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IRANIAN PEOPLE RISE AGAINST U.S. WAR MOVES

As the Iraq/Iran war enters its third week, the once cocky Iraqi ruling class, and the U.S. imperialists who stand behind them in this war, are running into a big problem—the revolutionary masses of Iran. The “lightning” offensive has bogged down and even if the Iraqi regime succeeds in capturing some more territory, it is clear that the longer the war goes on, the more trouble they will have—both on the front and back home. And the force that all the imperialists and reactionaries fear—the revolutionary strength and initiative of the Iranian masses—will be able to come more and more into play. The gamble taken by the U.S. imperialists to shore up their strength in the Persian Gulf is standing out increasingly as exactly that—a desperate reactionary gamble.

At the same time, as the war goes on, the picture of U.S. imperialist military preparations in the Persian Gulf is drawn into sharp focus. While the U.S. imperialists continue to profess “strict neutrality” in the war to imply their Soviet rivals are really behind it, and while they attempt to conceal their own role as the instigators of the Iraqi invasion, the unfolding of events is forcing out into the open the major U.S. military and political objectives in the current war: the toppling of the Iranian government and the crushing of the Iranian revolution; consolidating Iraq, an important oil producer with a strategic position in the Gulf in the Western camp; and using the war as an excuse for a large expansion of its own direct military presence in the Persian Gulf.

These objectives are inter-related. The United States’ drive to knock together an agreement with its NATO allies to jointly “defend the security of the Gulf through a joint naval task force in case the Iranians attempt to close off the Strait of Hormuz” serves not only as a signal of how far the U.S. intends to go to “protect the West’s vital interests,” but also clearly reveals the present Gulf crisis as a “dry run” for the coming war between the Western imperialists and the Soviet imperialist bloc. The sudden posting of four airborne warning and control systems (AWACS) craft, along with 300 U.S. air force personnel in Saudi Arabia was publicly advertised as necessary to “defend Saudi Arabia” against a possible Iranian attack. Saudi Arabia is the Gulf regime with the closest ties to the U.S.; it has been a public supporter of the Iraqi aggression, and has openly called for the toppling of the Khomeini government. Egypt has also been calling for the overthrow of the Iranian regime, and Anwar Sadat has offered the U.S. “unlimited” use of its military facilities to “defend the Arabs against the Iranian threat.” Other pro-U.S. governments

in the Gulf, such as Kuwait, have begun to rush military supplies to Iraq. U.S. Secretary of State Ed Muskie, on September 30th met with the foreign minister of Iraq in a 40-minute consultation at the United Nations. Muskie emerged from the meeting praising Iraqi “restraint” and its “limited objectives” in the war; another state department spokesman told the press the

meeting “certainly wasn’t friendly.”

An article in the *Wall Street Journal* of October 1st, based on “private interviews” with Iraqi officials at the UN and appearing the day after Muskie’s meeting there, revealed that “Iraq’s military invasion of Iran is only the first step in Iraqi president Saddam Hussein’s planned overthrow of the Ayotollah Khomeini and install an Iranian dissident leader of his own choosing...” According to the *Journal*, the plan involved two steps: “seriously weakening Iran economically and politically by a quick victory in the current fighting and then attempting to foment an armed coup.” “These officials

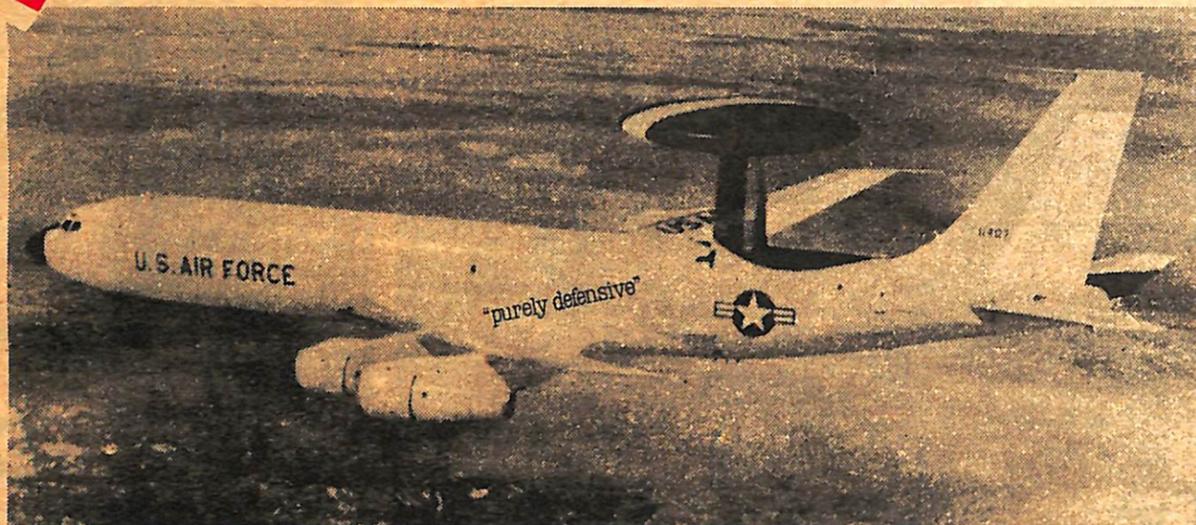
contend,” the *Journal* added, “that if Iraq triumphed, it would immediately return the 52 U.S. hostages still held in Iran.” Showing further U.S. plotting through the Iraq connection, Bakhtiar, a top dog among the pro-U.S. exiles, admitted traveling to Iraq five times in past months, and was reportedly in Iraq during the early days of the war. He also announced plans to form a government in exile. The *New York Daily News*, on October 1st carried an interview with an MIT (Massachusetts Institute of Technology) “expert,” William E. Griffith, who laid out essentially the same scenario: “If Iraq can

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One of these photos is a “purely defensive” early-warning radar “spy” plane. The other is an airborne battle command center.

Question:

Which type was just sent to Saudi Arabia by the U.S.?



Answer:

Both. In fact, these are one and the same plane. The U.S. has been portraying the AWAC (Airborne Warning and Control System) planes flown to the Middle East as “defensive” reconnaissance planes. Perhaps certain knobs are labeled “for offensive use only” and were

removed from their control panels. In reality AWAC’s are equipped for quite a bit more than reconnaissance and spying. They are modified Boeing 707s, crammed to the gills with enough men and highly sophisticated equipment to be able to direct a full scale war from the air. Four of these are now cruising the skies over the Persian Gulf.

Jury Selection Begins State Lays Legal Track for Pontiac Bros.' Railroad

Chicago. Channel 7's (ABC) Eyewitness News camera zoomed in on the scale model of Pontiac Correctional Center sitting in the Cook County courtroom. Ten of the sixteen Black prisoners charged with the murder of three white guards during the 1978 Pontiac Rebellion will be on trial here. "No one is sure what sparked the explosion," said Eyewitness News reporter Jay Levine, knitting his brows in puzzled bewilderment. "Some say it was a gang plot, some say it was just the heat." While the cause of the rebellion of a thousand prisoners is apparently an unexplainable mystery to ABC News, the station was dead sure in its identification of the ten on trial as "maybe the most vicious group of criminals ever tried."

This Channel 7 news item was timed for the opening of the jury selection process which got underway September 18 and is expected to last another two to four weeks. Both inside and outside the courtroom the ruling class is preparing to set the stage for the railroad of the Pontiac Brothers, from the hysterical media coverage to the judge's refusal to allow the defense lawyers to question prospective jurors. Turning public opinion against the Brothers is very important for pulling off this frameup, and the major news media have consciously done this by hiding and covering up the real cause of the Pontiac Rebellion, which was spawned by the violence, oppression and racism of this capitalist dungeon itself. By holding the sword of the death penalty over the heads of the 16, the state is trying desperately to stamp out the inevitable rebellions by prisoners across the country which will continue as long as holes like Pontiac exist.

A lot of people know about Pontiac prison. The stench and filth of the cell blocks. The sinks and toilets broken for months. The blankets stolen by guards in the dead of winter. The cells—shared by two men—which are smaller than a



Pontiac Prisoners Support Coalition tried to run a full-page ad in the Sun-Times informing people about some of these facts concerning the death penalty, the newspaper, in another display of its "objective" attitude toward the trial, refused.)

A motion to pay jurors more than the standard \$15/day for the duration of the trial, expected to be at least 4-6 months long, was also denied, effectively eliminating many working class jurors. And most importantly, the judge ruled that he, and not defense attorneys, would question prospective jurors—all in the interest of a "speedy trial" for the defendants, of course. After accepting a list of suggested questions from defense attorney's which probed into attitudes on racism, prisons, crime, etc., the judge's approach has been to ignore them and keep things cut and dried. The judge barely exceeded the boundaries characterized in his remark to a few white jurors that: "This is an American court-

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Volkswagen Bug. The cells where men are locked for 21 hours a day. The cells where it is impossible for Blacks and Latinos to serve time without punishment from racist guards, punishment meaning weeks, months and even years of "good time" taken away. But, notes "Eyewitness News": "No one is sure what caused the explosion..."

While certainly not decisive in the long run, the legal battle is now the focus of sharp struggle. The whole process of jury selection abounds with exposure of the state and its intentions in this trial. Prior to this, Judge Ben Miller, in addition to 500 other defense motions he has denied in pre-trial hearings, also denied several motions that would have reduced the possibility of ending up with an all-white middle-class jury. The nature of the jurors desired was indicated by the judge's denial of a defense motion that jurors not be questioned on the death penalty. The effect of questions on the death penalty is to eliminate those who are opposed to it while keeping those who support it. "Death-qualified" juries (made up of

people who support capital punishment) have a 98% rate of conviction in trials nationwide. (Incidentally, when the



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Debate Opens on 100,000 Campaign

LET 100 FLOWERS BLOSSOM: LET 100 SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT CONTEND

Two weeks ago we called for open struggle and debate in the pages of the Revolutionary Worker on the plan for revolutionary work put forward by the RCP. This debate was called for, learning from Mao Tse-tung, who put forward the policy of "Let a Hundred Flowers Blossom, Let a Hundred Schools of Thought Contend," at an important juncture of the Chinese revolution when differing views needed to come to light. We pointed out that "while our situation is different, the principles are the same: we need and welcome this struggle, particularly among the advanced workers. Mao also said, 'How can there be no wrangling in this world of ours? Marxism is a wranglingism, dealing as it does with contradictions and struggles. Contradictions are always present, and where there are contradictions, there are struggles.' (Talks at Conference of Party Committee Secretaries, Selected Works, Vol. 5, p. 364)."

The RCP has put forward our plan for revolutionary work leading toward the proletarian seizure of power in this country—a plan centered around a revolutionary newspaper. We have put forward that the task of winning the immediate battle for 100,000 co-conspirators—readers and distributors of the Revolutionary Worker is an urgent question and that the revolutionary forces are lagging behind in meeting the interests and requirements of the advanced section of the workers who need to be further armed with a revolutionary understanding of the world and revolutionary organization, in order to change it. We know that not everyone agrees with this plan and have opened the pages of the newspaper to this struggle because the decisive question in this campaign for 100,000 is the political understanding and unity around a revolutionary line. Below are some of the views sent to us by readers of the newspaper in answer to our call to debate.

As we said, it is the duty of all revolutionary minded people to respond to the plan for revolution, to voice disagreement, to raise questions, or to put forward their views in order to deepen the revolutionary line of the Party. Revolutionaries must dare to wrangle. It will not do to keep one's views to oneself, or to attempt to settle the questions in a local way and send in summations. Views must be aired and one cannot be stopped by fear that his favorite flower might turn out to be a weed. As we said in the call to debate, "To erect the revolutionary scaffolding that 100,000 RW's a week will represent for building the revolutionary Party and the broader revolutionary movement will be no small struggle. Besides the battle with the enemy, the ideology of reformism and economism in particular needs to be further demolished so as to further clear the ground for revolutionary construction. We are confident that this can be done. Because we are confident of the truth and correctness of Marxism, and of our Party's basic line and plan for revolution, we know that through open struggle, it will win out, and more than that, will be the motor for rapid leaps. It will win far more fighters, co-conspirators, from among the revolutionary minded people." Through this "100 Flowers" campaign, we will continue to elaborate and clarify our views in the pages of the paper. But for the struggle to be thoroughly joined, for the common cause to be advanced to the max we must continue to hear from you.

To the Revolutionary Worker on the 100,000 Campaign, and the Road Forward Today:

I think the Revolutionary Worker is the key weapon we have, and we still have to struggle to sell it. But I don't think you can set a goal.

I don't have any interest in making the kind of revolution we've had before where people weren't strong enough to keep the bourgeoisie from coming back to power. We need a socialist revolution, where the majority of the working class is armed with Marxism. When I read Mao and Lenin, I read for their mistakes. There must have been a lot because their revolutions didn't go forward. It's not socialist when there's still differences in what people have and own. That's a revisionist change of power I don't have no interest in. The masses have to be fully conscious. I think the work we do around different things, like if people rise up in a certain area, and we more or less uphold it, then we're not think-

ing about that leap people have to make. Or if people take to the street around some particular issue, we say it's progress. That's where we're not sure what we want to do; do we want to make revolution or do we want to fuck around?

We should be spending more time trying to seek out the advanced, because even they take a lot of struggle. If not, we'll just have a lot of people who don't know what we're doing. Someone brought forward in another way won't be a solid warrior, and then he'll fuck up. Even if they read the RW every week, if they don't really get into some struggle about it, that's not the kind of warrior I want to fight with.

We mainly have to do propaganda and teach Marxism. Failure to do this will be a little of this, and a little of that. And it may even do the job of making revolution, but not in a way that really keeps the bourgeoisie from coming back to power. Our goal is to sell as many papers as we possibly can, but a quota is bourgeois shit. If I'm a volunteer, and I want to make revolution, the main thing I want to know is if you're serious about revolution, and sell as many as I can. I got some people who will buy it, but I don't bother with them because they're not really ready to move right now. I want people who say, "I want that paper." If I don't find the type of person that I'm interested in being a warrior with, then I won't bother with them.

It takes a while to find out whether a person is advanced or not. You find out through struggle. The RW might be for lots of people, but what I'm talking about is what we need to make revolution. Eventually, the paper is key on keeping the advanced up on what's going on in the world, and how to analyze it. But to bring forward the kind of fighters I'm talking about, we have to train people first. Like the situation in Iran and Iraq, people can get a clearer idea of who's shooting who, but key is how to change it. We need to advance people beyond asking questions, to contributing to how we're going to move things forward.

100,000 is a poor way of analysing whether we're going to keep up with the pace. We can't tell

where we are by how many papers we sell. The key thing is how trained the warriors are for making revolution, how many of those hundred thousand know what we got to do. We have to educate the advanced in such a way that they'll have a deeper grasp of things, so they can play a role in adding new ideas. If we had more people with the same kind of understanding, Marxist, then we would see a leap in the revolutionary movement. We have to be looking for people who are willing to get together, and go deeply. A little information here, and a little there, would be cool if we were trying to go through unions or some other bourgeois shit, but we're talking about overthrowing capitalism! Without Marxism, at some point, as the stakes get higher, you'll be won over by the bourgeoisie. This is inevitable if you're not fully clear. We need to train the advanced in Marxism.

From a class-conscious worker

I see the relation between struggle and advances, but the fact that the date has to be set back crystallizes my own thinking, that the objective conditions have to ripen before people take this up. A lot of options are still open to us and I don't feel I have to get out there and sell the paper and others see that too. I even realize that things can happen very quickly. But just seeing that doesn't mean I'm going to get out there. It's too long a process. Results for our efforts are very few and far between. Marxist Parties are a blend of idealism and science. Right now there's some basis for the 100,000 campaign but I don't know who the advanced are. There are a lot of angry people out there but they get caught up in reality and that there's nothing you can do about it. People are just fighting for the crumbs among themselves. Otherwise you're just an idealist.

I see that there's a need for preparatory work

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LAPD Beefs Up Deadly Arsenal with "Non Lethal" Weapons

The L.A.P.D. has announced that, after "successful testing," it is adopting several "non-lethal" weapons for use by pigs on the beat. Since the L.A.P.D. is widely recognized as an all-around vanguard police force (notably in the area of murder and brutality) it can be expected that police in other cities will follow suit. But don't hold your breath waiting for these gun-slinging punks to lighten up—that isn't even the idea. The new wave of "non-lethal" weapons simply shows that the ruling class and its hired thugs what they're in for in the coming years and are trying to get together the largest and most up-to-date arsenal of weapons possible.

"Non-lethal" weapons were first proposed to the L.A.P.D. by the Police Commission early this year after they "investigated" the murder of Eula Love, a 42-year-old Black woman shot down in cold blood by the L.A.P.D. over a \$22 utility bill. Her crime? She had refused to let the gas company cut off the gas. The murder of Eula Love caused an uproar throughout L.A., especially in the Black community. It was the *uproar* that worried the pigs and their mentors, and they set about looking for a facelift, as well as for other more effective ways of dealing with *uproar*. "Non-lethal force" is one of their answers (but clearly not the only one, since last week's announcement also noted that all pigs on patrol will start wearing bullet-proof vests).

But what are "non-lethal" weapons? To the L.A.P.D., one is the Hollow Point bullet! That's right—adopting the Hollow Point bullet was the very first suggestion the police offered to "reduce fatalities." Chief Darryl Gates opined that if Hollow Point bullets had been used to shoot Eula Love, she may have survived. Why? Because cops may have needed only one shot to "stop" her (instead of 8).

Let's look at this particular "non-lethal" weapon. Hollow Point bullets (or dum-dums) expand upon impact, ripping apart the victim's guts and causing three to four times as much damage as regular bullets. First developed by the British in 1897 to put down rebellions in India, they were used by the U.S. in Vietnam. One "hit" with a Hollow Point bullet is much more likely to "stop" a victim than one with a regular bullet, which is exactly why the pigs like it so much. The L.A.P.D. whines that it is the only agency out of over 60 in California that doesn't already use the Hollow Point bullet.

Although they have not yet received the official stamp to budget Hollow Point bullets as "non-lethal" weapons, right here one gets a glimpse of what's really going on. Under the cover of "non-lethal" force, the pigs are upgrading their weaponry.

Of the three "non-lethal" weapons officially adopted so far, two are very much aimed at crowd control. The Monadnock baton and a new chemical spray. The Monadnock baton is already carried by all officers who have been trained to use it. It is a baton with a short handle at a 90-degree angle from the stick which allows the baton to be "twirled" at blinding speed. These very batons were, in fact, carried by many of the 500 or so pigs who tried unsuccessfully to smash the L.A. May Day march. The chemical spray is a "super squirt gun," which sprays a stream of "blinding, choking, and excruciatingly painful CS chemical" up to 18 feet. This liquid CS chemical is much more concentrated than the CS gas used in Vietnam, and it includes a solvent which strips fatty oil off the skin, leaving the nerve endings directly exposed to the CS and air. The gun can be and has been fatal, particularly to those with respiratory ailments. The first cop to use this squirt gun was one Officer Kocan, who used it exactly 70 minutes after he was trained. He later bragged that the victim choked and gagged for 15 minutes. The only reason that the

L.A.P.D. waited this long to adopt this weapon was that it was illegal until this year. It is now being issued to all patrol police.

These two weapons, are clearly nothing new, only more lethal "versions" of the batons and mace the pigs already carry.

The other "non-lethal" weapon adopted is the Taser gun—which delivers a thousands-volt shock to the victim. Two darts are fired at a range of 10-15 feet into the victim, and the pig can then "subdue" the victim by pressing a button to deliver the jolt, a jolt that could kill someone with a heart condition and throw anyone into violent convulsions. Gates interviewed on NBC national news last week, commented on the "limitations" of this weapon—i.e., its short range. What the L.A.P.D. really needs, he said, is a "sort of Buck Rogers ray gun. One zap and down they go."

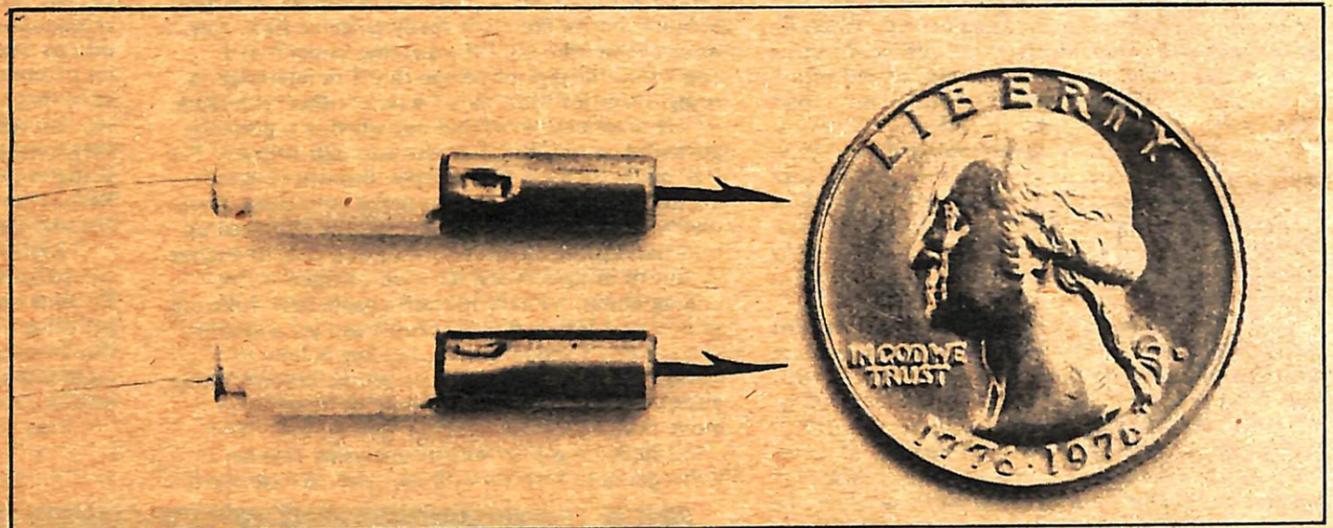
These are the "non-lethal" weapons—weapons aimed to terrorize people into line. For all the PR about reducing fatalities, they will do nothing of the kind. In fact, just during the testing period of these weapons, the L.A.P.D. continued its murdering ways, shooting six people to death and wounding 11 others.

The police started the "non-lethal" weapons campaign by throwing a bone to the backward, with a well-publicized "revolt" of patrol pigs who described

"non-lethal" weapons as "the first step toward disarming policemen." Authorities rushed to assure them that guns would remain "their primary defensive (sic) weapons," and the "non-lethal" weapons were only for use in "situations where less than deadly force is needed" (which isn't too goddamn often for pigs in L.A., or any other city).

Next, the "PCP user" routine was whipped out. In every press conference, every demonstration of "non-lethal" weapons, every test, the "PCP user" was targeted. For example, an *L.A. Times* article states, "Over a 90-day period, officers used the Taser 26 times against suspected PCP users, 21 times successfully." "PCP user" is supposed to conjure up a vision of a drug-crazed maniac, and has been used numerous times over the last few years to justify police shootings.

"Non-lethal" weapons? On June 17 some cops on patrol in the Black community of South Central L.A. heard some "shots" fired (which later turned out to be firecrackers set off by some kids). They stormed into the house of Larry Morris looking for the "gun" and chased Larry into his bathroom. There they applied their "non-lethal" choke hold with their "non-lethal" batons. How do we know it was "non-lethal" force? Because the County Coroner ruled that Larry died of a heart attack. □



Tasar darts (shown next to a quarter for size comparison).

Motor City Layoffs

From the Assembly Lines to the Soup Lines

It is a striking indication of the severity of the economic crisis that even as the "highly educated" but very stupid economists from coast to coast seize on every minor upturn to proclaim that "the recession has bottomed out," or as another politician promises to "re-industrialize America," growing numbers of people are being driven dramatically into impoverishment. Unemployment and poverty are two glaring indictments, two running sores, that can't be hidden away, like the capitalists try to hide the exploitation of wage-labor behind the smokescreen of "a fair day's pay for a fair day's work."

A stark example of the festering rot of capitalism can be seen every day in Detroit. There, thousands of people get their only meal by standing in line at soup kitchens, and by receiving food donations through programs run by religious and other organizations. In the last year, the number of people being served by these facilities in Detroit,

has doubled. The largest one, the Capuchin Soup Kitchen, run by the Catholic Capuchin Order, has jumped from about 350 people per day to 8-900 per day (including families who get their food delivered to them.)

Even more significant, in terms of gauging the breadth and depth of this present crisis, is that a whole new stratum of people are queuing up at these centers—laid-off auto workers. This same phenomena is also reflected at the welfare offices around Detroit, where there has been a 78% increase in general assistance payments, and a 23% rise in ADC cases (aid to dependent children) over the last twelve months. Over half of the new ADC applications are from workers that have exhausted all their unemployment compensation and other benefits. And now, due to a new law in Michigan, these ADC claimants will be forced to suffer an additional kick in the teeth by being press-ganged into repairing the city and state roads in order to obtain these paltry benefits!

In line at the crowded Capuchin Soup Kitchen were people like Earl, who had been laid-off from Ford a few months ago. He didn't have enough seniority to qualify for the various types of benefits designed to provide a short-term cushion to the impact of unemployment among auto workers. He was trying hard to get by on welfare. But welfare itself looks more and more tenuous every day, because lurking in the wings of the State Legislature is a proposal to cut 68,000 people off general assistance. Why? Because they're single, under 65 years old, and therefore should be able to sell themselves to some boss somewhere—they're "employable" say the bourgeois politicians.

So every day, Earl gets up at 3 o'clock in the morning to be the first in line at the temporary jobs office that opens at 5 a.m. Today, there weren't enough minimum-wage, hard labor jobs to go around, so he had to spend a few more hours job hunting and then had headed over to the soup line. Other auto workers who have come through the kitchen have been laid off between one and two years; many within the past year when the new round of heavy auto layoffs cut a wide swath through the ranks of the employed workers in Detroit. Along with them, swept up as the impact of auto shutdowns and indefinite layoffs ripple into other sectors

of the economy, come workers from other industries—steel, rubber, etc. Only a short time ago they had been making relatively good wages, looking forward to some security and a possible retirement out of these slave holes called factories. And suddenly, as if by an invisible hand, the very workings of capitalism have hurled them from the assembly lines onto the soup lines. The first time at one of these places for recently unemployed workers is a jolting experience. "These aren't the 'broken people'," commented the director, referring to the long-time down-and-outers who society had turned its back on after they had gotten too old to be profitably productive or had succumbed to the stresses of capitalism. "I used to think that's all the type of people that would be here too," said Earl. "But there's a lot of people who were working. We're looking at the future right here."

Although the Big 3 auto companies have recently called back a couple of thousand workers, this fall and winter will see a virtual tidal wave of those who will have totally exhausted their benefits and have no prospect of a job in sight. Tens of thousands of formerly better paid industrial workers will join this growing section that is being ground down to new depths. A politically volatile situation is seething

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TO THE SOLDIERS OF NATO

The following leaflet was distributed among the NATO troops involved in the current Autumn Forge war maneuvers in Europe by Marxist-Leninists from NATO countries.

To the Soldiers of NATO:

Right now from Norway to Turkey NATO is conducting the largest war maneuvers in its history. As many as a half a million troops from 15 countries are being ordered to carry out the deadly serious business of practicing and perfecting the mobilization for and the initial rounds of the next world war. The size and scope of these maneuvers and the fact that they take place in the context of the deepest economic crisis and highest level of international political tension since World War 2 make it clear that "Autumn Forge '80" is not just a "war game" or a "military exercise" but is in fact a dress rehearsal for World War 3! The maneuvers are a stark taste of the times coming when soldiers will be called upon to choose against whom they will aim their weapons, for what interests and what goal they will fight and die.

The imperialist countries, headed up by the U.S. and the USSR, are marshalling their forces in the two rival blocs as they desperately maneuver to be in the strongest position to begin hostilities. Of course each set of rulers loudly proclaims that they have only freedom and justice and even "peace" in mind as they prepare to launch the greatest carnage in human history.

The ruling classes demand that we must forget all that has gone on before—the exploitation of the workers; the discrimination and brutality against minority nationalities, immigrants and others; the degrading of women including forcing whole legions into prostitution; the previous wars and military interventions they have waged against peoples in the underdeveloped world; the hatred we feel against those who degrade and humiliate us daily in their army. And why are we supposed to have this change of heart? Because the exploitation, the oppression, the plunder will disappear if a war is launched? No, the bitter irony is that the call for rallying around the flag and the General Command in time of war comes when all the evils and injustices of capitalism are increased a hundred-fold. For world war is itself nothing other than the highest expression of capitalism which can exist only on blood—sucking the blood out of the oppressed in times of peace and spilling it by the barrel in times of war.

The Western countries talk of defending "freedom and democracy", while the Eastern countries speak hypocritically of defending "socialism," but the real cause for

which they are preparing to kill millions was summed up by the great revolutionary V.I. Lenin in 1915 when he said about world war one:

"What is this war being fought for, which is bringing mankind unparalleled suffering? The government and the bourgeoisie of each belligerent country are squandering millions of rubles on books and newspapers so as to lay the blame on the foe, arouse the peoples' furious hatred for the enemy, and stop at no lie so as to depict themselves as the side that has been unjustly attacked and is now 'defending' itself. In reality, this is a war between two groups of predatory Great Powers, and it is being fought for the partitioning of colonies, the enslavement of other nations, and advantages and privileges of the world market. This is a most reactionary war, a war of modern slave-holders aimed at preserving and consolidating capitalist slavery."

This is exactly the great and glorious cause for which we will be called upon to carry out a mutual slaughter with the people of the Eastern countries. The very same rulers who everyday are tightening the noose of exploitation around our necks, and who through the draft or unemployment force us into their armies, are calling on us to kill people no different from ourselves for one reason and one reason alone, to gain an even greater portion of the world's countries and peoples for their imperialist profit mill, and in doing so preserve their ability to rule over us.

While each side points to the other as the "aggressor," it is plain to see that neither side is less hideous than the other. While the Russians invade Afghanistan, the U.S. maneuvers to re-enslave Iran. The Eastern rulers try to suppress the people of Poland while the Western rulers prop up the military dictatorship in South Korea. While Russian planes bomb liberation fighters in Eritrea, American arms are used against the people of El Salvador and South Africa. Already the leaders of both sides calculate the immense wealth to be gained from an expanded empire built on the rubble of a third world war. Their computers calculate the cost in barrels of oil, tons of steel, and, just as coldly, tens, even hundreds of millions of deaths. Whole industries are devoted to the science of killing, from nuclear warfare to the perfection of the "electronic battlefield" first used against the Vietnamese people.

But these plans for another, third, world mutual slaughter have, like the capitalist system itself, a fundamental flaw: it can only go on as long as the working class and the oppressed allow themselves to be robbed in times of peace and used as human ammunition in wars to protect and expand this robbery. Already in the world today

millions are in rebellion against this system. As the crisis of the imperialist system brings increased suffering to the masses of people, as the threat of war or its actual outbreak will reveal to millions more, including within the imperialist countries themselves, the criminal and outmoded nature of the imperialist system, the question will be posed to the workers, soliders and oppressed masses of whether to be the makers of history or merely its victims.

While only imperialists have the need and capability to start a world war, how such a war ends could well depend on us. Imperialist war means the capitalists must arm millions of the slaves. For what purpose these guns are used, whether they point in the direction of fellow slaves from other countries or whether they point at our own slavemasters will be up to us to decide. Rather than ending in a victory for one or another set of imperialists, a war could end in the victory of the working class—in the overthrow of the current ruling class and the establishment of a new social system. That this is a real possibility is underscored by the fact that during the maneuvers there will be practice (for now!) in turning our guns on uprisings of civilians, whom our rulers claim to be protecting.

We must work today for revolution. This alone can prevent the outbreak of the third world war, and even if revolution is not capable of stopping the outbreak of such a war, by waging revolutionary struggle now we will be in a stronger position if and when such a war breaks out to take advantage of the defeats that our own rulers will inevitably suffer, of the profound revolutionary sentiments that the war will give rise to, to finish in our way what they start.

We call on the soldiers of all NATO countries to take advantage of these maneuvers to conduct revolutionary activity within the armies. Copies of this appeal and other revolutionary literature must be circulated in the barracks and in the field during the maneuvers. Every protest by civilians against the maneuvers should be supported. The blind reactionary patriotism promoted by the officers and all efforts to reduce us to mindless robots capable only of killing and dying in the "national cause" must be answered by discussions among the ranks of the real nature of the war they are preparing and the real interests of the working class and soldiers of every country. The soldiers of various countries should join together and strive to find the ways to make their common protest against the imperialists' war plans seen and felt by the people of the world. In this way while our enemy is making preparations for war, we can make preparations of our own. □

Pontiac Bros.'

Continued from page 2

room and there are no prejudices allowed against the defendants. Do you have any prejudices?" When one white actually responded that he "resented" racial incidents that had occurred while he was in the military, the judge stopped dead on this line of questioning and changed the subject. This provoked a

storm of protest from defense attorneys which eventually got this juror dismissed.

But the real workings of an "American courtroom" have been revealed by the judge's constant threats against lawyers who have continued to protest the outrageous, assembly-line jury selection.

As we go to press Judge Miller, in a heavyhanded push to ram jury selection through, found attorney Mary Anne Jackson guilty of contempt of court (she has yet to be sentenced). Shortly thereafter, the first four jurors were quickly chosen. The plans of the state to rubber stamp this railroad are clear. □



Message to Iran

The following message is being sent by the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA to Iran for distribution through the media. The RCP, USA is also calling on class-conscious workers and all revolutionary and progressive forces in the U.S. to send solidarity messages addressed directly to the revolutionary masses in Iran.

Greetings to the people of Iran—long live the advance of the Iranian revolution!

The gangster ruling class of the United States, which for so long has been scheming and striving to once again snatch up the people of Iran, is lashing out once again against the Iranian revolution, this time through the reactionary regime in Iraq. We salute the many brave fighters who have given their lives to beat back this assault, fighters who have fallen in the front lines of a worldwide struggle against imperialism and reaction. We take great inspiration from the reports we hear of the revolutionary daring and initiative of the masses of Iranian people, including especially the heroic workers and peasants and soldiers. And we pledge to you our militant solidarity in the fight against our common imperialist enemy, knowing full well that the revolutionary Iranian people in their millions represent a force that cannot be conquered.

The unleashing of this criminal assault makes it all the more clear what is propelling the U.S. imperialists towards war with their equally imperialist Soviet rivals—the quest for plunder and more plunder. Both superpowers have been bastions of reaction in the Gulf region as throughout the world, causing untold devastation as each tries to secure in its grip whole sectors of the globe

in preparation for their global showdown. Both hate and fear the Iranian revolution which has demonstrated to the oppressed and exploited of the world that there is another road besides the domination of one or the other imperialist bloc—the road of armed revolution.

The U.S. imperialists have labored long and hard in the reactionary cause of achieving a comeback in Iran, through plots against the Iranian government and other intrigues to once again subjugate the Iranian people. But this latest attack orchestrated in Washington reveals not only their arrogant, unchanging bloodthirsty nature, but also their desperate gamble. It has even more aroused the Iranian masses who are determined to firmly take destiny in their own hands and free themselves of all oppression. It has further exposed and undermined the reactionary regime in Iraq, which fears the aroused anger and rebellion of the Iraqi people who have suffered so long under the Iraqi rulers' slavish submission to first one and then the other superpower and share a common revolutionary cause with the Iranian people. And it is arousing and strengthening the revolutionary determination of uncounted millions across the world who share and are bound to fight in this just and common cause of war to the death against imperialism and all reaction.

Iranian brothers and sisters, the class-conscious workers of the U.S., like all revolutionary people, stand with you and are determined to fight beside you until the emancipation of the whole world from exploitation and oppression and its vestiges.

Statement by GI's

We the undersigned who are in the U.S. military know that the bloody hand of U.S. imperialism is behind the Iraqi invasion of Iran. We support the Iranian revolution. U.S., keep your bloody hands off Iran! Down with U.S.-Soviet war moves!

(6 active duty GI's)
from Fort Knox

From the Iranian Communist Press

The following are excerpts from a lead article that appeared in Haghghat (Truth—the organ of the Union of Iranian Communists) No. 87 in early September, just two weeks before the U.S.-instigated Iraqi invasion of Iran. The translation was done for the RW.

1800 U.S. marines along with dozens of U.S. gunships and fighter planes are standing by on alert and are stationed at the mouth of the Persian Gulf, Oman Sea and other U.S. bases in the Gulf region to attack our land. Trained mercenaries are already in Iraq and are at this minute waiting to attack our country... Pockets of SAVAK agents and army officers within Iran and in Iraq are getting ready for another all out offensive. In an Isfahan church numerous documents have been discovered indicating the close cooperation of U.S. and British imperialism in coup plot plans. The counter-revolutionary Bakhtiari and Ghashghai tribes have started their seasonal movement and approach toward the Persian Gulf long before its due time.

Our country is surrounded by a whole bunch of dependent reactionary regimes and all are frightened that their doom may be near as a result of our revolution and if our revolution is able to survive and advance. In the east, the Pakistan regime is extremely fearful as a result of the unrest among its people against the notorious lackey Zia al Hagh. In the south a series of U.S. puppets such as Saudi Arabia, Oman, Kuwait, and Emirate Sheikdoms are rendering their services and allowing bases and facilities for the use of their U.S. masters and other local reactionaries.

In the west, Iraq and Turkey are plotting against our revolution and our country. Iraq has intensified its military activities, and their paid saboteurs have placed numerous bombs and launched armed attacks against us. They have fully armed and organized ex-Iranian military personnel and SAVAK agents. In Turkey martial law has been extended to almost every city and town....

We should take all these calculated activities and plots and what is to follow very seriously... In the recent aborted coup attempt the main engineers of the coup responsible for military and political operations, as well as the details of their activities, have not been discovered or exposed. General Rokni and Mahdiyoun were executed without revealing or exposing their secrets and connections. Therefore the network of the whole coup operation remains intact and for the most part uncovered.

Frankly not only can't we depend on the government, but they themselves are playing the card of the imperialists. The Islamic Republic Party and particularly the gang of Beheshti and Ayat in spite of their phony anti-imperialist gestures are themselves undoubtedly in the same league with the coup engineers.

Bani-Sadr, who claims that he had felt the coup plot for sometime, still depends on the very same coup-ridden, U.S.-trained army and promotes the ex-Shah's reactionary elements such as Gen. Falahi. He talks a lot about "the people" and his "dependence" on them but yet he wants these people to cheer him and not to truly depend on themselves. If he really meant to depend on them, he should arm them before anything else, so they could be ready to defend the country and the revolution. But we see that they are still depending on the remnants of the Shah's army.

Ayatollah Khomeini is also claiming supernatural powers and is putting the fate of the country into "Allah's hands." But on the earth there is no Allah, and the things that are material and which you can touch and feel are in the hands of coup plotters and those who have a hand in it. When Ayatollah Khomeini says "the U.S. imperialists are not afraid of the army but of the Iranian people" this is absolutely correct, but when he depends on the same army, calling it the "Islamic army", in practice he is pushing away those very same forces which really makes the U.S. scared.

As we have said many times, there is only one way to stand up to these dangers which are threatening our revolution—and that is to struggle to continue the revolution and mobilize and organize the roots of this revolution, which is the masses of toilers. The danger of a coup d'etat and the objective base of it won't be destroyed unless the revolution goes forward and smashes this base under its wheels. □

IRANIAN PEOPLE RISE AGAINST U.S. WAR MOVES

Continued from page 1

fulfill its military objectives, economic hardship and political chaos would set the stage" for a coup. "If in a few months the economic situation worsens and there are food riots or heating riots in Tehran... someone in Iran may well come to his senses and make a deal with Iraq, perhaps along with those Iranian generals in exile in Baghdad. Khomeini might oblige by having a 'heart attack'..."

And asked what the U.S. would do if the Soviet Union should move in to "exploit the situation," Griffith replied, "Well, the post-Khomeini regime, if it comes, might be pro-West. And the U.S. has not abandoned the area. You know those AWACS planes on their way to the Mid-East, the reconnaissance or spy-planes? Well, they can also be used to vector—guide in—fighter bombers from our aircraft carriers off shore."

The various U.S. moves in the area, and its determination to crush the Iranian revolution, are all related to its fundamental objective: to position itself militarily and politically in the Persian Gulf for a confrontation with the Soviet Union.

Part of this war preparation is to pull the wool over the eyes of the American people into blaming the Soviet Union for all the "trouble," in particular for somehow being behind Iraq. True, there is no despicable act that is beyond the nature of the equally imperialist Soviet Union either, but in this case it is the U.S. who is the backstage show director. The U.S. wants to give their own imperialist designs an image of being "just resistance to aggression." So even while their own dirty hand behind the action becomes more exposed, the U.S. steps up its coverup.

The U.S. has taken the initiative in the situation, not from a position of "overwhelming strength" but out of urgent necessity to safeguard its vital

imperialist interests. And while the U.S. in the short run has managed to partially achieve certain of its objectives, this course of action is also loaded with heavy risks for them, and certain important features of their plan are already beginning to unravel and backfire on them.

The paramount "hitch" for the U.S. is that the Iranian government—and even more so the Iranian people—have not cooperated by "crumbling" in the face of the Iraqi invasion, as all the Western military analysts have smugly predicted they would. Although Iraq, with the element of surprise on their side, succeeded initially in making some territorial gains, they have not yet been able to consolidate these gains or to fulfill any of their strategic objectives. The Iraqi plan called for the seizure of the oil port of Khorramshar; capture Abadan and destroy Iran's major oil refinery there; the seizure of Ahwaz, the capital of Khuzestan Province, and Dezful, which is situated on the strategic highway providing the only land transport link to Tehran. Although the Iraqis have repeatedly claimed "complete victory" at all of these sites, in fact they have failed to seize any of them. And the resistance on the part of the Iranian masses—cut off from the main forces of the Iranian army—has been intense and increasingly effective. At Khorramshar, which Iraq claimed to have entered on September 26th, an attempt to move troops in on October 1st was beaten back in a bloody battle; the Iraqis then sealed off the area to journalists, who had been bussed in to record the Iraqi "triumph." The Western press has begun to admit that the Iraqi offensive is "stalling" and "sputtering." Recriminations against "erroneous intelligence estimates" which predicted an early Iranian col-

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U.S. Inspired War Hits Stumbling Block

Sharp Struggle, Excellent Situation Inside Iran

"The spirit of the people is incredible—we feel like we did during the insurrection!" said the enthusiastic voice from Tehran. "We know this is an imperialist attack on the revolution—thousands are volunteering—we will fight to the finish!"

"Wait... what is this," sputtered the wobbling U.S. imperialists. "We had it all figured out this time."

Yes they had it all figured out, didn't they. When the fighting between Iran and Iraq escalated into open war last week, the U.S. rulers could barely conceal their glee. They thought that they finally found a way to strangle the Iranian revolution.

The strategy of their pointmen, Iraq, was to launch a blitzkrieg type war against Iran, quickly capturing the key cities in Khuzestan province—Abadan, Khorramshahr, and Ahvaz—as well as the northern approach to Khuzestan, the city of Dezful. This offensive would undoubtedly be co-ordinated with attacks by pro-Shah exiles, reactionaries within the Iranian armed forces, and possibly even U.S. forces.

With the Iranian government besieged on several fronts; its economic lifeblood—oil—cut off; its army in shambles; and the Iranian people too demoralized to resist; Iraq and the U.S. expected to be able to quickly consolidate their gains and dictate a "peace settlement" that would lead to a right-wing coup or the capitulation of the Iranian government to the U.S., and the end of the Iranian revolution.

The initial reports from the battlefield were of easy Iraqi victories, collapsing Iranian resistance, and Iranian Arabs eager to join with their "liberators." "Our forces are advancing into Iran," the Iraqi communiqués stated, "the Iranian forces are retreating, leaving behind dead, wounded, prisoners, and equipment." The U.S. planned scenario was being played out.

But suddenly, the U.S./Iraqi mission ran up against something, they once again hadn't counted on—the Iranian people; and the tide of battle began to turn. Throughout Khuzestan and the border areas under attack, the Iranian masses, along with elements of the Revolutionary Guards, and the lower echelons of the Army put up fierce resistance to the invading Iraqi forces. In the cities people built barricades, and fought house to house; with weapons ranging from machine guns to molotov cocktails.

The city of Abadan has been a fortress of resistance that the Iraqi army hasn't been able to penetrate on the ground. Abadan has long been a bastion of revolutionary forces. During the revolution to overthrow the Shah, it was the oil workers of Abadan who ignited a series of political strikes that economically and politically crippled the Shah's regime, at a time when other forces—now in the government—were hesitating to take such revolutionary initiative. Showing their revolutionary consciousness, these were among the workers who turned down bribes from the Shah to double and triple their wages in return for stopping these strikes. Iran's revolutionary left has been influential in the oilfields, and this year's May First demonstration in Abadan was one of the largest—some 50,000 marched—and most advanced in Iran.

In spite of the fact that these revolutionary forces suffered severe repression after the new Islamic government came to power, their political influence was never eradicated, and today those forces are spearheading the heroic resistance in Abadan, helping to spur units of the Revolutionary Guards and

the Iranian Army to follow their path.

Iraqi forces have been kept largely outside of Ahvaz, and bloody fighting is going on around Dezful, Qasr-i-Shirin, and other cities near the border. At Sasangird, 40 miles northwest of Ahvaz, the people in the area have employed creative—and highly effective—tactics of attacking the Iraqi army. When a column of Iraq tanks had moved in front of a large dam, they blew up the dam, flooding the area. With the Iraqi tanks stuck in the mud, they were easy targets for the Iranian air force to pick off.

After furious house-to-house combat in the key port city of Khorramshahr, Iraqi forces have been pushed out of the city. Here, as in many other places, the people from the city, organized in small fighting groups, have armed themselves with whatever they could find, making especially effective use of molotov cocktails to blow up the gasoline trucks that Iraq's armored units totally depend on for fuel.

Contrary to the early U.S. TV and press news reports, the Arab population in Khuzestan is standing with the rest of the Iranian people against this imperialist backed invasion. Only a handful of Iranian Arabs who were mainly connected with Iraqi-organized, and SAVAK-infiltrated, groups have sided with the Iraqis. This has blown a gaping hole in the lie that Iraq is attacking Iran to "help" its Arab "brothers."

Throughout Iran, there is a new tidal wave of revolutionary struggle gaining momentum among the masses to smash what millions clearly recognize as a counter-revolutionary, imperialist inspired plot to crush their revolution and impose a new pro-U.S. reactionary regime.

So far the Iranian government has taken a stand against the Iraqi invasion. They have targeted U.S. imperialism as the movers behind the Iraqis; they have rejected diplomatic initiatives aimed at forcing them to capitulate; and to a certain degree they have mobilized the masses to resist the invasion. They have taken this stand because these stepped up attacks do sharpen the contradictions between imperialism and national bourgeois elements that now dominate the Iranian government—and still hold onto hopes for an independent capitalist republic—and because the widespread mass movement has pushed them to stand up to the imperialists, in order to retain any hopes of influencing the Iranian people.

Last Friday, over a million people demonstrated in Tehran against the Iraqi invasion. Millions have also volunteered to go to the front or to receive arms training. Youth as young as 12 years old have volunteered for medical corps. These organizing efforts are being carried out both under the auspices of the government, and very significantly, on the independent initiative of revolutionary forces. In some cases, government-formed organizations—such as the "Reconstruction Corps"—have been largely taken over by the masses.

A tremendous spirit of cooperation has developed throughout the country. People restrict their consumption of



precious gasoline and kerosene without a complaint and they are voluntarily going along with the ban on all motor vehicles except taxis and buses in the cities. People are also helping each other overcome the difficulties and shortages that the war has imposed. Common bickering and hassles—so much a part of daily, normal life, have disappeared.

Perhaps most significantly, this upsurge is no simple repetition of the mood and consciousness that gripped Iran when the Shah was being overthrown. The Iranian people have learned rich lessons during the course of the many struggles since the victory over the Shah's regime, and genuine revolutionary leftist forces have deepened their influence.

People "want to fight the U.S., but don't transfer their feelings to supporting the government or the clergy as a whole; they are watching closely, and looking more deeply: beyond individuals to classes and institutions," summed up one Iranian revolutionary. Recently, in northern Iran, when the People's Mujahadeen (who have been organizing and mobilizing for the war) were attacked by the Islamic "Hesbollah" (followers of the "Party of God"), the masses turned on these reactionary falangists and routed them.

This situation has created very favorable conditions for the Iranian revolutionary left to step up its activities and spread its independent strength and influence in the course of fighting against this latest U.S. attack. It is important now to not only win the immediate battle, but to further raise the class consciousness of the Iranian masses in order to push the Iranian revolution to completion in this first, anti-imperialist stage.

The left has indeed been very active—doing both street corner agitation, and widely distributing written agitation and propaganda. They have also organized, both independently and in conjunction with the government, to

train and arm the masses, and to take up the fight against Iraq.

Many advanced people are also stepping forward to join and support the revolutionary left. Organizations like the Union of Iranian Communists, who have put forward a line of warning the people of the danger of a U.S. inspired war or coup attempt, have gained considerable respect among revolutionaries.

While the resistance by the Iranian people, not the Iranian military, has been key in thwarting the Iraqi offensive, the resistance put up by the Iranian armed forces in the war has also baffled the U.S.'s bourgeois "military experts." When the war first broke out, these "experts" warned that Iran had been "left virtually defenseless against the Iraqi Army," and that "Iran's military machine has fallen apart." All these problems were blamed on the pernicious effects of the revolution and the break in relations with the U.S., which rendered the Iranian military leaderless, which caused thousands to desert and left Iran's sophisticated military hardware to fall into a state of despair.

But while the amount of men and material is an important factor in fighting a war, it is not the key factor—something these bourgeois experts can never quite understand. As in their political calculations, one thing they are never able to feed into their computers is the masses of people—especially when they are politically conscious, aroused to action, and armed!

This applies to the present Iranian armed forces as well, which has been transformed to a certain extent and has also become a battleground for different class forces over the last year and a half. Prior to the overthrow of the Shah, the military was totally dependent on and controlled by U.S. imperialism—not only because of its dependence on U.S. parts and weapons, but because the U.S. operated through tens of thousands of military "advisors," who had de facto control of the Shah's army. The result

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U.S. Imperialism—Hands Off Iran! Down with U.S.-USSR War Moves!

on the Draft Programme and Draft Constitution of the RCP, USA

Letters

The Role of Culture as Propaganda

To defeat the enemy we must rely primarily on the army with guns. But this army alone is not enough; we must also have a cultural army, which is absolutely indispensable for uniting our own ranks and defeating the enemy. (Mao, *Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art*, p. 1)

Although the draft Programme on pages 74-75 recognizes the "enormously powerful role" played by culture in "shaping public opinion," and defines how culture is now dominated and disseminated by the bourgeoisie, and further lays out (pages 75-81) some important ways in which the proletariat will seek "to establish its domination over culture as a whole," there are no references in this section nor in the section (pages 37-38) "Create Public Opinion, Seize Power" to forms of culture which will be useful "in the process of building up to and then waging the armed struggle for power" (page 41). Although some forms of revolutionary culture are being developed even now—posters, RW centerfolds and covers, poetry, *The Mother*, Fire—it seems necessary to provide a basic guide for such a cultural weapon in the Programme.

Artists both inside and outside the Party must use the sharp tools of art to cut through bourgeois illusions and offer proletarian probabilities and realities. Proletarian artists must produce art which opposes the lines put forward by both those petite bourgeois artists who willingly serve the bourgeoisie (large numbers of these work not only in the entertainment and media field but throughout the utilitarian art area—auto, home, business design—aircraft, home appliance, utensils, etc., where they command large salaries) and those who serve either reluctantly or inadvertently in their desire to sell their art (this of course includes more writers, painters, sculptors and other plastic artists). Artists who stand with the working class must also combat the art of certain so-called revolutionary artists who in an attempt to produce art which they believe reflects the mood or interests of the masses create reformist or pessimistic ("doomsday") art which either holds back revolutionary aspirations or demoralizes the people.

Although every effort must be made to destroy old ideas which chain us to the past, holding us in the present, revolutionary art should also offer possibilities which are not only acceptable and desirable, but also challenging and daring. Revolutionary artists must especially show that the future can be infinitely better than both the past and present. This art must offer the bright view of a better world while concentrating on the smashing of the present.

A Son of the Working Class

Draft Programme Comments, Criticisms and Suggestions,—from a discussion among some Party members

Overall reaction is that this is an unprecedented document, from the all around picture of socialist society in this country and all the concrete detail involved to what we have to be doing today and up until seizing power and why.

We have a few sections that we felt elaboration would help to clarify possible confusion that could arise.

1. Page 7 beginning with the first full paragraph to the end of the first paragraph on page 8 (in the section on Proletarian Revolution is the Only Resolution of the Crisis in the Interests of the Masses of People)

First of all, this section is setting a tone for the rest of the book and needs to impart a strong sense of urgency around taking a stand today as well as painting a vivid picture of the sharpest questions of the day. Readers should be left with a real sense that Revolution is possible in the 80's.

Therefore, going into more depth, like in "America In Decline" in the section on World War and how there are real differences between the war we are facing and the last world war. At that time, there was a sense that the war, because it was fought on foreign soil, etc. was a "inconvenience" or that "it is good for the economy" but the real horror that the bourgeoisie is ready to unleash is not real for some people. It should bring out more vividly that there are real material differences between the position of the U.S. today and during the period around WWII. Readers should be left with understanding that conditions today are unprecedented.

2. Page 28, last paragraph.

The question arose as "I don't understand why the labor aristocracy (apart from the labor hacks) should be so different from the petty bourgeoisie. In terms of income, they earn more than some sections of the petty bourgeoisie but less than others who can be won over. The Programme says that, 'at most the class-conscious proletariat can hope to neutralize a part of this labor aristocracy...'

After discussing this, we felt that these following points of clarification should be added. Primarily the bourgeoisie needs to have leverage within the working class, especially as the crumbs they are able to give out shrink, and will consciously attempt to keep control, create public opinion, etc. through using this strata of the workers who work in highly concentrated areas of workers in an individualized and better off position (which can give rise to reactionary world outlook). Clearly, the bourgeoisie recognizes the need to have the workers "in line" and these forces are "direct links" for them.

Secondarily, the world outlook of this labor aristocracy differs from much of the petty bourgeoisie in that the petty bourgeoisie, because of education and the

"Dare to Grapple with the Battle Plan for Revolution," was the call issued by the Revolutionary Communist Party some time ago. This was a call to take up, discuss and criticize drafts of the New Programme and New Constitution of the RCP, USA which were published in early March.

The drafts of the New Programme and New Constitution are truly profound and pathbreaking documents. They are a battle plan for proletarian revolution and the establishment of socialism—the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat—in this country. The documents are drafts, weapons in preparation. They represent a concentration of the science of revolution—Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought—and the application of this science to the specific conditions we face in this country. The real possibility for revolution in the next decade demands that those who burn with the desire for such change seriously throw themselves into the struggle over the draft New Programme and New Constitution.

We have solicited comments, questions, agreements and disagreements over the new documents, and encourage the submitting of letters for publication in the Revolutionary Worker. Groups and individuals are urged to contact the Party with their ideas and to set up discussions.

Any topic covered in the drafts will be open to discussion. The publication of letters does not indicate that the Party necessarily agrees with the position stated in them. Others are free to respond to the points raised in any letter. The Revolutionary Worker will on occasion respond directly to points raised, but as a rule we will not. This is because this process is not a series of questions and answers, but a process of discussion, struggle and sharpening of the drafts which will culminate in the final version of these documents. This process will last for a couple of months and will conclude with an even higher concentration of a correct proletarian revolutionary line by the leadership of the RCP. The final New Programme and New Constitution will be published shortly thereafter. The result of this process directly involving thousands will not only be deeper unity over the political line of the Revolutionary Communist Party, but a deepening of the line itself. And the proletariat will have an even sharper weapon in its revolutionary struggle for political power.

exposure to many different ideas as well as a number of "service" occupations gives people a chance to look at the kind of contribution they can make to society, i.e. doctors, teachers, lawyers and much of this system will be offensive to their values. Also, the crisis will be grinding down economically as well as in other ways their lifestyles, whereas the bourgeoisie will be making more concessions amongst the labor aristocracy although they will also feel the effects of the crisis.

3. Page 37 paragraph one.

There was a lot of struggle around this whole section (Create Public Opinion—Seize Power!) and what should be added, what was its main purpose, what was in other sections and didn't need to come out here. The struggle wasn't really resolved.

Off of the work we've been doing, one of the major differences that has consistently come up, is around the role of the advanced. The line in opposition to the Party is something like, We have to be in the forefront of the biggest mass movement, if people see the need to take some form of action, don't worry about why they see the need for action, i.e. anti-draft movement—from pacifist to this will help Carter over Reagan or whatever, we need to be speaking to the lowest common denominator. In opposition to this, the Party's line is that there are always going to be advanced, intermediate and backward and although this never remains static, it is constantly transforming etc. our agitation/propaganda is directed to people's highest aspirations, to the advanced in the sense of training them or moving them into action and this having an influence on the intermediate, as well as the intermediate being challenged with another point of view.

In determining what articles to put in the paper, the determination has to be made with the view of what are the key questions that the masses of people broadly need to be dealing with. This doesn't mean that these questions are already on their minds, in fact, they are often mainly seized upon by the advanced, but ultimately this is going to have the broadest impact in achieving our overall goal of making revolution—in other words, to create public opinion in the broadest way doesn't mean taking questions like the draft etc. and limiting our work there, but we have to be taking advanced understanding of the Party out to the advanced amongst the masses.

The struggle that was left unresolved was that, by seeing the need to be elaborating on the role of the public opinion directed at the advanced, was this putting the advanced above the main thrust of this section which is speaking to the need to be creating public opinion broadly. Or isn't there a dialectical relationship between speaking to the advanced while at the same time influencing the intermediate?

Questions and comments from the masses

1. The main question was around the role of the advanced vs. mass movements.
2. What is the guarantee that the Party won't turn into new oppressors under Socialism.
3. The main bulk of the differences came out in the form of different philosophical outlooks, mainly pragmatism, i.e. wanting a blueprint and not recognizing things in their development, to agnosticism i.e. how can you be so sure, things are so complex and we really can't know for sure and the programme is so sure.
4. Particular questions came out around the Party's line on homosexuality i.e. they have existed historically, it's biological, they will be persecuted under Socialism etc. Another question was what is proletarian morality.
5. Around national oppression, one person felt that the united front isn't possible today, even though they saw that it exists because of capitalism, divide and rule, etc., because national chauvinism has become so much a part of the white mentality.

Notes on the Programme

Just in general I don't really grasp the qualitative differences in the first five sections (pp. 3-38), that require chapters all equal to the chapter on transforming society after the seizure of power. There is some redundancy in these sections that may not be necessary—around the crisis and its resolution through revolution, the role of the Party and class conscious workers, etc. Each section emphasizes a different and major point: 1. The possibility of an unprecedented revolutionary situation. 2. The historic role of the proletariat as capitalism's gravediggers. 3. Why armed revolution now and historically, how socialist revolution differs and is more advanced than previous revolutions. 4. Classes and their relationship to the proletariat in seizing power. 5. The central task of revolutionary agitation and propaganda. However, I don't really see why these sections are not combined in some way to cut out redundancy and actually give greater emphasis to the proletarian thread running throughout.

I think the second section (Proletarian Revolution is the only resolution... pp. 7-9) is eclectic in the sense of raising successful revolution in the U.S. this time around as equal to or more important than revolution worldwide with revolution in the U.S. as a crucial part of that whether successful or unsuccessful in the short run. It's one thing for revolution in the U.S. to be our principal task, but

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Incite! P.O. Box 6312 Oakland, CA 94603

Reader Correspondence

The Army: "It's not just a job, It's an adventure."

Dear RW,

This last week's issue of the RW, with its front page photo of GI's in the Autumn Forge war maneuvers training for nuclear and chemical warfare, brought to mind the story of Rondo Hatton, Hollywood's "The Ugliest Man in Pictures." Aficionados of late night movies on TV may have seen some of the movies Hatton played in during the 1940s, appearing as "The Creeper," whose pathetically deformed facial features were exploited in many a Grade Z Tinsel Town clunker.

However, the real horror story lies outside the camera's range. Hatton's grotesque deformity was not, as the Hollywood publicists claimed, "a freak of nature." It developed after Hatton had been gassed on the Western Front during World War I.

Before the war, Hatton had been voted "most handsome" boy in his high school class, and served as the captain of the University of Florida football team. After his exposure to gas during the war, he was felled with acromegaly, a disease which causes enlargement of the bones of the head. Hatton spent 10 of his next 28 years in various hospitals, as the size of his facial bones doubled. His weight ballooned from 136 to 204 pounds with the growth of extra cartilage in his face, feet, and hands. It required several operations and four sets of teeth before he could chew. His cheekbones were surgically removed and replaced by metal braces. For several years, he was completely blinded, suffering all the while from acute pain throughout his body.

For a good while, Hatton retreated from the world into hospitals, staying in bed; the outside world's response to his appearance left him

gravely depressed. Finally, he resolved to do something about the situation. "In a veteran's hospital," he recalled, "you see so many guys so much worse off than you are that... well, if there's anything left in you, you quit feeling sorry for yourself." Leaving the hospital, Hatton got a job as a sports reporter in Tampa, Fla., and it was here that he married. But in 1938 his condition worsened, and his doctors suggested he move to the drier climate of Southern California. For a time, the deterioration of the bones in his feet left him so badly crippled that he couldn't walk. Finding himself once again lying in a hospital bed, this time at the V.A. hospital in L.A., he hit upon the idea of letting Hollywood exploit his face. While Hatton may have tragically underestimated his own worth as a human being, he certainly did not underestimate Hollywood's carnivorous appetite. After picking up a few small parts, he hit the "big-time" with Universal Studios. With Boris Karloff leaving the studio, Universal needed a replacement and they signed Hatton to a seven year contract. The huge publicity buildup accompanying Hatton's new "star" status portrayed him as a born monster; indeed, how could they hope to titillate the fancy of the movie-going "rubes" by suggesting any of the real story? Such a struggle against real-life horrors as suggested by Hatton's life was hardly fitting fodder for the grist mills of Hollywood's myth-making; better to leave "horror" in the domain of the fantastic, all the while making truly fantastic war movies, for example, which portrayed imperialist carnage as noble and majestic.

A Revolutionary Prisoner Writes

We recently received the following unsigned letter from a prisoner.

Comrades

I recently had the opportunity to read the New Programme put out by the R.C.P. I was very impressed with what the programme had to say about "peace and prosperity."

First of all I would like to let you know that my background is that of a laborer and that I have witnessed U.S. imperialism first hand. As an infantry man I served in the Americal Division in Vietnam and was marched off to the villages like My Lai to kill Vietnamese that were fighting for liberation at that time. It was all in the name of peace and prosperity. I also resisted risking my life to kill for imperialist exploitation of Vietnam and on one such mission I didn't inform the officer in charge of the search and find mission about the mine he stepped on. He was killed on the spot and we went back to XX, since we had no one who wanted to lead us through a mine field. I am a Vietnam Veteran that returned from combat to unemployment and poor health care and also have been jailed from this system's courts. I am now serving time in XX prison system on frameup charges. I got involved in the anti-war movement the day after Gov. Rhodes ordered students killed at Kent State University. I joined

the Peace Movement...and then I moved forward to the Anti-Imperialist Movement on campuses to unite students and veterans in the struggle against the second Indochina War. I was involved in the struggle to free the Attica Brothers in New York State and also was struggling to free the Gainesville 8 veterans who were being railroaded on conspiracy charges. I have been supporting the just struggle of the Iranian masses and have several friends that have returned to Iran to help take the revolution there forward to victory. I have supported Mao's correct line for the Chinese masses and the workers of the world and battled in the streets to take forward the stand of the International working class. I know that Mao did not fail and the revolution will surely prevail. I am supporting the working class in the struggle to stop U.S.-Soviet moves toward war and the demand for the workers to turn the guns around on their slavemasters.

In revolutionary solidarity
An Incarcerated Brother

Long Live Mao and the Four! | |

Rondo Hatton did not last long in his new role, completing only two films under his new contract. After making "The Brute Man" in 1946, he died of a heart attack. Let his memory serve as a vivid reminder of the "American Dream," more impressive than the success of a thousand Horatio Algiers. Only in America, truly the golden land of op-

portunity. The fact that Hatton gained his marketable skill through the armed forces also reveals a hitherto little considered benefit of combat duty, one that today's youth might consider in contemplating a "career" in the service. Remember, "it's not a job, it's an adventure."

Signed, a reader | |

Figures Tell Only Half the Story

Murder By Tampon: Toxic Shock Syndrome

On August 10, Diane Silva, 15, died from an illness that caused a fever of 104 degrees, diarrhea, vomiting and eventually deep shock and extremely low blood pressure. Two days later, Lesa Toby, 17, died of the same illness. Linda Imboden, 27, managed to survive the illness, but her blood pressure plummeted so low her lips, mouth, tongue, hands and feet turned black and she lost several fingers and toes to gangrene. These young women and 344 others documented since January 1980 got an illness the Center for Disease Control (CDC), an FDA agency, calls Toxic Shock Syndrome (TSS). All were menstruating and using a new kind of super absorbent tampon first marketed two years ago. 71% were using Proctor and Gamble's Rely, the rest other brands. 29 have died.

The FDA's first response to the deaths: "The problem is misuse of the tampon...medical data shows that some women have been using them anywhere from one to six months," (i.e. continuously). Earlier, when the first reports of the disease hit the papers, Mark Kehrberg, a Utah doctor with the CDC, was quoted linking the super absorbent tampons with TSS. Immediately he retracted his "hasty" statement and claimed the AP "quoted me out of context." The media quickly rectified the effects of Kehrberg's blunder and stories of women "misusing" the tampons began to appear in

the media. This took a lot of cold-blooded finesse since the pivoting selling point of all the super absorbent tampon advertising has been its convenience, its "double protection" that enables women to wear the same tampon for longer periods of time "without the worry."

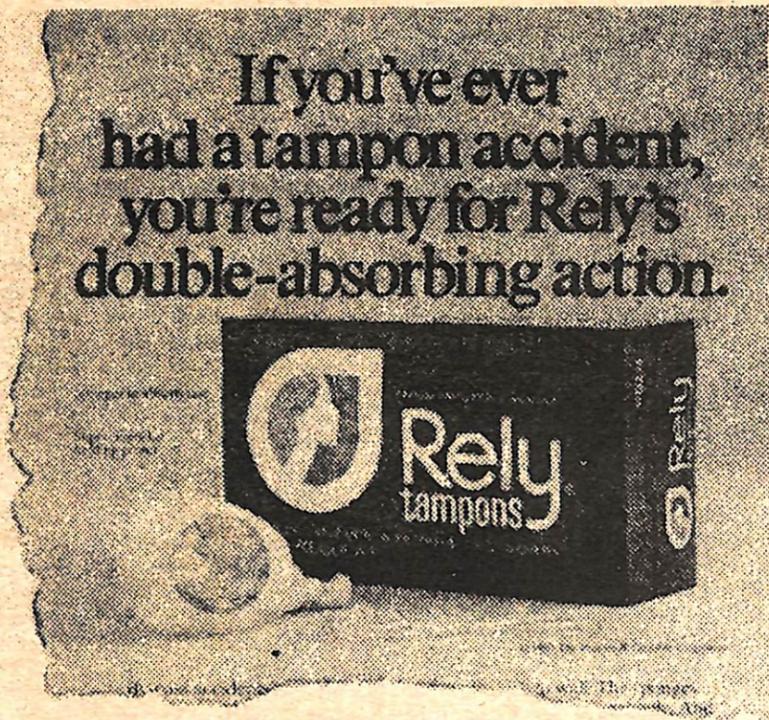
This hypocritical gangster logic gives only a hint of the capitalists' cover-up through their agencies and media. The FDA was forced to have the CDC publicly investigate TSS only after the story had already broken and they were receiving 25 to 50 calls a day around the country from women anxious to know what was going on and angry demands from women's clinics to know what these tampons were made of. And so the CDC embarked on its investigation of this "new" disease, coming up with a sacrificial lamb—Rely—to save the rest of the tampon industry and reassuring statistics on the disease's "insignificant occurrence". This is all coupled with feigned ignorance of the disease and the clinical effects of tampons in general to get themselves out of any tight spot in the future. The effect is to keep this tampon scare from getting out of hand and making sure women continue to use the latest in feminine hygiene and keep millions of dollars in profits flowing into their pockets.

But although public information is scanty on the tampon question in general, only a little digging around un-

covers the real story. Up until a few years ago cotton was used to make tampons, but in the search for cheaper materials, polyester and the more absorbant rayon were hit on and this fueled the competition for the *super* tampon. Two years ago, right at the beginning of large scale use of the super-

absorbent tampons, gynecological medical journals documented cases of the tampons causing microscopic ulcerations which eventually led to large ulcerations, complete with pieces of the synthetic material from the tampons embedded inside the wound. Yet fur-

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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



Pull Handle

DEMOCRATIC PARTY

REPUBLICAN PARTY

INDEPENDENT CANDIDATES & OTHER ASSORTED SAVIORS



Check Box

THIS WHOLE SYSTEM IS PUTRID, I DON'T BELIEVE IN ANY OF ITS CANDIDATES!

CITY _____ DATE _____

OCCUPATION _____

MAIL THIS COPY OF THE 1980 ELECTION BALLOT TO THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY, P.O. BOX 3486 MERCHANDISE MART, CHICAGO, IL. 60654

BALLOT



Pull Handle

DEMOCRATIC PARTY

REPUBLICAN PARTY

INDEPENDENT CANDIDATES & OTHER ASSORTED SAVIORS



Check Box

THIS WHOLE SYSTEM IS PUTRID, I DON'T BELIEVE IN ANY OF ITS CANDIDATES!

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

IRANIAN PEOPLE RISE AGAINST U.S. WAR MOVES

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lapse have begun to bubble up in the press.

Phase Two of the War

In the wake of Iran's defeat of Iraq's initial attempt to capture Khuzestan Province, a new phase of the war seems to be developing. It is not yet clear exactly what course this new situation will follow; there are complex and changing elements at work. But overall it seems to point to new vistas for the Iranian revolution, and new dangers and gambles for the U.S. imperialists.

For the Iraqis and their U.S. mentors, the choices look much grimmer than they did a week ago. If Iraq simply decides to dig in and hold their present positions, they have no guarantee either that Iran won't counter-attack or that they will have enough leverage to force a settlement on their terms. (Although it is true they have done considerable economic damage to Iran.) Fighting this way the war could drag on for weeks.

Yet if Iraq and the U.S. escalate the fighting, and try to take the key cities they could unleash the revolution in Iran totally beyond their control. Furthermore, this fighting could well start to have a big effect inside Iraq itself, especially as casualties mount. In addition, their own oil-based economy is in a shambles, and the longer the war drags on, and the more intense it gets, the deeper trouble they are in.

There are already signs that the initial flush of victory is wearing thin, and that Iraq may have let loose forces within its own country that it will soon lose control of. Thirteen Iraqi cities are reportedly under martial law, and even the U.S. news media (which has pointedly only showed pictures of Iraqi civilian casualties, and broadcast the statements of Iraqi diplomats) has yet to report on any sizeable demonstrations of support within Iraq for the war.

And as if they didn't have enough trouble with the Iranians, Iraqi Kurds have announced that they are taking advantage of the fascist Hussein regime's war with Iran to launch attacks on the Iraqi government. Already an oil pipeline running between northern Iraq and the Mediterranean through Turkey was blown up by Kurds in Sipoli; and

Iraqi Kurds reportedly attacked 3 cities in the past few days. (It is also reported that Iraq has had to leave 4 divisions to garrison the Kurdish areas—more than they have committed to the front—to cope with the threat of a Kurdish uprising!)

It is for all these reasons that the Iraqi regime, backed by the U.S., has been attempting to maneuver a halt to the fighting ever since its military fortunes appeared to have peaked.

While continuing to reinforce their secure positions on the Iranian side of the border, Hussein has begun to call for "peace," using the UN Security Council resolution, which calls on "both sides" to end the fighting without mentioning the Iraqi aggression or insisting that Iraqi troops leave Iranian soil. Then on October 1st, Hussein announced a plan for a "unilateral" Iraqi cease fire in place, beginning October 5th. These moves reflect the Iraqi (and U.S.) hopes that the fighting can be brought to an end before their initial gains melt away and turn into their opposite. While the military situation is still fluid, the potential does exist for the military initiative to pass decisively over to the Iranian side.

In a longer war, Iran's considerable resources—especially its 35 million revolutionary people—will more and more come into play. The possibility that the Iraqi regime may eventually suffer a decisive defeat is something the U.S. imperialists will strive to avoid at all costs. Therefore, if Iran continues to fight past Iraq's "cease fire" deadline (as they clearly will, until Iraq's invading army has been hurled back across the border) the possibility of a further escalation of the aggression against Iran—up to and including direct U.S. military intervention—will be raised even more sharply.

Already, following Iran's swift rejection of Iraq's so-called peace proposal, Iran is being painted as a "irrational warmonger" which has "once again dashed hopes for peace in the Persian Gulf." The media is raging that Iran—after first "spurning" the reactionary UN Security Council call to an end to the fighting with Iraq's troops still on Iranian soil, and then "turning a deaf ear" to the farcical "good will mission" headed by the U.S. tool

General Zia of Pakistan, on behalf of the Council of Islamic Foreign Ministers (most of whom have lined up firmly behind Iraq)—is now compounding its crime by ignoring Iraq's "generous call" for a cease fire. All of this is part of the drive to create an image of Iran, which is fighting Iraqi troops on its own soil, as a "dangerous source of war and instability" in the Gulf which must be suppressed "in the common interests of security and peace."

Arrayed against all these imperialist threats and the imperialist-backed Iraqi invasion have been various forces inside Iran. The U.S. imperialists are shaking their heads in disbelief about how well the Iranians have done thus far in the fighting—but that is because they cannot understand the strength that comes from fighting a just war.

Originally analyzed to be in "disarray" with "no effective command structure," the Iranian forces have inflicted heavy damage on the Iraqis. The Iranian navy has demonstrated clear superiority (while pledging to keep the Strait of Hormuz open to international shipping so as to make it more difficult for the U.S. imperialists to use that pretext to send in the U.S. Navy). The air force, too, despite a lack of spare parts (which will ultimately take a toll on this form of fighting) has outperformed expectations. While the imperialist press has portrayed many of these Iranian air attacks as being "directed against civilians" (quite a hypocritical charge since the Iraqi armed forces were in the midst of trying to level whole working class cities, like Abadan), in fact, most strikes have been quite effectively directed against military targets as well as key industrial ones (like refineries), decisive to crippling the Iraqi war effort. Many of the Iranian pilots and support crews were supporters of the revolution and some even support the Left in Iran. So even within the more "regular" forces such as these, the fact that this is a just war on the Iranian side is making a difference in fighting capacity. This is due to the one "factor" the imperialists always leave out of their "military equations," the fighting enthusiasm and even initiative of the people doing the actual fighting.

But of course it is true that the Iranian government is riddled with contradictions and represents a variety of class forces going all the way from the national bourgeoisie to feudal and outright pro-U.S. ones. This means the government cannot be relied on to lead the war to victory, and in particular, to do so in such a way so as to weaken—not to strengthen—the internal forces supporting imperialism inside Iran. If this is not done, then "victory" in the war will be worse than useless. A

reactionary coup or capitulation to the U.S. on the part of the government could very possibly follow. And many forces inside Iran, particularly within the military, are trying to maneuver toward just such a goal. Only the broad mobilization of the Iranian people in the anti-imperialist struggle is really stopping them. At present, the Iranian government, in its main aspect, has its own class reasons for opposing this U.S. imperialist-sponsored invasion, and insofar as it resists, as it has been doing, it is fighting a just war. There are tremendous pressures on the exploiting classes in Iran to cave in to imperialism, if not right now, then later, and this makes clear why the Iranian proletariat must join the fighting, but increasingly under its own banner.

What stands out about the present situation in Iran is exactly the increasing opportunity for the proletariat in unity with the peasants and other popular strata, to do just that. This is all the more true as the war goes on longer. The U.S. imperialists' aggressive gamble in unleashing this war has brought forth many conflicting forces—not the least of which are the revolutionary masses of Iran. The opportunities and necessity for advancing the revolution, not merely defending what has already been won, are increasing every day.

As the accompanying article illustrates (see p. 7) these opportunities are beginning to be seized by the Iranian masses—and are already making a decisive difference in the fighting. The key element of the fighting that has beaten back the Iraqi thrust inside cities like Abadan and Khorramshar has been house-to-house fighting, heroically taken up by the masses, especially workers. Khomeini called last week for the masses to take up this kind of combat, which itself was a pretty good sign that they had already begun on their own, or with revolutionary leadership. Khomeini, while firmly in opposition to the Iraqi invasion and resisting other imperialist aggression and maneuvers as well, is a representative of sections of the Iranian national bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie. He has generally remained in the leadership of the movement in Iran by giving voice to the actions and demands of the Iranian masses just after they have begun to put them into effect themselves. The recent call from the Iranian government for a united front of all groups willing to fight Iraq has to be seen in a similar light—as showing its contradictory tendencies. This call shows on one side the tendency in the government to seek reconciliation with certain pro-U.S. imperialist forces in Iran (for example within the military) in order to secure their "help" in strengthening the army

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From the Assembly Lines to the Soup Lines

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just below the surface in the urban industrial areas of the country.

Michigan has the highest unemployment rate in the country, with over half of the 600,000 who are currently receiving unemployment compensation concentrated in the Detroit metropolitan area. Already 110,000 people have run out of their usual 39 weeks of comp payments over the last year, while in the same period the total paid out has increased 2 1/2 times! Soon, even money from the Trade Readjustment Act (TRA: a federally funded program that provides up to a year of high benefits to workers who have lost jobs to "foreign competition") will run dry. This is quite significant, since TRA has been used by the ruling class as a major prop to promote the illusion of "normalcy" by stringing workers along on crumbs. But more importantly, it has been used as a club over the working class, especially in auto and steel, to whip up backward, chauvinist thinking around the "Buy America" campaign. The social fabric is being stretched taut. The bourgeoisie can hear it straining at the seams—and it is a frightening sound to them. This past summer, when TRA was suspended for six weeks, dozens of riot-clad Detroit porkers fanned out around the city's unemployment offices the morning after the announced suspension—just in case. And the strain on the fund is increasing. Every single one of the 30,000 laid-off Chrysler workers

became eligible for TRA when the company's Supplemental Unemployment Benefit (SUB) fund was cut back to compensate for only workers with 10 years or more seniority. And Ford, too, recently cut back its SUB payments to those with 10 or more years seniority. The role of all these cushions has been to forestall the shock to the economy, and to people's consciousness, that would result from dumping that many workers onto the streets, without income, all at one time.

The bourgeoisie sees the unmistakable impact of these dislocations on the proletariat and among the masses of people broadly. A Michigan State representative recently denounced the proposed welfare cuts, crying, "This would be unthinkable... it could lead to anarchy!" And that is why local, state and federal governments are trying to juggle the budgets while they slash and hack away. But the direction is down and with every passing day of the deepening crisis, clearer still is the life and death nature of this crisis to our rulers. And so too, as large numbers of unemployed workers from such strategic sections of the economy like auto, steel and rubber, come face to face with what it means when capital cannot enrich itself any longer by exploiting their labor power the whole idea of going along with this madness becomes a life and death question. □

Navajos Drawing the Line

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if they don't give up their children to the boarding school. Louise and Thomas told us of getting haircuts every weekend, of being swatted and having their mouths washed out with Borax soap if they spoke Dine, and of having their luggage ransacked periodically as school officials searched for eagle feathers and other Dine cultural items. After a few years of this, each Dine child was given a choice: either go to a Mormon "placement" (live with a foster family for 5 years in another state), or remain in boarding school. They both chose to stay rather than be sent "into exile," as they put it. A few, however, succumbed to the general pressure. There is only one family at Big Mountain that opposes the struggle of the people, it is also the only Christian family in the area. Alice Bennally said, "They've got other plans. (She pointed to the sky). They all want to go up there."

Both Louise and Thomas travel to other parts of the reservations—for example, Burnham—to take part in the battles against the capitalists, and Thomas frequently goes to cities around the country "to check out what the struggle is there." Many of the people at Big Mountain view theirs as part of a worldwide struggle against the U.S.

capitalists, pointing to the Iranian revolution as having inspired them.

Thus far, the Joint Use Area administrators have been able to evict a number of the Dine through the use of various intimidation tactics and outright deceptions—such as getting an elder to sign a document purportedly acknowledging the number of sheep they have, but in reality agreeing to be relocated to a city. Thomas told us that a lot of the people who have been relocated are in danger of being evicted once more. Unable to find jobs to meet their utility bills and food needs, they run out of a few thousand dollars the government gives them for moving in less than a year.

But the people of Big Mountain are determined to resist this fate. They have organized into what they call the "Big Mountain Dine Nation, and have even issued their own "Declaration of Independence" from the U.S., announcing that they will refuse to abide by the laws and regulations of the federal government.

Big Mountain. The government has tried to draw the line here with the construction of a fence. But the fact that it has been unable to do so shows that the Navajos have drawn the line as well. □

Africa Stalked by Merchants of Famine

We would like to call our readers' attention to an article which appeared in the *Washington Post* on Monday, September 29. The event described was, well, one of the lighter moments occasioned by the 35th annual meeting of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund. We quote from the *Post* article at length:

This may be the age of computer banking, but the de Medici clan would have felt at home on the Mall Saturday night as the Banco di Roma celebrated its centennial anniversary with 600 of the presidents and directors of the world's largest and most influential banks.

"We had a party in Rome but this is quite different," said the host Giovanni Guidi, President of the Banco di Roma as he shot a disparaging glance at the Lester Lanin orchestra, momentarily decibel-mad, and shouted, "Here, there is everyone one needs to know."

The 35th annual meeting of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund in Washington this week was the austensible hunting for the money bees at the party who were mainly private bank executives, not members of the IMF.

Among those meeting and greeting under the yellow and white striped tent off Jefferson Drive were a U.S. ambassador to Italy, Richard Gardner, Italian ambassador, Paolo Cedronio, (several politicians were also present—RW). . . Nearby, Albert Dondelinger, the Chief Executive of the Banque Internationale à Luxembourg, was being well met by Wolfgang Feuchtmuller (a managing director of the Austrian Bank—RW). . . "We are mostly private bankers here tonight," said Feuchtmuller, turning to greet a woman and man walking toward him. The woman was the wife of an American banker and as Feuchtmuller bent low to kiss her hand, she smiled, blushed perceptively, her cheeks turning the color of the scarlet sequins on her gown. She glanced down and straightened her nearly full glass in the nick of time, thereby averting a potential international incident. . .

By nine, the last black limousine had arrived and the guests settled at their plates. "This is French service, Madame, the best," said an elderly waiter, his eyes glowing with pride. "Two waiters for each table." Two waiters each for 60 tables—a veritable battalion.

The five-course feast was wheeled out with military precision. The talk of interest rates and gold and millions and billions continued amidst some not always successful attempts at conversation. . .

This story overshadowed another which had made news a few weeks earlier: This year, over 1 million African people will almost certainly starve to death.

The gaunt spectre of famine is once again stalking Africa. According to the United Nations, 17 of the 26 countries in the world facing what it euphemistically refers to as "abnormal food shortages" are African nations. The hunger belt stretches from the horn of Africa all the way across the continent and includes Botswana, Zambia, Djibouti, Somalia, Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Ethiopia, Sudan, Senegal and the Sahel countries of the sub-Saharan area—Chad, Niger, Upper Volta, Mali, Mauritania, Gambia and even the Cape Verde Islands. The UN estimates that more than 20 million people in this area face famine this year. Out of these, 12

million are sure to develop severe malnutrition. By the end of the year it is predicted a minimum of one million will surely starve to death. Why?

If we are to believe the media, which as usual is shedding an ocean of crocodile tears for the "poor, starving Africans," there are a multitude of causes! According to the *New York Times*, ". . . the terrible consequences of war and weather have caused a crisis that cannot be dissolved. . . Wars big and small have given Africa four million of the world's ten million refugees. Drought, greed and mismanagement have taken away the corn." *Newsweek* echoes this chorus: "Local politics and intermittent bush wars, skyrocketing birth rates, stagnating food production and government inefficiency, greed and indifference have all contributed to the nightmare."

But while some of these factors certainly exacerbate conditions of famine, they are by no means the cause of it. Much is made, for example, of the fact that East Africa and the Sahel countries are facing the worst drought in 15 years. And that these African peoples are the "unfortunate victims of natural causes" is given a slightly hysterical touch by articles describing how the "relentless and greedy" Sahara desert is moving southward at a rate of several miles a year and rapidly "devouring" these already drought-ridden countries. But drought has always been a normal climactic pattern of this area of the world; the 1910-1913 Sahelian dry spell, for instance, was marked by no mass hunger.

No, the root of this situation is not drought, overpopulation (in fact, Africa—under different conditions—would be quite capable of producing enough food to feed many more people than live there now) or any other such "natural causes." Nor is it mainly a question of "local political corruption and economic mismanagement," so-called "bush wars" or the "refugee problem," which, although they have contributed to the situation, are mere symptoms of the underlying disease.

At the heart of the impending famine is none other than the imperialist politics and imperialist economics which have long dominated and controlled these African nations and kept them firmly subordinated to the dictates of international capital. Just as imperialism laid the basis for the widespread famine of the late '60s and early '70s, so now it has created the conditions for even more serious potential starvation in Africa in the 1980s.

The Imperialist Legacy of Famine

Ever since Africa was originally conquered and divided up among the colonial powers, one of its main functions has been to cheaply produce crops for export to the "mother countries" (as well as provide a source of unprecedented mineral wealth). Entire economies were organized and adapted to supply the vampire-like needs of the capitalists



"while some of these factors certainly exacerbate conditions of famine, they are by no means the cause of it."

(mainly European at the time) thus devastating local food production and all-round development. It was not that the primitive farming methods that prevailed in Africa before colonization had been any great shakes, but through the spontaneous development of the social structure and economy of the area at the time, the pastoral nomads and small farmers had developed sensible ways of producing enough food to survive under difficult natural conditions. In the Sahel region, for example, while nomadic migrations appeared random to educated European observers, in fact they took advantage of variations of rainfall and vegetation. And by carefully mixing and controlling herds, these nomads produced enough meat and dairy products to exchange with small local farmers for grain and their animals annually manured the farmers' fields.

But with the coming of the French to the Sahel, artificial national boundaries were created that disrupted these traditional agricultural patterns. Head taxes were slapped on animals, forcing nomads to expand their herds to sell some for cash, resulting in overgrazing which destroyed much of the former pastureland. Meanwhile, large stretches of farmland formerly devoted to staple food production were forcibly switched over to cultivation of crops like peanuts and cotton for export—a practice involving deep plowing methods which quickly exhausted the soil and wiped out the old patterns of crop rotation. Taxes were also levied on these export crops, forcing farmers to cultivate more and more in order to pay. It was the beginning of a vicious cycle—extensive cultivation of crops for export which depleted the soil and necessitated even further expansion of export cropping for these countries to survive, all to the detriment of staple crops and pastureland.

While these new, enforced agricultural patterns were quite profitable for the imperialists, who sucked in the cheaply priced exports and sold them for super-profits in the "home countries," they were devastating for the Africans. Not only was local food production suppressed, but whole areas of land were ruined to the point that they became unsuitable for producing anything. For example, in the late '50s and early '60s the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID—a notorious CIA front)—decided, for economic and political reasons, to "help" the Sahelian nomads expand their livestock production by drilling deep water wells. Soon an average of 6,000 head of cattle were milling about wells that were sur-

rounded by grazing land fit for only one tenth that number. Since the wells did not make pastures grow, the animals ate out the surrounding area and trampled down the soil to the point where it could no longer hold water even when it rained. As one eyewitness put it, each well "quickly became the center of its own little desert forty or fifty miles square"—and in the subsequent drought the animals died—not of thirst—but of hunger. So much for the claims advanced at the time (and repeated today) that the advancing desert was due solely to the "cruelty" of Mother Nature or the fault of primitive—(read: "stupid")—nomadic tribesmen.

But up until World War 2 most of the African countries who today must import huge amounts of cereals in order to survive still actually exported some grain and other staple foods because at that time this was part of what the imperialists wanted them to produce (although this did not mean, of course, the Africans themselves were decently fed). In the last two or three decades, however, since the U.S. imperialists (assisted by those in countries like France and Canada) have found it very much in their interests to become the main purveyor of food and feed grains to the entire world, these countries were increasingly shunted into producing non-staple crops for export and tied more tightly into overall dependency on imperialism. This occurred despite the fact that it was during this very period that the imperialist powers were being forced to give up the outmoded superstructure of colonialism and grant nominal "independence" to most of these African nations as a concession to the powerful struggles of the African masses.

But that the imperialists were generally able to continue, and even intensify, their exploitative economic relations under the new, Black-run "independent" governments was sharply illustrated by the devastating African famine of 1968-75 during which, ironically enough, exports from those nations abroad reached record levels. For instance, between 1961 and 1971, the worst famine year, the country of Niger quadrupled cotton production and tripled peanuts. Likewise, by the late '60s, Chad had planted two thirds of a million acres with cotton earmarked for European mills, but not with food. As one French economist dryly observed of these nations, "If people are starving, it was not for want of cotton."

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LET 100 FLOWERS BLOSSOM

Continued from page 3

but I don't see a revolutionary situation developing this decade. There's going to be a lot of heavy shit happening this decade and if the U.S. and Soviets can't come to some kind of agreement there's probably going to be a war. But even then that doesn't mean there's going to be a revolutionary situation.

The objective situation will turn the masses more to the Party but other groups will be out there too. People will try to take the easiest road until the final showdown. People always get hoodwinked. All these alternatives will have to be exhausted before people turn to revolution. Especially in this country people are going to have a hard time relating to Communism. I can have higher aspirations but I don't think others can grasp those aspirations, they're just going to take the path of least resistance.

A steelworker from East Chicago

RW:

The main point that I want to get into is around what kind of influence does a party need in order to successfully lead an armed revolution and around the political mood of the masses and the possibility to develop the kind of revolutionary force necessary to lead the masses in seizing power. The point is not to deny the ripening of these contradictions that have been building up within the far flung empire of U.S. imperialism since the last world war. (It is not to say) that the preparation for world war, the actual war itself and the necessity for the imperialists to win it along with the further deterioration of the economy will not force the bourgeoisie to put the masses through a wringer. (Neither is my point to deny) that great turmoil and chaos will result especially during nuclear war and if the U.S. is losing (which is another point I have questions about—the probability of the U.S. losing given the extreme distortion of the Soviet economy due to expenditure of capital in war production along with its still relatively backward forces of production and the political turmoil this has and will give rise to—witness Poland.) The key question I have is, is it possible for us to come from behind and actually build the kind of revolutionary force necessary to

lead things forward, to resolve the contradiction through the armed seizure of state power.

In the past period of time there's been a lot of articles and excerpts (in the *RW*) from the writings of Lenin dealing with the question of coming from behind in terms of a race against time as well as are we tailing the advanced and underestimating the potential that exists right now. Along with this there has been the use of analogy to the situation that the Bolsheviks were in prior and during W.W. I that they were a tiny sect but look what they were able to do. In the 1979 C.C. report the Chairman says 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". I disagree with this, that such a small force could lead a revolution. I mean to accomplish 100,000 I think will take 1,000 sustained networks and secondly from what I can tell from reading some stuff the Bolsheviks were not a tiny sect by any means though they may have been ridiculed as such by the Economists who want a party to be made up of every striker and demonstrator or by the bourgeoisie. By the very nature of being a communist party we are going to be relatively small compared to the general population through revolution and war into socialism. But when reading books like *The Bolsheviks in the Tsarist Duma* and some of the writings of Lenin in the period leading up to the outbreak of war like "Revolutionary Strikes and Street Demonstrations" (Vol. 18), "Revolutionary May Day" (Vol. 19) you get a picture of a party that had broad and deep ties among the masses particularly the proletariat, that had developed a political organization for close to 10 years along the guidelines of *What Is To Be Done?*, that had withstood the Stolypin reaction where political activity subsided primarily due to political repression rather than "the continuing strength of the Bourgeoisie shows up mainly in the form of its political and ideological domination over the masses—in the general backwardness of the working class as a whole..." which primarily led to the ebb that occurred here in the 70's.

Also when reading these articles you get the sense of the kind of political life and motion that was going on. May 1, 1913, 250,000 workers participated in political strikes in St. Petersburg, a city of 2 million. The question being posed to the Bolsheviks was that the workers were exhausting themselves in political strikes and street demonstrations, that some means might have to be developed to coordinate the political strikes. The party analyses that there are millions who already have a revolutionary hatred for this system and many more developing this orientation, a situation where there are "already many different protests and struggles on the part of various classes and on various grounds in this country... bound to increase, even by leaps and bounds in the period ahead" (*RW*, No. 69, p. 3) and yet the revolutionary strivings "of the advanced workers also tend spontaneously to be suffocated by the still backward atmosphere that generally prevails among the working class as a whole..." (*Ibid.*) I feel the party over-estimates the revolutionary aspects of the current situation but underestimates particularly the political effects on the working class being in an advanced imperialist country that has been the top dog for the last 35 years that has bourgeois democrat traditions coupled with the strong economist trends that have existed among revolutionary forces up until recently. Right now the party is stating that it is possible to make a leap to 100,000 *RW*'s, which would have an impact far beyond that as the paper is passed from hand to hand because it is necessary. But I feel the analysis must go deeper in to what is the political mood among the masses especially as war is quickly approaching and the bourgeoisie is forced to bring down more control and regulation including attacking revolutionary forces including illegality of the paper and organization. When you look at the political situation in tsarist Russia prior to the outbreak of war and the role that the Bolsheviks were playing in the spontaneous upsurges of the working class and then compare it to here the contrast is very sharp. True the interdependency of the U.S. empire can lead to sudden and widespread shocks to society and the parasitic nature of imperialism will come back to haunt them but we're talking about right now making dramatic leaps in the strength of the revolutionary forces. Something that I see a desirable and necessary—but possible?

A reader

Atlanta Revolutionary

Beaten

As we go to press, the *RW* has learned that one of the Atlanta revolutionaries charged with "advocating the overthrow of the government" was singled out and attacked by UAW goons—right under the nodding eyes of the Hapeville cops (an Atlanta suburb). The revolutionary (also a Mao Tsetung Defendant) had to be hospitalized for possible concussion—he'd been smashed in both temples at once by a 6'4" baboon who had clearly been trained to fight.

A team of *RW* sellers had hit the gates of the Ford Hapeville plant (laid off down to one shift) with the *RW* and a large banner reading, "U.S. Get Your Bloody Hands Off Iran and the Middle East! Down With U.S./Soviet War Moves!" This Ford plant has a history of struggle, especially among Black workers. And when Teng Hsiao-ping was escorted around the plant by Henry Ford himself, an older white worker wore a Mao t-shirt to work and even traded jobs with a worker in another department to be sure that Teng got a good glimpse of this worker's love for Mao and hatred for the coup in China.

As soon as the revolutionaries got to the gates they were immediately approached by a swarm of cops and a few jeering reactionaries. One of the backward workers warned them that they'd "be sorry if they were still there at 4:30." Meanwhile the cops busied

themselves harassing the revolutionaries for standing in the street, and privately chatting with the worker from the plant, most likely fingering the "Overthrow 2" defendant. Even with this heavy-handed harassment, *RW*'s were being sold and several Black workers gave the revolutionaries the fist salute.

At 4:30, after the workers were all inside, out came a group of 10 UAW (United Auto Worker) hacks (including the one who'd been seen talking to the cops) who ran directly up to the *RW* sellers. *RW*'s were grappled and ripped up, the banner stolen, and then they turned to the one man and fired directly at his head. Once they had him out, the cops calmly moved in and threatened the revolutionaries with arrest for "causing a disturbance." Clearly the *RW* and revolutionaries who are fighting daily to spread its influence are very disturbing to the bourgeoisie.

Not only are two revolutionaries here, including the attacked man facing a 20-year \$20,000 felony charge for posting the "Create Public Opinion... Seize Power!" poster (the poster which is being used to call broad attention to the *RW*); but also, the physical attack against this revolutionary has been added to raise the stakes even higher.

This attack is only one more desperate act that points out all the more clearly what a deadly serious challenge this campaign for 100,000 co-conspirators is to the imperialists and their agents. □

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UN 2 Tour Ends—New Forces Join Battle

The nationwide tour of the UN 2, Steve Yip and Glenn Gan has been successfully concluded. As a result of the tour, significant new support for these two revolutionaries and the bold revolutionary action they took in the Security Council of the United Nations has been built as well as a firm basis laid for building even greater and broader support heading into the appeal of the conviction of the two (on two felony counts each) which is set for the week of October 27.

Today the significance of the UN 2's actions and their stand of "Down With U.S.-Soviet War Moves! Our Flag is Red, Not Red, White and Blue!" is all the more clear as events in the world accelerate from the war moves in the Middle East to the NATO and Warsaw Pact maneuvers in Europe. In the face of this rapidly developing situation new forces are coming into battle in opposition to the imperialists war preparations. During the UN 2's speaking tour over 3,000 people attended programs and meetings where one or the other of the two spoke: workers, high school and college students, members of the armed forces, professors, clergy and many others. For some it was their first political event of this nature. For many others who had already heard of the action and been inspired by it, signing the statement of support or penning one of their own, the tour helped to deepen their own understanding of the importance of why this battle should be continued and of the stakes involved.

Particularly important was the number of people who in the course of the tour stepped into the thick of the struggle to become activists themselves, building the tour among broader sections of the people. A prime example of this took place in Dayton, Ohio, where members of the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade approached a group of professors from the University of Dayton to sponsor one of the UN 2 on campus. The professors pulled together a core of 10 to 15 activists and organized a teach-in on campus on the question of world war. In each of the three leaflets they distributed, the UN action was a center point of agitation. The teach-in involved broad forces, with speakers from the National Lawyers Guild, the American Servicemen's Friends Association, one of the professors and one of the UN 2. The diverse political positions gave way to lively discussion over key questions: what road lies ahead for the people in the face of world war? Can the system be changed peacefully or not, can world war be prevented? 50 to 60 people attended the teach-in, and as a result the core of activists is planning to sum up this experience and make further plans to continue this kind of political work.

In West Virginia, a Vietnam veteran who had been part of a group of hecklers opposing the Revolutionary May Day demonstration earlier this year and who had begun reading the *Revolutionary Worker* in order to refute it has recently come to see things differently and attended the talk by one of the UN 2. By the time he left the meeting he had added his name to the list of sponsors. And in Los Angeles, a brother who had just gotten involved around May Day was quite angry when people failed to tell him about the first visit one of the UN 2 made to the area a few months ago. This time when people contacted him, he not only came to the main event, but emceed it.

In West Virginia, a DJ supportive of the UN action had one of the UN 2 on a radio talk show. The DJ, however, warned him not to expect too much from the radio audience. After the show, he was surprised by the serious and probing nature of the questions phoned in. A week later, after the tour, the radio station was still receiving



Glenn Gan with active duty GIs.

phone calls asking if the UN 2 were still in town.

In Dayton, a teacher who could not attend the main meeting was visited by one of the UN 2 and it was learned that this woman had been organizing for several days to get the principal of the school to cancel classes for one day to hold a schoolwide assembly to discuss the issue of world war and for one of the UN 2 to speak. And other new ground was broken as well. A church in Dayton had one of the UN 2 address its Sunday congregation with three times the normal number of people in attendance. In another city one of the UN 2 was invited to speak in a classroom in a Catholic high school with the teacher distributing the *Revolutionary Worker* to her students in preparation for the meeting.

In the course of these and many other gatherings, important questions were debated. A San Francisco meeting including Muni busdrivers, postal and refinery workers, foreign-born workers, residents from a Sunnyvale housing project and youth, was held.

In Hawaii, a beach head of defense of U.S. imperialism, one of the UN 2 addressed a group of sailors. A quarter of the way through his speech it was interrupted by a barrage of questions until it was impossible to continue with the speech. Instead people broke down into small discussion groups where heated debate ensued. Among one section of sailors the topic of discussion was how to fight two enemies at the same time. When the meeting was over everyone without exception had a copy of the *Revolutionary Worker* in hand and 5-6 people had bought the *Draft Programme*.

The tour will be winding up this week in New York City. Plans for a program include a statement from one of the Berrigan brothers and also plans to sell the flag that was hoisted on the Security Council (if the government will give up the "evidence") as a way to raise badly needed funds.

The Washington Area Coalition Against Registration and the Draft sends its greetings to the Washington, D.C. rally for the defense tour of Glenn Gan and Steve Yip, (the UN 2). As an organization that is actively working to mobilize public opinion against the Carter administration's attempts to reinstitute the draft, WACARD recognizes the grave threat posed to the anti-draft movement by the government's vendetta against Gan and Yip. The outrageous sentence of a year and a day in prison imposed by Judge Robert Ward, as well as his remarks at sentencing the "UN 2," makes it clear that this was not a simple criminal case, but a political witchhunt. Such political victimization is designed to intimidate all anti-draft and anti-war activists in the United States and to frighten people away from the movement. It cannot go unanswered. WACARD extends its solidarity to Glenn and Steve in their fight for freedom. AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL! FREE THE UN 2!

Signed,

The Washington Area Coalition Against Registration and the Draft

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U.S. War Moves

Continued from page 12

in bourgeois terms. This plays directly into the imperialists hands. The other side, however, shows the opportunity and necessity for the popular and leftist forces to grab hold of the occasion to pursue the struggle more openly. All this can only heat up if the war goes on.

U.S. Military Moves

The hysterical calls of Arab leaders such as King Faisal of Saudi Arabia and Sadat of Egypt for the U.S. to "defend the Arabs against Iranian attack" are designed to grease the path for a far more extensive permanent U.S. military presence in the Middle East—a presence that is aimed not only against Iran, but even more fundamentally at its main imperialist rival, the Soviet Union. What course of action the U.S. may next take—and how the Soviets might then respond—cannot be precisely predicted; but what is essential is that the moves the U.S. is making right now are major positional maneuvers of strategic importance in the coming world war, moves dictated by necessity, and the U.S. cannot afford to back down in the face of initial failure.

The current U.S. military initiatives in the Gulf, both direct and indirect, are directly related to the broader U.S. strategy for defeating the Soviet Union in World War 3. The Persian Gulf area, strategically situated in relation to both Europe and the USSR, the source of 60% of the world's oil supplies, is a crucial area in the U.S. bloc's strategic calculations. The U.S. objectives in the Persian Gulf were summarized by U.S. Secretary of Defense Harold Brown in a March 6, 1980 speech to the Council on Foreign Relations: Brown emphasized that a direct U.S. military presence in the Gulf itself was essential and must be expanded; that there must be extensive access to military and naval bases and stockpiling of war supplies sufficient to sustain a "very large military force," and that the "overall response" to "aggression" "must be a multi-lateral one, involving local forces, U.S. forces, and those of other countries outside the region..."

U.S. military presence in the Gulf was, of course, already considerable before the Iraq/Iran war, both in terms of its direct naval power in the Gulf and in the nearby Indian Ocean, and in its military agreements with Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and other states in the Persian Gulf area. In addition, its "indirect" presence—forces based in southern Europe, Turkey, and other locations which allow quick deployment to the Middle East—was also a factor. But the U.S. objectives currently would, if successfully realized, result in a dramatically improved military position in the Gulf, viz-a-viz the Soviets. To consolidate Iraq, which up until a few years ago was considered a "client regime" of the Soviets, firmly into the Western camp would itself be a big step—although this would in one sense mark the formalization of an Iraqi drift towards the West which has been steady since 1975. Not only has Iraq been lessening its dependency on the Soviets for military hardware, but Western Europe has nearly completely replaced the Soviets as Iraq's main economic trading partner. Still, up until now, while the Soviets have watched their grip on Iraq loosen, they have been content to maintain what influence they could (which was still not insubstantial) and fight to insure that Iraq at least remained "non-aligned" enough not to pose a direct threat to Soviet strategic interests. Thus, if the U.S. can successfully gain clear dominance within Iraq, this would be an important advantage.

Of far greater importance to the U.S. than Iraq, however, is overthrowing the present government in Tehran and replacing it with a subservient pro-U.S. regime. The fall of the Shah in 1979 was a major setback for the United States. Iran is a large country with extensive oil wealth and sharing a long border with the Soviet Union, a fact lost on neither the U.S. or the Soviets. Under the rule of the Shah, Iran was equipped with many billions of dollars in advanced

weapons and assigned the role of "policeman of the Persian Gulf." Iran's border stretches all the way down the northern Persian Gulf; if a counter-revolutionary pro-Western regime could be installed in Iran, then the Gulf would be ringed on all sides by U.S.-controlled military power.

A major U.S. objective is to establish a qualitatively greater direct U.S. military presence on the soil of friendly regimes in the vicinity of the Gulf, along with a fully constructed network of bases, supply stockpiles, and logistical systems capable of immediately supporting the large U.S. military force in active battle. The U.S. has made a number of moves in this direction already in separate agreements with Saudi Arabia and the smaller oil sheikdoms. But the transfer to Saudi soil of four AWACS craft, under the cover of a "temporary, defensive precautionary measure" required by the current fighting, is the boldest move yet in this direction. The AWACS are designed to provide theatre level "command and control" of ground, naval and air forces; they are capable of controlling and directing both U.S. and "friendly" forces in military action. As such they represent the tip of a military pyramid essential to the "rapid deployment" strategy, and they mark the beginning of a new stage of openness in the rapid U.S. buildup in the area.

But while the U.S. is clearly gambling for very high stakes in the Gulf, it is by no means in control of the situation there—and with high stakes come high risks. Already, it is clear that within Iran the unleashing of a U.S.-instigated Iraqi aggression has given rise, not to demoralization, panic, and a prime opportunity for a reactionary coup, but a huge mass movement.

Should Iraq find itself floundering in the war, it will almost certainly turn to the United States and "present the bill" for services rendered, and demand massive military and economic aid to make good its losses. The Hussein regime definitely has its own interests in this conflict, and hopes to emerge from their adventure as a military power in the Gulf as well as a political leader of the whole Arab world. The U.S. will then be faced with the choice of abandoning all pretense of neutrality in the war and openly serving as Iraq's "military rear area" (or funnel such aid to Saudi Arabia and other client state) or risk losing Iraq altogether. In addition, should the Iraqi offensive completely backfire this would raise new alarms throughout the Gulf about the reliability and the ability of the U.S. imperialists to effectively safeguard their "interests" in the Gulf.

Soviet Imperialists' Position

Looming over all this, and closely watching every move, is the Soviet Union itself. The Soviets, too, have adopted the pose of "strict neutrality" in fighting. This is at least in part due to the fact that their immediate options appear to be somewhat limited. In other words the U.S. has got them—temporarily—between a rock and a hard place. The Soviets, though acutely aware of Iraq's increasing collaboration with the U.S. imperialists, are unwilling to withdraw their military aid to Iraq—and all potential for a recovery there—unless they stand to make a clear gain elsewhere. That "elsewhere" is Iran. Early in the war, the Iranian ambassador to Moscow met with Soviet officials and demanded that the Soviets cease all aid shipments to Iraq. This the Soviets refused to do, although, according to Iranian spokesmen, they privately assured Iran that "they did not approve" of Iraq's aggression. But the Iranians have not asked the Soviets for military aid. Iranian President Bani-Sadr in response to a *Newsweek* interview query as to whether Iran might move closer to Moscow, replied, "No. Independence is independence." While Bani-Sadr himself actually favors a more pro-Western "independence," his statement does accurately reflect the current policy of the Iranian government.

Should the military pressure on Iran grow more intense, however, it is not impossible that forces within the regime might advocate going to Moscow in search of arms and military protection. More likely other forces in

Iran such as the pro-Moscow Tudeh Party, the KDP revisionists in Kurdistan and the Fedayeen might ask for "help" for Iran in crisis. The Soviets may be waiting for such a move, or looking for some other way to gain leverage substantial enough to justify openly siding with Iran and writing off Iraq as a loss. Even though a "tilt" towards Iran can be detected, this waiting game necessitates a certain paralysis in Soviet policy right at the moment.

The Soviet imperialists, however, driven by the same imperialist laws as the U.S., may also be forced to jump into the Gulf fray in response to U.S. military moves, which it considers an intolerable threat to the imperialist "balance of power."

Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev, in a statement made on September 30, accused the U.S. of attempting to exploit the war for its own purposes. "Some people are trying to turn this conflict to their profit," Brezhnev said. "You will ask, who? They are the people who are unhappy with the cohesion of the anti-imperialist forces in the Near and Middle East. They are those who want to establish their control over Near and Middle East oil, who again dream of turning Iran into a military base and gendarme post of imperialism." Brezhnev also denounced "those whose aircraft carriers and special units are permanently hanging like the sword of Damocles over the independent states of the Persian Gulf and Red Basin." At the same time, Brezhnev reaffirmed the Soviets' official neutrality, referring to both Iran and Iraq as "friendly countries," and stating that "neither Iraq nor Iran will gain anything from mutual destruction, bloodshed and undermining each other's economy." Thus, Brezhnev's statement reflects clearly both the Soviet imperialists' intense concern with their U.S. rivals' military build-up and their efforts, for the time being, to keep all their options open.

Indeed, it is impossible to predict with certainty what each superpower will do or how the current crisis will develop—and this has a lot to do with the fact that neither superpower is "in control" of the situation, able to dictate events at will. They are forced to respond to new situations by the very forces their actions have set into motion. The potential for the current fighting to spiral out of control and escalate to a new level which neither imperialist superpower counted on at the outset definitely exists. And this, in turn, is true because the current

maneuvers on both sides in the Gulf are nothing but a prelude to the coming global imperialist war between the U.S. and Soviet blocs for a redivision of the world.

At the same time, the Iranian people are once again teaching a profound lesson in how this intensifying world situation leading toward war also brings into being new and great revolutionary opportunities for the oppressed people of the world. In their struggle against imperialism and against both internal and external enemies, the Iranian people have dealt repeated and truly staggering setbacks to the U.S. imperialists, while refusing to capitulate to the "other" superpower and, indeed, severely limiting the Soviets' maneuvering room. And all this has been done despite the non-proletarian character of the Iranian government and fierce debate within Iran over the course of the revolution.

The present situation, while posing great dangers to the Iranian revolution, also presents great opportunities and especially favorable conditions for the Marxist-Leninist forces and their revolutionary allies to advance the Iranian revolution still further. The very fact that the U.S. imperialists are so determined to snuff out this revolution indicates what a mortal fear they have of it and what dangers it poses for them, as the imperialists most directly threatened by it now. There is, of course, no "guarantee" that the revolution in Iran will not suffer a severe setback. But neither is there a "guarantee" that this will happen—or that the revolution will not advance dramatically in Iran and even spread to other countries in the area, countries whose regimes suffer from many of the same weaknesses that brought down the Shah, and whose people are driven by the same revolutionary aspirations as the people of Iran.

It is not surprising that in the Persian Gulf, the forces of imperialist war and revolution are emerging and developing at the same time. And this phenomenon is not and will not be unique to the Persian Gulf; the coming conflict, on a world scale, will be characterized by just this contradiction. Both the U.S. and the Soviets continually underestimate the revolutionary potential of the Iranian masses and their ability to beat back attempts to reimpose imperialist domination. Even as the Western press continues to be filled with "obituaries" and speculation on "post-Khomeini Iran," they are beginning to realize that perhaps they have "underestimated" once again. □

U.S. Imperialism— Hands Off Iran! Down with U.S.-USSR War Moves!

Pamphlet from the
Revolutionary Worker

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November 18, Washington D.C.

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Africa Stalked by Merchants of Famine

Continued from page 13

The skeletal corpses of millions of Africans and the wirephotos of emaciated children with bloated stomachs were stark testimony that the so-called "freedom" granted to many of these nations was only the freedom to starve under the neo-colonial domination of the major imperialist powers which continued to maintain these countries in an enforced state of backwardness—wedded to one or two crop economies designed to serve the parasitical needs of those who exploited them.

In the 1970s, and particularly the last few years, the economies of these African countries have become even more tightly enmeshed in the financial web mainly of the western imperialists, headed up by the U.S. and its international agencies like the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank—though some, like Ethiopia, have fallen into the economic clutches and under the political domination of the Soviet social-imperialists. The explosion of debit financing and the massive extension of credit to these nations by the imperialists that enabled them to stave off the world economic crisis of 1974-75 has only left them deeper in hock at a time when the world crisis of imperialism is coming home to roost and such debts are being called in or ruthlessly rescheduled. A quick look at the African countries directly confronting famine reveals they are without exception in disastrous financial condition. Chad's national debt is \$188 million, Upper Volta's is \$79 million, Kenya's is \$474 million—the list goes on and on.

(In what was described as "an impassioned speech" to the 35th joint annual meeting of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, retiring president Robert S. McNamara broke into tears as he decried the fact that "global economic conditions over the past 18 months have become substantially more difficult" and blubbered that 600 million people were likely to be living in absolute poverty by the year 2000. But despite the humanitarian facade, it was clear that McNamara was actually crying not for the underdeveloped nations but for the imperialists themselves—in particular for the World Bank which has functioned as their main instrument in organizing and regulating imperialist investment in these countries. Indeed, McNamara's report on the status of the bank presents a rather dismal picture for the imperialists, revealing that the decades of financial strangulation and plunder of the underdeveloped countries that once represented imperialism's strength has now begun to turn into weakness. The imperialists are faced with the prospect that these countries may default completely unless they are subject to rigid financial restructuring which will entail unpopular austerity measures that will only leave them more deeply in debt in the long run. Either way—default or restructuring spells trouble for the imperialists as the resultant social upheaval will have disastrous consequences for their political control and threaten their whole world financial system with chaos.)

Senegal is another case in point. As it enters its third decade of "independence" it finds itself fastened more tightly than ever before to French imperialism with hundreds of thousands on the verge of starvation. This is due largely to the fact that the Senegalese economy had long been organized by the French exclusively for the cultivation of groundnuts for the European market. Following formal independence, the Senegalese, with French "assistance," decided to further reinforce groundnut production which already accounted for a full four-fifths of Senegal's total exports. But while Senegal was devoting a disproportionate share of its resources to this, the price of the crop was steadily falling on the world market. The answer? More French development projects to revitalize the exhausted soil in futile attempts to increase groundnut productivity! By 1974 more than half the precious foreign exchange earned by Senegal in nut production was being

paid out to import desperately needed French wheat—and most of this was not even to feed starving Senegalese but to supply French-owned mills in Senegal that were turning out flour for French bread! It is little wonder that Senegal had to borrow \$105 million from France this year just to stave off default on its \$1.3 billion in foreign debts—most of which is owed to France itself since it "generously" supplies more than 50% of the high-priced imports of the basic necessities, including food, that Senegal desperately needs in order to survive.

Nor is France, by any means, the only imperialist bloodsucker that has its hooks into Senegal. For instance, Bud Antle, Inc., the giant Salinas Valley, California lettuce grower, discovered that Senegal was the nearest country to the high-priced European market capable of growing winter vegetables. Thus as the '70s famine was coming to a close a new affiliate was created: Bud Antle's Brussels branch, the House of Bud. Using water piped in at Senegalese government expense, giant vegetable plantations were set up employing landless Senegalese peasants at miniscule wages. But did this mean more vegetables for the Senegalese? Hardly. During one year, green bean prices in Europe were lower than Bud Antle's costs so as a Bud spokesman explained: "Since the Senegalese are not familiar with green beans and don't eat them, we had to destroy them." Though the Senegalese government nationalized the company in 1977, this didn't bother Bud Antle much since it was only a "development" project financed by the World Bank to whom the Senegalese government was paying interest through the nose. Besides, House of Bud continues to handle the marketing of the vegetables in Europe. As of 1977 Bud Antle was thinking of starting up similar operations in 9 other African countries!

One Fundamental Cause

Of course, the U.S. media has always worked overtime to focus attention anywhere but on the real source of famine in Africa. A frequent charge is that the corruption of "local elites" is responsible for the chaotic food situation. Indeed this is partially true—there have always been the local ruling classes, the comprador capitalists and feudal landlords, who have been absorbed into the imperialist set-up of exploitation and who eagerly shift lands under their control away from food to export production, or who manipulate supplies of whatever food staples are produced and sell them to the highest bidder. In fact, many of the government officials, bureaucrat-capitalists, and local agricultural "experts" in these countries have been trained precisely for this kind of role by none other than the U.S. AID, the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations, etc., in their agricultural "development" programs. But this is mainly to ensure that the situation remains a profitable one for the imperialists themselves since the real marketing control—and the lion's share of the plunder—in these countries lies almost exclusively in the hands of foreign corporations.

Then there is the hue and cry about how "local wars" are responsible for the fact that so many Africans are starving. But while there are certainly national antagonisms in the area which have played a part in intensifying the conditions, most of the fighting that has gone on has been an outgrowth of imperialist political intrigue in the first place as the U.S. and Soviets arm and supply different puppet governments in their strategic jockeying over this important area of the world.

In the Karamoja region of northeast Uganda, for example, 20,000 people have already died of starvation since January and bodies litter the roads. According to the U.S. press this is all the unfortunate result of the Tanzanian invasion in April 1979 which left the economy in a shambles with rival gangs of starving Ugandans, Ethiopians, Sudanese, and Kenyans fighting over the scrawny herds of remaining cattle along with remnants of Idi Amin's defeated

army who have scattered weapons all over the area. But of course the press does not advertise the fact that it was the U.S. itself that instigated the Tanzanian invasion in order to overthrow their once faithful lackey, Amin, who in the mid-'70s, had begun switching his allegiance to the Soviets. And it is hardly as if starvation is a new phenomenon in Uganda anyway, since under Amin, Uganda was run as a giant coffee plantation for the U.S. and Europe and was never self-sufficient in food.

This U.S.-sponsored war didn't do much for Tanzania either (where 2 million are threatened with starvation) except to bankrupt it even further and lock it even more firmly into dependency on the U.S. Thus while Tanzania actually managed to produce a surplus of grain last year, the country was desperate for funds to pay off the interest on its staggering \$442 million national debt to the imperialists and consequently sold 259,000 tons of grain abroad. This year it will have to import almost the same amount of grain (280,000 tons) if it is to stave off famine. And naturally the IMF also stepped in to "help," offered a \$200 million loan and demanded in return such concessions as a devaluation of Tanzanian currency, the dismantling of restrictions on high priced imports from the western imperialist countries, increased austerity programs, etc.—exactly the sorts of measures that are increasingly required as a condition for such loans as international crisis stalks not only Africa, but the whole world.

But, screeches *Time*, *Newsweek*, *et al*, much of the starvation in Africa is due to the dislocation of millions of helpless refugees who have become an intolerable burden on the food supplies of the countries to which they have fled! Well, it's certainly true that the refugee problem, born largely of various imperialist-instigated conflicts, has worsened an already desperate situation in a number of these African countries. Take the several-years conflict between Somalia and Ethiopia over the disputed Ogaden section of Ethiopia inhabited by ethnic Somali tribesmen. As the Soviet armed and backed Ethiopian government and the U.S.-aided Somali regime have fought a proxy war over which superpower will end up dominating this whole strategic area that sits astride the vital oil shipping lanes of the Persian Gulf, one and a half million refugees, many of them small farmers, have been driven into Somalia putting a severe strain on the food supplies there as well as robbing Ethiopia of potential food production.

But while the creation of such refugee populations has indeed added an extra dimension of suffering and starvation, it is ridiculous to suggest that this is somehow a fundamental cause of famine itself. In Ethiopia five million people are *already* facing famine this year without having to become refugees and the reasons for this are the same as for any other African country—imperialist "development" and "aid." For example, in 1974 a commission of the Industry Cooperative Program (IPC), a bureau of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, visited Ethiopia to explore the possibilities of meat development although Ethiopia has never been self-sufficient in basic staples like grain. But at least meat for hungry Ethiopians they were worried about? Not quite. The commission (which included executives of UK Pet Foods, Mars Co. and Spillers Dog Foods) was mainly concerned with developing markets to provide food for *animals* in the developed countries. They even had the audacity to complain that "the scattered nature of (Ethiopian meat) production has hindered the Pet Food Industry"! At the time of this IPC mission at least 100,000 Ethiopians were about to die of starvation or had just finished doing so.

Nor has Ethiopia fared any better since the Soviet social-imperialists took over in 1975, backing a military coup that installed the phony "socialist" regime of Mengistu and funneling thousands of Cuban mercenaries into the country to shore up this fascist

government. The only difference is that now it is the Soviets who are instituting their own particular brand of neo-colonialism, setting up Czechoslovak-run meat canning plants and East German-run commercial farms and taking over various agricultural-export projects in the Awash Valley, an area formerly monopolized by the western imperialists. Already the Soviets have squeezed hundreds of millions of dollars out of Ethiopia as repayment for the massive amount of military "aid" funneled to the Mengistu government to try and crush the national liberation struggle of the people of Eritrea—all while the Ethiopian government goes begging to the UN for wheat and flour deliveries to stave off the encroaching famine.

Likewise, famine is threatening Somalia despite the massive influx of refugees from Ethiopia who have unfortunately found that they simply fled from one starving nation to another. Somalia has never been self-sufficient in food and expects to spend at least 120 million in food imports this year. Although only 12 percent of its land is arable, this would be entirely adequate to feed the population if cultivated—but most of it lies fallow. For instance, the region surrounding the town of Gedo, where some 350,000 refugees are crammed into wretched camps, is some of the most fertile farmland around but has no irrigation system whatsoever. This bizarre situation is a direct result of the fact that for decades the British and Italian imperialists geared the Somali economy to produce nothing more than livestock and bananas—all for export to Europe—and into chaotic dependence on imperialism. While the shortage of foreign exchange from declining livestock production, worsened by drought and war, has severely curbed Somalia's ability to import enough food, it will certainly be a comfort to starving Somalis to know that this year the government plans to introduce color TV into the country for the first time!

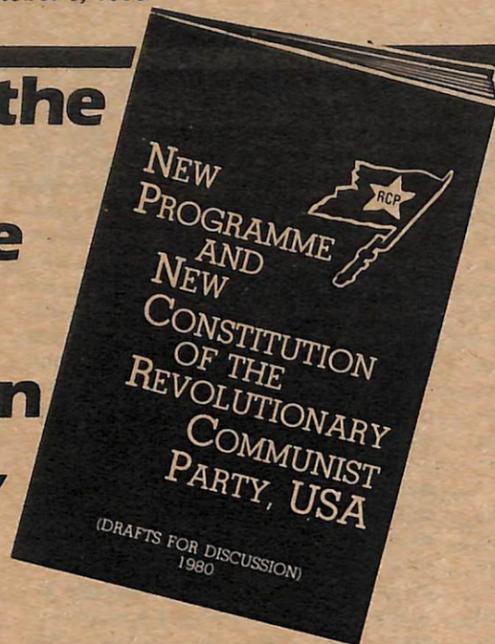
But many ask, doesn't the U.S. and its allies try to help these countries? After all there are over 400 relief agencies presently working in Africa and over the years America has sent millions of tons of food aid to starving Africans! But there is more to this monumental "generosity" than meets the eye. In fact, American "food aid" is one of the most notorious ways in which the U.S. imperialists have manipulated the economies of these countries and *intensified* the conditions which result in famine. The stated purpose of the Food For Peace Law, passed by the U.S. Congress in 1954, is "...to increase the consumption of U.S. agricultural commodities in foreign countries"—that is, to keep them dependent on importing high-priced U.S. grain and other food staples.

Contrary to popular myth, only a minuscule amount of food has actually been donated free to the starving, underdeveloped countries (and even this, of course, has numerous strings attached as such "donations" are made contingent upon considerable political and economic concessions to the U.S. by the countries involved). Most of it was sold dearly at prevailing prices to these governments directly by the U.S. food monopolies. The profits from these sales, known as "counterpart funds" (funds which far surpass the budgets at the disposal of these countries' own Ministries of Agriculture) were often left in these countries to help them "develop"—but how they were spent was predetermined by contract with the imperialists. Naturally they were *not* to be used for developing self-sufficiency in food production, but instead earmarked for such things as arms purchases, buying the allegiance of local elites for U.S. agricultural policies, and of course increased expansion of non-staple crops for export—the very agricultural pattern that helps create the conditions for famine in the first place. Lately with the U.S. in a deeper financial crunch, this counterpart scheme is being dropped in favor of sales for hard cash.

It is little wonder that former U.S. Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz can-

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Letters on the Draft Programme and Draft Constitution of the RCP, USA



Continued from page 8

another to basically say or imply that we would not do revolutionary work unless we thought we could win this time around. Just as we say there is no guarantee that the revolution will not be reversed, so there is no guarantee that the seizure of power will happen this time around even if a revolutionary situation presents itself (see *Revolution*, Vol. 4, No. 10-11, p. 10, last paragraph). While we wouldn't want to raise these "what ifs" to defeat the correct assessment of the potential for revolution in the U.S. and its contribution to revolution worldwide, in fact being key to awarding this major spiral to the proletariat, still I think we want to counteract pragmatism on this question which could affect the overall development of revolution worldwide by downplaying revolutionary struggle that does not promise immediate palpable results in one's own or even any country. What about the role of Liebknecht, Luxemburg—what if there is wholesale defection from Chairman Avakian's line when war actually breaks out?

On p. 14, I think the first paragraph needs to be expanded upon a little to explain rather than just state that under capitalism socialist relations cannot exist side by side with exploitative relations. It would be enough to say something like that in order for planning and distribution to be carried out even in a beginning way to meet the needs of people rather than the dictates of profit, the whole superstructure must be altered, because overall planning can't just coexist alongside overall anarchy like exchange could alongside barter and retribution (feudal relations).

In the United Front section I'll mainly just center in on the petty bourgeoisie, but first a comment on youth. It seems to me that there is not enough on the youth, their "special vanguard" role, their principal contradiction of life without a purpose under this system, and the impact they have and will have on the proletariat.

Pp. 31-33. I think that more can be said about the positive influence of the petty bourgeoisie on the proletariat—especially students, anti-nukes, etc. And their reactionary roles could be spelled out better because they can sabotage all sorts of things (refer to Palacios' book for the consequences of not winning over or neutralizing segments of the petty bourgeoisie). Also, I think the question of "sympathizer" should be addressed more, as the only choice for the petty bourgeoisie is not being activists vs. helping the bourgeoisie or even being neutral toward that but helping in other and crucial ways like contributions, hideouts, etc. How the petty bourgeoisie are "intermediate" could be explained better too, because what is common among small owners, intellectuals, and lower level managers? Not all have an "independent" position above the proletariat in terms of ownership of capital, or share more monetarily in the spoils of imperialist plunder, but may be low paid propagandists who have certain privileges, freedoms, status "above" the proletariat—some of these providing them an opportunity to get a broader view of society and the world and perhaps become revolutionary minded intellectuals, artists, etc.

Again just in general I think the second half on "Upon Seizing Power..." is a real advance over the more utopian vision of the future from the last program and really gets to the questions of the advanced from all strata and others who want to know how to relate to the proletariat "just in case...". The letter in the *RW* criticizing the part about nuclear weapons in the socialist state made me think that I haven't been critical enough of the Programme—but on the other hand I don't think each of us can get down on every point. On that issue I tended to think O.K., if we need nuclear weapons to preserve socialism and advance revolution worldwide, then we need them. But of course this assumes that nukes have some capability that conventional weapons don't other than the ability to wipe out large sections of population now and in the future—like the capability to knock out *their* nukes that are aimed at our population centers. These technicalities I don't claim to know. I'm glad the letter was printed and I am interested in the answer.

A reader

To the *Revolutionary Worker*:

The chapter devoted to the United Front in the new *Draft Programme* opens the section about the petty bourgeoisie stressing that to win over or at least neutralize as much as possible of the various intermediate strata is key to the proletarian revolution. It also indicates that this question of how the petty bourgeoisie will line up is as complex as it is vital for the proletarian revolution.

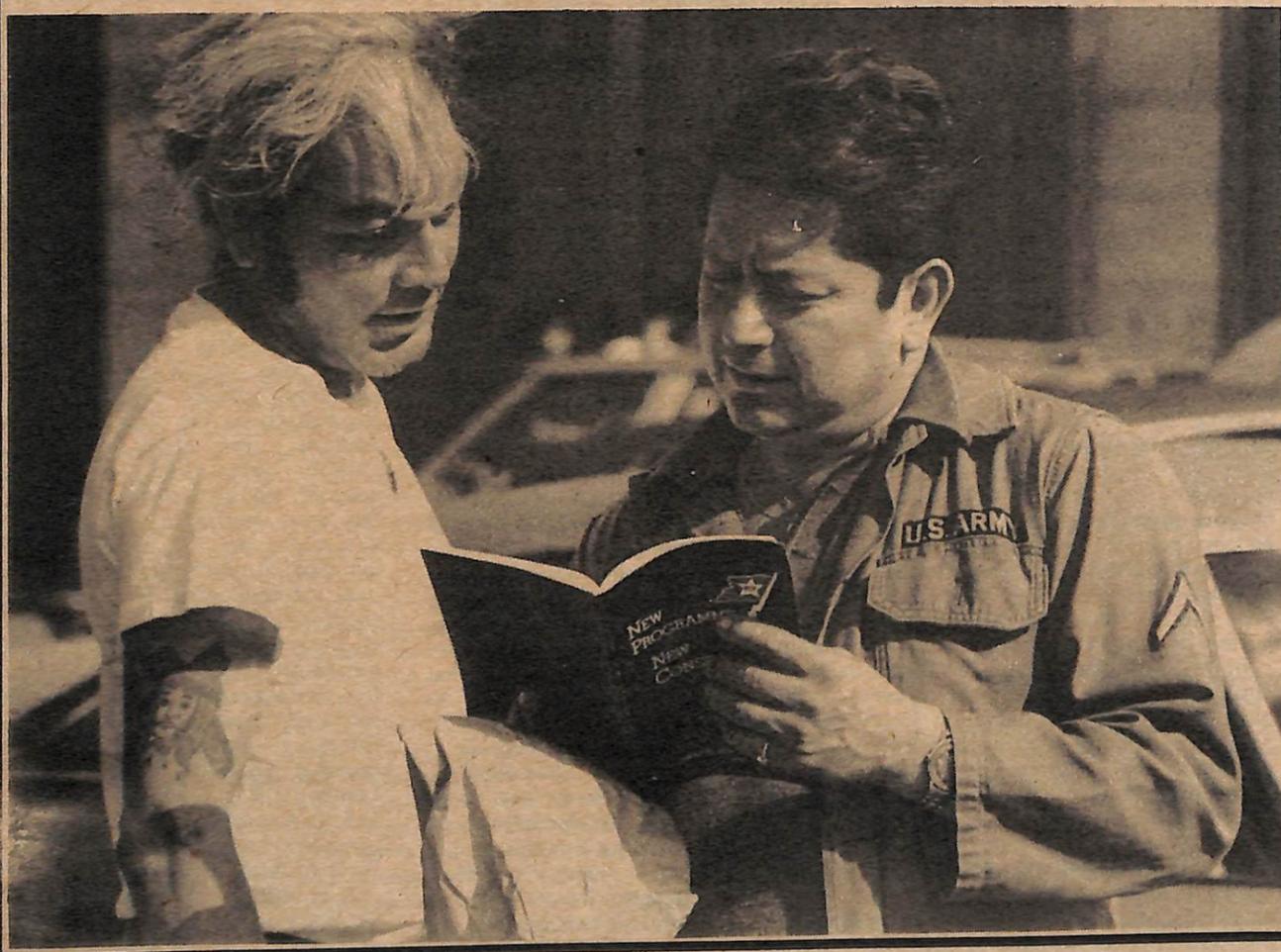
The *Programme* goes on to say that while it is true that historically under capitalism the bourgeoisie in times of crisis increasingly attempts to mobilize the petty bourgeoisie to its side, and to turn the increasing deterioration of the middle classes' position into a social basis for reactionary mass movements, it is also true that the impoverishment and proletarianization of sections of the petty bourgeoisie (the fact that capitalist development tends to crush them, that their only future is the threat of ruin), as well as their partial understanding of the capitalist crisis and the coming war, lay the basis for sections of the petty bourgeoisie to wage their own struggles and for them to join the revolutionary struggle led by the proletariat.

Ever since I read this section—when the new *Programme* came out months ago—it seemed to me that it talked very superficially about the basis for elements of the petty bourgeoisie to join the revolutionary struggle. But it was not until I read the excerpts from Lenin "On Picking Up The Pen" in the *Revolutionary Worker*—particularly the difference mentioned between the bourgeois press ("they" write, I read) and the revolutionary press (we write and read), that I decided to put my ideas in writing. So here they go. I would like to address two issues that enhance the potential to win over to the revolutionary cause, and to unite with, elements of the petty bourgeoisie, specifically among the intellectuals and professionals. These two issues are the role of intellectuals and professionals in contemporary society as the housekeepers of the bourgeoisie, and their historic role as vehicles of science.

Let's start with the implications of the role of professionals and intellectuals in this society. The accountants, sociologists, computer programmers, educators, doctors and nurses, lawyers, psychologists, social workers, and others, who are not engaged directly in the process of production, but who provide supporting services to it (administration, education, health care), defined and controlled by the bourgeoisie to expedite its rule over society, are faced with particular contradictions, which facilitate their understanding of the basic contradictions of imperialism, and thus, can lead them to question deeply their allegiance to the bourgeoisie.

First, there exists a drastic discrepancy between what professionals *could* do with their science and what in fact they end up doing—between their level of skill and knowledge, and the level of application of these for the service of society. Here you have qualified people, folks who spend five, six, seven years learning a given science or technique with the assurance that they will be able to make a contribution to that branch of science, and to society (and, of course, make a decent, very decent living) through the application of their knowledge: eliminate racial educational differences, prevent degenerative diseases, improve the penal system, design a superb system of public transportation, even build communities ecologically and architecturally sound. Oh, the wonders! But reality is quite different. Under imperialism science is not for the people but for the almighty dollar, and professionals soon learn another lesson: that basically bourgeois society can not use their valuable talents; that actually, those talents are often in con-

DARE TO GRAPPLE WITH THE BATTLE PLAN FOR REVOLUTION



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:

**"Seize the Day,
Seize the Hour."**

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flict with the bourgeoisie's interests. . . unless, of course, you decide to sell yourself in monthly installments to the Defense Department (or any of its well-concealed "research" projects), or you can come up with ways for your boss to squeeze out more profits, a road which many end up taking. After all, who the hell is interested in having Black children learn at the same rate that white middle-class children do or in reducing the use of private cars? Just do your little job, young fellow, and don't dream. Don't you know how many patents for wonderful inventions which would benefit society rest in peace in corporate drawers until competition forces them out? Don't you dream.

Being unable to apply what has been learned—this lack of dialectic relation between theory and practice in this system—erodes the intrinsic value of learning, and after all knowledge is what is supposed to characterize and give meaning to the life of intellectuals and professionals. What is the purpose of understanding a process, of digging into the underlying laws of social phenomena, if such a knowledge does not transform the world—if those ideas are not a living force which transforms itself into action? Knowledge just for the pleasure of mental masturbation?

This contradiction between science for the people—science for the bourgeoisie, and between theory and practice is, in my opinion, a source of deep frustration among professionals, as well as one of the reasons for the incredible emptiness that is often the life of these people underneath their cute facade of good health and Pepsodent smiles—emptiness which they attempt in vain to solve with a good joint at the end of the working day and something stronger on the weekend, or becoming a sexual maniac, or jogging, or doing yoga, Tai-chi, TM, macrobiotic diets, or whatever is "in" . . . not so much to escape (they're doing all right, sort of) but to try to fill in the vacuum of a life without purpose, meaningless, without projections to the future, dead inside. This frustration is also a potential basis of unity with the revolutionary cause, because professionals and intellectuals can grasp how capitalism holds back the development of the productive forces (their own case is but one example, and a basis for grasping it); how the professional's frustration and lack of purpose in life stems from the same basic frustration of life under this system, where the majority is kept apart from running society by the dictatorship of a few, where you have to live watching out for your own skin, without collective guiding principles, without taking an active and conscious part in the movement forward of human history; and grasp how the productive forces—they included—will only be unleashed and given all impetus for development when the political system is revolutionized. Mao said pointedly: "Many well-intentioned educators, scientists and students have buried themselves in their own work or studies and paid no attention to politics in the belief that they could serve the country with their knowledge, but this too has turned out to be a dream, a dream that has been shattered."

Secondly, something else that opens the possibilities for elements of the petty bourgeoisie today in the USA to respond to the revolutionary message of the proletariat comes from what they are allowed to "see" from within the system. The housekeeper role of the professionals and intellectuals allows them to take an inside look at the endless corruption of the bourgeoisie and its apparatus, of the futility and inconsistency of their so-called reforms, of the deadly daily competition for survival, the back-stabbing and other niceties of bourgeois institutions. Working in such institutions, the professional becomes aware of the fact that she/he is an appendage of a rotten and decaying system and that his/her work contributes to prolong the existence of a parasitic system with no future, which in turn leads to conflict, cynicism, or both.

In addition to experiencing first-hand the heavy burden of working for a moribund system, the level of information that professionals handle (yes, some read *Mother Jones*) help them to open their eyes and awaken. Many among them know basically—even though partially—of the ravages of imperialism at home and abroad; they know about Vietnam and Chile, PBB and Watergate, of the close prospects of world war . . . and they hate the system responsible for those horrors. But, not having a Marxist-Leninist analysis, they do not see a way out, nor where to aim their fire. Some become disconcerted and take up the road of demoralization and hedonism, looking for different sorts of stimulants, so as not to feel completely dead. Others adopt a position more moralistic than scientific and join topical reformist movements: Science for the People, Consumers Against Inflation, Coalition for a New Military Policy, National Center for Ecological Alternatives, etc. . . . And many others, seeing that those reforms are dead-ended and insufficient, remain expectant, apparently unconcerned but wondering very deep inside about this hell we live in and the way out of it. (And since things are not black or white, often the above-mentioned positions interact and alternate in the dominant position.)

Nevertheless, just being aware that this system is the most criminal and wasteful that has ever existed does not automatically make people revolutionary-minded. The bourgeoisie pulls the professionals and intellectuals strongly. As much as they can see how screwed things are, and how super-screwed they are

going to get, still their material position is relatively privileged and their political consciousness is undernourished. But, as society as a whole increasingly confronts deeper questions with the sharpening of the crisis and the war preparations (shit, and I discovered a fitness program that had put my cardiovascular system in shape to live 110 years!), and as the revolutionary proletariat presents in a clear, concrete and all-sided manner to society the truth that imperialism is not invincible and that "an armed uprising of the masses is the only possibility of preventing or pulling out of an imperialist war. . . and when it becomes clear that such a mass uprising has a real chance of succeeding" (*Programme*, p. 33), the revolutionary message of the proletariat will fall in fertile soil. As a preacher, an element of this strata, said it before May Day: "I am a member of the Protestant clergy, but if you think that many of us are not interested in your kind of solution you are not well informed."

In order to introduce the second issue I want to raise, the role that historically intellectuals have played—to be the vehicles of, and to advance science—and how this is related to the revolutionary movement, the following quotes from *What is to be Done?* are pertinent:

"The theory of Socialism, however, grew out of the philosophic, historical and economic theories that were elaborated by the educated representatives of the propertied classes, the intellectuals. According to their social status, the founders of modern scientific socialism, Marx and Engels, themselves belonged to the bourgeois intelligentsia. In the very same way, in Russia, the theoretical doctrine of Social-Democracy arose. . . as a natural and inevitable outcome of the development of ideas among the revolutionary socialist intelligentsia." (*What is to be Done?*, Foreign Language Press, Peking, p. 37)

And later on, Lenin quotes Kautsky:

"Modern socialist consciousness can arise only on the basis of profound scientific knowledge. . . The vehicle of science is not the proletariat, but the *bourgeois intelligentsia* (K.K.'s italics); it was in the minds of individual members of this stratum that modern Socialism originated, and it was they who communicated it to the . . . proletarians. . ." (*Ibid.*, p. 47)

So, elements from among the intellectuals have contributed greatly both in the formulation and in the development of scientific socialism; the petty bourgeoisie has produced elements that, due in part to their education, are able to grasp the philosophic, economic and historic laws of their age and advance that knowledge, in connection with the development of the relations of production of their time.

In the United States, the revolutionary movement of the last 10-12 years (I must recognize my ignorance of the previous revolutionary movement) many revolutionary fighters have come forward from the struggles of students and other sections of the petty bourgeoisie, and have been able, through the study of Marxism-Leninism and under the leadership of the proletariat, to remold their world outlook and to adopt the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint and the ideology of the proletariat. For instance, the Revolutionary Union and the RCP were initially composed mostly of revolutionaries with origins in the petty bourgeoisie.

This is not to say, of course, that the petty bourgeoisie should be the leader of the revolutionary movement—which in itself is a paradoxical expression, since the interests of the petty bourgeoisie as a class are counter-revolutionary—nor that the subjective and idealist petty bourgeois viewpoint—which is reflected politically in the instability and vacillation between the right economism and "left" adventurism—should be the viewpoint of the revolutionary movement. Not at all; on the contrary, the elements from the petty bourgeoisie that join the revolutionary movement have to struggle against the narrow, individualistic and short-term interests of their class, and adopt the proletarian ideology if they do not want to end up with a CWP-type line.

Nevertheless, it is a fact that the "intelligentsia" in this country in 1980 is very different than the Russian intellectuals of 1890; there, the doctrine of Social-Democracy "had already won over to its side the majority of the revolutionary youth in Russia" (*Ibid.*, p. 37). Here, the intelligentsia has not been educated in Marxism, nor even in philosophy, but in pragmatism instead (it's O.K., if it works). But precisely for that reason, because they understand that capitalism "doesn't work," that it kills them gradually and kills their desire to learn to understand the world, to change it, that it destroys the purpose of the tools they acquired through education; because they know the past and the yet-to-come crimes of imperialism; and because their education has provided them with the basis to understand contemporary science—Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought—because of that, many among them, the more intelligent ones, are searching for something *scientific* and purposeful. For that reason, there is a basis for the voice of revolution to reach many ears—in spite of babble of liberal and pseudo-leftist voices—and to win over not a few elements of this stratum. □

Africa Stalked by Merchants of Famine

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dudly pointed out that: "Food is a weapon. It is now one of the principle tools in our negotiating kit." And that the motives behind these food "aid" programs are something other than "American generosity" was indicated by the remark of a representative of the National Security Council in a U.S. government planning meeting on food aid when he blurted out: "To give food aid to countries just because people are starving is a pretty weak reason."

While the U.S. points to its plentiful food production and crows about how, thanks to it, the entire world "gets fed," this is hypocrisy in the extreme. Production of food in the U.S. has never been geared toward the principle of meeting human food needs (including those of millions who are malnourished in the U.S. itself)—only toward what the market will bear. It is well known that the giant food monopolies like Cargill, Bunge, Continental Grain, etc., have time and again manipulated world supplies through speculation in the commodity futures markets, subsidizing farmers not to grow wheat, and outright destroying tons of grain when a "surplus" has threatened to depress their profits. In 1972, for example, when India, Pakistan, Bangladesh,

Tanzania and the Sahel countries were pleading for a mere 12 million tons of wheat to fend off massive starvation (a figure that represented not even a 1% difference in the world harvest), the U.S. government was paying farmers to withhold 60 million acres from wheat production—fully 15% of all U.S. cropland—in order to jack up the next year's prices. As Berthold Brecht once lucidly observed: "Famines do not occur. They are organized by the grain trade."

One aspect of this chaotic syndrome of dependency and debt to the imperialists is that even where some of these countries *have* been able to produce sufficient food to feed the population, they have often had to sell it to pay their bills. Kenya, for example, had a corn surplus in 1978 but was forced to export 180,000 tons instead of storing it and cut the prices paid to corn farmers, many of whom switched to sugar cane. This year Kenya was forced to buy \$11 million worth of corn from South Africa and to borrow \$30 million from the World Bank—which, naturally, required that this loan be used for "export-oriented projects" only.

More and more, these African countries have been placed in a double bind. Not only have they generally become less self-sufficient in food production and thus reliant upon imported grain from

the big imperialist powers, but because the price of their traditional export crops—cocoa, coffee, peanuts, cotton, etc.—has been constantly falling on the world market these nations are less and less able to pay for high-priced cereals they desperately need from the imperialists. As late as 1967, for example, the Sahelian country of Mali—once known as the "breadbasket of Africa"—was producing 60,000 tons of food crops. But 10 years later, locally produced food amounted to only 15,000 tons since land had been shifted dramatically to the production of cotton and peanuts. Mali's revenues from these export crops don't even begin to cover the price of food imports alone, not to mention other desperately needed industrial goods. This year 2 million are threatened with famine there.

This year, with millions facing hunger in Africa the situation is looking more and more desperate as most of these nations cannot much longer afford to continue buying expensive U.S. food. And even if they could afford it, this food may not be available anyway. U.S. wheat and corn production, upon which many of these African nations depend (the supply of which was carefully and calculatedly planned to avoid an untoward "surplus" and maximize profits from expected demand) has

fallen unexpectedly due to the severe heat and dry weather this summer. And whatever part of it might be available for Africa will therefore be priced that much more dearly. This despite the disgusting fact that, as usual, the U.S. and the other developed countries will feed their *animals* a full one quarter of the world's grain (the equivalent of the total human consumption of India and China together)—a totally unnecessary imperialist practice utilized to fatten their livestock (and the subsequent profits of the livestock industry) more quickly!

What lurks behind the starvation in Africa or anywhere else are the monstrous laws of the imperialist system—the system directly responsible for this incredible suffering and misery. And today, as this system spirals inexorably downward into crisis, every murderous aspect of it intensifies to untold proportions. The parasitical fingers of the imperialists—which have gripped Africa by the throat for decades—now have tightened. The Sub-Saharan countries of Africa stand as fitting testimony to the rule of the imperialists who have simultaneously been the merchants of food and the merchants of famine. □

Sharp Struggle, Excellent Situation Inside Iran

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was a large and modern, but thoroughly reactionary, armed forces.

In the course of the struggle against the Shah, many rank-and-file soldiers came to enthusiastically support the revolution and actively participated in it. (The actual insurrection in Tehran in early 1979 was triggered by an uprising of Air Force cadets.) After the overthrow of the Shah and the defeat of his army, mass organizations of soldiers, airmen and sailors were formed that still exist in many places. (They have been restricted and attacked by reactionary pro-imperialist commanders, as well as by the new government.)

The revolution also greatly boosted the influence of the revolutionary left within the armed forces. One Iranian Air Force technician told a recent visitor to Iran that fully 10% of the airmen in his barracks were active supporters of the Left.

These revolutionary elements in the armed forces have played a key role in the fighting so far. Many dispersed army units regrouped and began fighting on their own, led by rank-and-file soldiers. Much of Iran's successful air attacks on key Iraqi economic and military installations that are critical for their ability to sustain their war, as well as on the fabled Iraqi armored columns strung out in Khuzestan, were the result of the collective efforts of revolutionary pilots and technical personnel in the air force. Here again, all the imperialist military analysts seriously underestimated the ability of the Iranian armed forces to master some of the sophisticated weapons they captured from the U.S. during the revolu-

tion, and then wield them against the imperialists in just such an assault.

In spite of the strong showing made by many units of the Iranian armed forces in the fighting, the weakness and vacillation of the bourgeois forces in the government continue to be reflected in the army. It is certainly true that the new government wanted the military to be loyal to them—not to the ex-Shah and not under direct U.S. command—and thus had their own interests in partially transforming the armed forces. There was also considerable pressure from the Iranian people to do as well. Thus, in the wake of the insurrection, some one hundred top generals (out of 300 in the army alone) were executed. Many more were forced to retire, and there was also considerable shuffling and reorganization of the officer corps.

However, the new government's overriding interest was in keeping the military intact in order to consolidate its own power and to use the armed forces of the state against the continuing revolutionary struggle of the masses, as has been seen most sharply in Kurdistan for the last year. Therefore, the government's reorganization was done largely on a bourgeois basis, promoting lower-level colonels (many of whom were trained in the U.S.) to higher positions—leaving considerable sections of the military that have continuing pro-U.S. loyalties.

The continuing presence of pro-imperialist forces in the military and government was brought home sharply to millions of Iranians—and became the "talk of the town" in Tehran—when Iraq's first air raid struck 10 airfields in-

side Iran, and the Iranian government afterward admitted that the invaders hadn't been reported by Iran's sophisticated radar network. (This was very similar to the events surrounding the U.S. raid that aborted in the Iranian desert in April, when widespread collusion between the Iranian military and the U.S. was revealed.) In addition, much of Iran's anti-tank and anti-aircraft missiles as well as their main armored units have "mysteriously" (according to bourgeois experts) not been used against Iraq in the fighting to date. Undoubtedly there is a great deal of struggle going on inside the Iranian military between various forces—ranging from reactionary pro-U.S. commanders to revolutionary soldiers—over how, and even whether, to fight Iraq.

All of this underlines the fact that despite the Iranian government's present progressive stand in the war, it continues to vacillate between the open forces of reaction and the masses of people. Despite their "revolutionary" rhetoric, the government's response to the invasion has been uneven—for instance, Khomeini has suspended the trials of military officers who were plotting pro-U.S. coup attempts against the government this summer.

The Iranian government does want to wage the war, but it wants to do so in a bourgeois way—without thoroughly mobilizing the masses to defeat the U.S. imperialists and their reactionary agents inside Iran. They fear this could open the door for the Iranian masses to further develop their own independent strength in the course of the fighting—and thus placing them in a much more favorable position to advance the revolution towards final victory.

The fundamental inability of the present government to fully mobilize and unleash the masses of people in revolutionary warfare against the U.S./Iraqi in-

vasion is even more stark when compared to one of the first steps that a revolutionary government in Iran would take—granting autonomy and full democratic rights to the oppressed Arab and Kurdish minorities inside Iran. The broad masses of these peoples would not only be unleashed to fight even more resolutely against the Iraqis, their revolutionary example would have a powerful effect on the Arab and Kurdish populations of Iraq.

This work of the revolutionary forces in developing their independent political and military strength is in fact a life-and-death question, for the same reactionary forces that the U.S. and Iraqis were hoping to bolster and catapult into power through this war—and that are laying low, for the time being at least—will inevitably jump out when they feel the time is right. And the vacillating, bourgeois forces in the government who are now taking a position against the U.S./Iraqi assault will also not hesitate to turn their armed forces against the masses and their revolutionary struggle in the future, as they have before.

During the past week, the Iraqi advance first slowed, then ground to a halt, and a new stage in the fighting has begun. The initial U.S./Iraqi attack unfettered the force of the Iranian masses, leading to a temporary and partial defeat; a second round of escalation threatens to further unleash these same uncontrollable revolutionary forces. In fact, Iranian revolutionaries have told us that they are quite optimistic about the possibility of a new revolutionary high tide developing in Iran—just the thing the imperialists don't want to see. Imperialist war has been shown, in miniature, to be not a confirmation of their almighty strength, but an exposure of their fundamental weakness and vulnerability. □

Toxic Shock

Continued from page 11

ther research was never done (at least never published) and the tampons stayed on the market. As for TSS, although documentation of cases of the disease go back at least six years, until several recent deaths from TSS were disclosed, no one even knew the incidence of the disease—caused by staph aureus bacteria in the vagina of menstruating women—because bacteriological counts were never done on menstruating women. In the words of one prominent San Francisco area gynecologist, women aren't examined during their period "because it's too damn messy."

One of the few scientists in the U.S. to have extensively studied the disease is an assistant professor of immunology and microbiology at UCLA—Patrick Schleiber. He says that TSS is actually a form of adult Kawasaki's disease, discovered by Dr. Kawasaki in Japan where over 10,000 cases are documented. The actual disease is caused by the toxin of a mutant bacteria, staphylococcus aureus. 15-20% of the population, including men and children, carry the bacteria around all the time. 5-20% of all women have the bacteria living normally in their vagina. According to Dr. Schleiber, the tampons apparently act as a "passive cofactor," over-drying the vagina, cutting off air, and a pH factor is created that provides a favorable culture in which the bacteria can multiply, unleashing crippling and sometimes deadly amounts of their toxin into the bloodstream. He feels the FDA chooses to call the disease TSS to separate the more severe cases—where women go into shock from the more widespread "sub-clinical" (milder) cases of the disease. In this light, the FDA told women who had gotten only nausea, diarrhea and the sun-burned-like rash but hadn't yet gone into shock, to stop using tampons "for a few menstrual cycles." This, after their own studies had shown the disease was recurring in 42% of the cases and their own estimate was 5-20% of the advanced cases of the

disease result in death.

In other words, if you don't go into shock and your skin doesn't peel off, you really haven't had the disease. In this way, the FDA maneuvers around the actual occurrences of the disease by defining it by its most severe symptoms and coming up with the figure of 3 in 100,000 women of menstruating age afflicted yearly. But Dr. Schleiber says that studies indicate the real figure is closer to 1 in 2500! Although of late, the FDA is padding its behind on the statistical front. While maintaining that "for most women the risk is not enough to change their habit of using tampons," the information about the new disease is still "incomplete...cases originally diagnosed as another disease could turn out in retrospect to be TSS." Translating this double-talk: "we're in the business of keeping the tampon industry alive by any criminal means necessary. We are experienced in a variety of methods of covering up and lying."

The tampon market is huge, about 600 million dollars in sales annually. The new tampons were part of a whole barrage of products supposedly aimed at the "liberated woman"—feminine deodorant spray, deodorant tampons and the super tampon. In 1978, the first year of the super tampon, major U.S. manufacturers spent \$50 million in advertising tampons alone, each out to corner the market. And now this multi-million dollar industry in jeopardy because of a few deaths? No way. When the study came out, targeting Rely with the brunt of the deaths, the gig was up, at least for Rely. Proctor & Gamble executives quite candidly stated their reasons for suspending production. To prevent more TSS victims? No, much more practical considerations—weighing the loss of stopping production against the cost of projected lawsuit settlements resulting from continued production of Rely. They determined the lawsuits would prove more expensive in the long run.

Rely was out of the competition and the capitalists seized on this as a convenient sacrificial lamb. Things happened fast. Proctor & Gamble suspended production, even planned ads to discourage women from buying the discounted supplies that were left on the shelves

(some stores are still selling them at real bargain prices!!). All this, even though according to Chairman Edward Harness, "This is being done despite the fact that we know of no defect in the Rely tampons and despite evidence that the withdrawal of Rely will not eliminate the occurrence of TSS even if Rely's use is completely discontinued." The second part of his statement is certainly true. He's thinking about the other 21% of the deaths that were caused by the other brands of tampons, a statistic they have chosen to paint pale in light of Rely's track record. Rely lost out by winning at the super game, only they were a little too super. This doesn't mean they can't bounce back with a reformulation of Rely (which, according to Ralph Nadar's health research group, they'd been planning on despite

the lack of any "defects"), but what about their competition? Well, the suggestion in the works is that boxes of tampons have a warning of possible death printed on them. Then when women die of Toxic Shock the companies and the FDA will simply say, "Well, we warned you. It's not our fault." And this should certainly solve their lawsuit problems.

What women have indeed looked to as a more convenient means of dealing with their menstrual cycle, a way to scratch at least some of the worry and hassle off their daily routine, has turned into another ugly reminder of whose interests and for whose convenience the wheels of this capitalist system spin and just how criminal the everyday grinding of these wheels is. □

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