class have tried to take advantage of the spontaneous character of much of the workers’ movement, and direct it into strictly economic and factory concerns, leaving political matters to the national bourgeoisie, and, in effect, also to the pro-imperialist forces.

This is facilitated by the influence of Islamic ideology among many workers.

“The main reason we could have our revolution in Iran,” one Moslem worker told me, “was belief in God and the Koran. The idea for the Shoras came from teachings in the Koran that instruct people to come together and solve their problems.”

These sentiments play a contradictory role among the workers. Many “interpret” Islam in a very radical way, and have played a progressive role in the struggle against imperialism. At the same time, the government, while demagogically talking of the workers rights to the “fruits of their labor” and “control of their own factories”, has tried to use Islam to blur the class distinction between workers and capitalists, promote the idea of “unity” of all the forces in the revolution (under the banner and leadership of the bourgeoisie) and to tell people that since “Islam has triumphed” the revolution is basically over. Workers who challenge the reactionary policies of the government, like those at Minoo, are dismissed as “ultra-leftists who couldn’t work with the people.”

These views also have the effect of encouraging the spontaneous tendency of many workers to be concerned mainly with factory matters. The Shora I visited, for example, had committees on production, finances, sales, personnel, and cooperatives. They even paid the workers and had taken the initiative to secure loans for the factory from the government and to solve production bottlenecks. Some workers felt their main duty to the revolution was to “work harder, and produce more.”

These tendencies have been encouraged by both the pro-Soviet and the pro-Chinese revisionists. The upholders of Teng Hsiao-ping’s “three worlds theory” have been too busy working for Bani-Sadr and building ties with imperialist “second world countries” like France and West Germany to do much work among the workers, but where they have, they have clearly promoted the President’s line of

“workers—to your places.” The Tudeh Party, the Soviet imperialists’ main front men in Iran, have shamelessly tailed behind the Islamic Government in order to try and strike a deal with them for a share of political power. In many cases the Tudeh Party has outright opposed the workers councils, for fear that they were both too political, and unnecessary competition to their plan of constructing respectable, bourgeois trade union organizations.

A more radical sounding version of burying the workers’ attention in narrow economic concerns has been presented by various leftist forces, who have called on the workers to “take control of the factories.” This “left” syndicalist line, when implemented, has failed politically as well as in economic terms. When workers’ committees have taken over several factories that were shutting down or going bankrupt, they haven’t been able to keep them open for long because of the bigger forces at work—demonstrating to many more workers that they cannot fundamentally restructure the economy and really break with imperialism without continuing the revolutionary struggle with the goal of placing *political power* in the hands of the masses led by the working class.

Some Marxist-Leninist forces in Iran have taken a stand against such economist and syndicalist trends. During my trip, I learned of the views of the Union of Iranian Communists (UIC) on the tasks of the workers’ movement. The only way the Iranian revolution can be brought to victory and the hold of imperialism and reaction broken, the UIC felt, is through a revolutionary struggle of all classes opposed to imperialism under the political leadership of the proletariat and its communist party. To push the revolution forward, it was essential that the workers take up the political struggle and accumulate

their strength to prepare to seize power in the future, and *not* get buried in the morass of economic struggle. They felt that while the Shoras are not the only focus of activity within the working class—advanced workers had a tremendous responsibility to join in efforts to form a genuine vanguard communist party—they are an important embryonic form of working class political organization and must be developed in this direction. On this basis the UIC has formulated four tasks for the workers councils: uniting the workers against the U.S. imperialists; raising the consciousness of the workers to prepare to seize power; helping the people in their daily needs; and arming the people.

Proletarian Internationalism

In the course of this meeting with the Shora at the truck factory, it became obvious that the line of raising the sights of the workers to larger political questions was having a great impact. “The greatest duty of the Shora is culture,” one member told us. “We have classes in reading and writing, a library and revolutionary film showings. We need to raise peoples’ level of consciousness.” And this is no “academic” education, but preparation. Shora members had also been active in the struggle against U.S. coup attempts, and in anti-imperialist demonstrations at the captured U.S. embassy. “America has to bring the Shah (this was before he met his untimely end) back to Iran,” one worker said, telling us of the views of the vast majority of the factory workers. “And the spies held at the U.S. embassy have to go on trial in Iran. They have to tell the people what America did. This won’t be like one of the Shah’s courts—we will put the imperialists on trial!”

Continued on page 14